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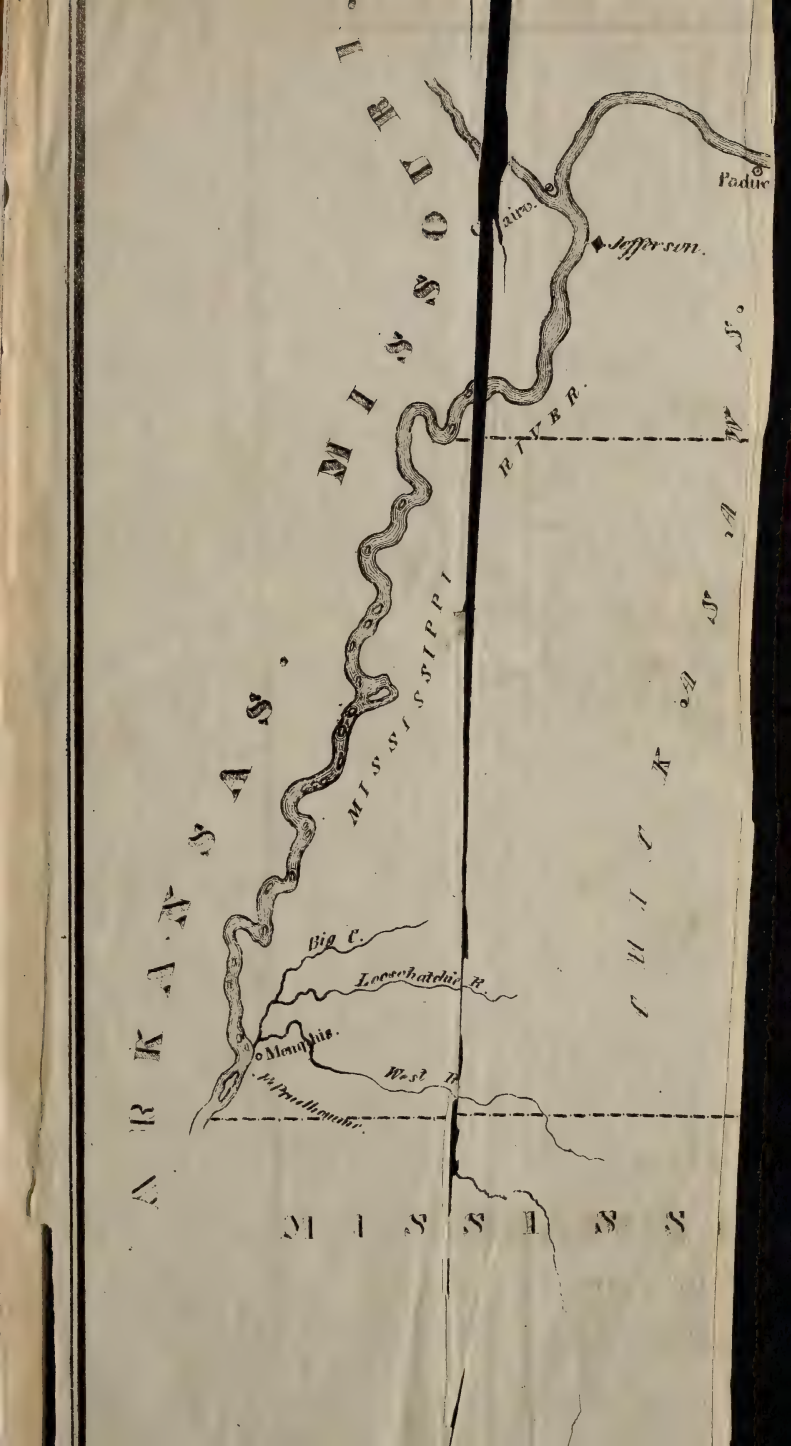

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Memphis.
West R.
MISSISS

THE

ANNALS

OF

TENNESSEE

TO THE

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:

COMPRISING ITS SETTLEMENT,

AS

THE WATAUGA ASSOCIATION,
FROM 1769 TO 1777;

A PART OF NORTH-CAROLINA,
FROM 1777 TO 1784;

THE STATE OF FRANKLIN,
FROM 1784 TO 1788;

A PART OF NORTH-CAROLINA,
FROM 1788 TO 1790;

THE TERRITORY OF THE U. STATES, SOUTH OF THE OHIO,
FROM 1790 TO 1796;

THE STATE OF TENNESSEE,
FROM 1796 TO 1800.

BY

J. G. M. RAMSEY, A.M., M.D.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE EAST TENNESSEE HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY:
HONOURARY MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY, ETC.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE SURVIVING PIONEERS OF TENNESSEE,

WHOSE ENTERPRISE SUBDUED HER DOMAIN, AND WHOSE VALOUR DEFENDED IT,

MOST GRATEFULLY;

TO THEIR IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS,

WHOSE PATRIOTISM, WISDOM AND VIRTUE, PROVIDED FOR AND BEQUEATHED TO POSTERITY, THE PATRIMONIAL BLESSINGS AND WISE INSTITUTIONS OF LIBERTY, OF LAW, OF LEARNING AND RELIGION,

MOST DUTIFULLY;

TO THE YOUNG MEN OF TENNESSEE,

INHERITING SO MUCH THAT IS ESTIMABLE, MANLY, VIRTUOUS AND PATRIOTIC,

AND

TO WHOSE GUARDIANSHIP, FILIAL PIETY, ANCESTRAL AND STATE PRIDE,

ARE COMMITTED

THE PRESERVATION OF HER UNSTAINED ESCUTCHEON, HER ANCIENT FAME, HER HEROIC EXAMPLE, HER SOVEREIGNTY, HER CHARACTER AND HER GLORY—
HER HIGH DESTINY AND FUTURE IMPROVEMENT—

MOST CONFIDENTLY;

"Let no mean hope your souls enslave;
Be independent, generous, brave;
Your fathers such example gave,
And such revere!"

Is this Volume Dedicated, by their fellow-citizen,

THE AUTHOR.

Charleston, S. C., February 22d, 1853.

PREFACE.

The writer is one of the first-born of the sons of the *State* of Tennessee. If this seniority brings with it none of the rights of primogeniture, it certainly has imposed the duty of filial veneration and regard for the land of his nativity. With this devotion to his State, and to its worthy pioneers, has always been united the deep regret, that their early history has been so little known, and is now almost forgotten. Oppressed by this feeling, and impelled by the desire to revive and preserve the knowledge of past events in Tennessee, he determined, many years since, to collect such incidents of her history as were within his reach. At first, his object was merely to occupy, in these researches, the leisure hours which could be spared from professional engagements; but he soon discovered, that by extending his labours, he might add to his own pleasure, the high gratification of contributing something, however humble, to the historical literature of the day, and thus do a service, at least, to the people of his own State.

For the collection of the materials of such a work, he has had some peculiar facilities. His boyhood and his youth were spent with the pioneer and the emigrant. Later in life, he has not been without some share of intercourse, with the public men and principal actors in the early settlement of the country. His opportunity of conferring with many of them, has not been infrequent, and has been sedulously improved. He became, whilst yet a young man, the possessor of the journal and papers of his deceased father, the late Col. F. A. Ramsey—a pioneer of the country, whose life was identified with its interests, at every period of its growth, up to the time of his death, in 1820. He has, since, become the depositary of the papers of Sevier, of Shelby,

the Blounts, and other public men. His position as Corresponding Secretary of the East Tennessee Historical and Antiquarian Society, has given him the advantage of its collections and correspondence. In addition to these sources of valuable information, he has availed himself of others. The records of all the old Franklin Counties have been patiently examined by him. He has also visited the Capitals of Georgia, North-Carolina, and Virginia, and, by the courtesy of Governor Towns, Governor Reed, and Governor Floyd, of these States, has been allowed free access to the Public Archives at Milledgeville, Raleigh, and Richmond, from which has been procured, all that they contain on the subjects of his research. The Archives of Tennessee, preserved in the office of the Secretary of State at Nashville, he has also examined. Private and public libraries, the offices at Washington, and the periodical journals of the day—all sources, within the writer's reach, likely to contribute to his purpose, and add to the perfection of his work, have been carefully examined and culled from.

Haywood's History of Tennessee is the authority for many events detailed herein. In several instances, corrections and additions, important and valuable, have been made.

In the narratives—verbal and written—of the old soldiers and pioneers, and in the matter furnished by authors, correspondents, and public documents, the language of the original narrator is often retained, though his statements are very much abridged and condensed. The usual marks of quotation have not, therefore, been always given.

On some of the subjects of the volume, the writer may be charged with unnecessary prolixity. He has not felt at liberty to withhold the minutiæ of some of the topics, now published for the first time. The perishable condition in which they are found, in old and nearly illegible manuscripts, exposes them to an early destruction.

The biography of General Robertson and General Joseph Martin would have been more minutely given, but that their private files had been placed in the hands of L. C. Draper, Esq., of Wisconsin. This is the less to be regretted, as that competent writer has promised, in addition to the lives of these Tennessee pioneers, those of many Western adventurers, which cannot fail to make a valuable contribution to

the biographical literature of the West. He has been indefatigable in the procurement of material for such a work. Its publication may be expected within the next year.

The space devoted in this volume, to that section of Tennessee east of Cumberland Mountain, will not be considered disproportionate, when it is recollected, that it had a priority of ten years in its settlement; that in it were conducted the more important negotiations and treaties with the Indians; and that the scenes of the Revolution—as participated in by the Western soldiery—the Franklin Revolt and Administration; the Organization of the Territorial Government, and that of the State of Tennessee, all occurred within its limits.

Thus much as to the plan and materials of the work, and the sources from which they have been drawn. As to the *manner* of it, the writer only further adds, that, earlier in life, it had been his ambition and his design, to have made it, not only more creditable to himself, but, which he desired much more, worthier of Tennessee and her patriotic and chivalrous sons. In the vain hope, and under the fond illusion, that some future day would allow him the necessary leisure to do so, he has postponed the preparation of these sheets several years. The pressure of other engagements—some of them in the service of Tennessee—some, more private, but not less imperative—has dispelled the youthful illusion, that, after his half century was passed, life would be without care or active employment, and has brought with it the conviction, that, if his work shall be published at all, it must be done in its present shape—written always *currente calamo*—at intervals of time, snatched from the continued succession of professional and public duties, and with little opportunity to revise or perfect it. In that condition, and under these circumstances, the volume now goes to press. Scarcely has a single page been re-written.

Many of the Sevier papers, and all those of Governor Willie Blount, being in the writer's possession, should the public voice seem to demand a continuation of these Annals, to a more recent period, the materials being on hand, or within reach, a second volume will be prepared. The administration of Governor Blount, covering the period of the Creek War, and that of 1812, with England, is an exceedingly interest-

ing period in the Annals of the Volunteer State. Since that time, the history of Tennessee has continued to be equally important, and is now national and fully identified with the history of the United States.

The writer cannot omit this opportunity of returning his thanks to such of his correspondents, in Tennessee and elsewhere, as have not been specifically mentioned in the volume, for their assistance in collecting and furnishing material for the work.

The Hon. Mitchell King, during the publication of the volume, has politely opened to the writer's use his large library and extensive collection of maps. Professor Dickson, of the Medical College of South-Carolina, and an honourary member of the East Tennessee Historical and Antiquarian Society, has, heretofore, presented to its collections several valuable works on the history of his State, and her early wars with the Indians of the interior. Both of these gentlemen have, from the first conception of this undertaking, given to the writer, under many and great discouragements, their friendly advice and countenance. To each of them, and to the members and officers of the Charleston Library, to whose privileges he was politely introduced, the writer begs here to make his acknowledgments.

The size of this volume has excluded much that had been intended for the Appendix.

Conscious, as he is, of the imperfections of his performance, the writer persuades himself, that he has rendered some acceptable service to Tennessee, in his attempt, thus, to perpetuate her Annals, and illustrate the actions of her people. Consoled with this reflection, he confides it to his countrymen.

——————"Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum."

J. G. M. RAMSEY.

Mecklenburg,
Near Knoxville, Tenn., Nov. 16, 1852.

INTRODUCTION.*

When Columbus, in the name of their Catholic majesties, took formal possession of San Salvador, the natives of that island stood around and gazed upon the strange ceremony in silent admiration. A feeling, somewhat dissimilar, but scarcely less intense, would be excited in the bosom of an aboriginal inhabitant of Tennessee, could he now revisit this theatre of his nation's existence. Could he stand upon an eminence, near the ancient capital of the state, and survey the scenes now presented to his view, he would notice with surprise the magic changes effected in this land of his fathers. The solitude of his native forest has given place to the industry and enterprise of a strange people; its silence is dissipated by the hum of business, and its quiet disturbed by the incessant toil and the active pursuits of civilized life. The ancient woods have been felled, and the wilderness converted to the purposes of agriculture. A town has risen up, as if by enchantment, presenting to his astonished view the evidences which surround him, of wealth, of commerce, of learning and the arts. Associating the awakened recollections of his boyhood with the transmutation before him, he would withdraw from the unwelcome contrast, and, chagrined and sorrowful, seek elsewhere some solace to his wounded spirit. Repairing to the place where once stood the wigwam of his father, he finds erected over it the stately mansion of the white man. He recollects to have seen his chieftain recording his victories upon a tree, or perpetuating the annals of his tribe in rude hieroglyphics upon the mountain granite. These vestiges,

* Much of this Introduction is taken from the "Address" delivered by this writer at the organization of the "East Tennessee Historical and Antiquarian Society."

too, have disappeared. The war-paths of his ancestors have been converted into the channels of a gainful commerce; in the place of their extinguished council fires, are seen the courts of justice; and amidst the ruins of their Pagan temples, churches, consecrated to the worship of the true God, elevate their spires in the direction of the Christian's hope—to heaven.

This sudden transition from barbarism and rudeness to civilization and refinement, it is the business of history to examine, investigate and record. Labouring in this extended field, the curious student will be carried back to that period when the "great West" was

> "A solitude of vast extent, untouched
> By hand of art; where nature sow'd herself,
> And reap'd her crops;"

when, as yet, no Anglo-American had penetrated the dark recesses of the Alleghany, or explored the unknown wilds now embraced within the limits of Tennessee. He will be led to analyze the first promptings of that spirit of adventure which incited the pioneers of the country to leave their homes of peace, safety and comfort, to endure the toils and privations of a mountain desert, to brave the dangers of an unknown wilderness, and to disregard the perils attending the formation of a remote and feeble settlement upon the borders of numerous and warlike tribes, jealous of their approach, and determined to resist it. Extending his researches, he will find that no section of the United States has furnished more of interesting and attractive incident, than is presented from a review of the first exploration and settlement of Tennessee. The tales of romance are scarcely equal to the patient perseverance, enterprise and hardihood, the daring heroism and chivalrous adventure, of its inhabitants. Savage barbarity drenched the frontier with the blood of the first emigrants, and the hardy soldier, alike with the helpless female and the child, became victims to the scalping knife and the tomahawk of the Indian. The industrious husbandman derived no immunity from the common danger, in his peaceful pursuits, but found a grave where he hoped to gather a harvest: and the secluded and quiet cabin, lighted by

savage incendiaries, became the funeral pile of its occupants. Every valley became the avenue of Indian aggression, and every mountain a lurking place for the merciless Cherokee. Nothing intimidated by these circumstances, the constant attendants of the pioneers of the wilderness, they became, in their turn, the invaders; and on the rugged banks of the Kenhawa, in the wilds of Cumberland and on the plains of Coosa, we hear of their daring adventure, their prowess and their triumph.

But the proudest recollections are awakened, when we recur to the part taken by the infant settlements on Holston, Watauga, and Nollichuckee, in that "perilous conflict that tried men's souls," and at its darkest period, when the confidence of the firmest friends of independence was shaken, when British valour and the treachery of the disaffected in the South had given an ascendency to the royal army, and threatened an easy conquest of other sections of the Confederacy. South-Carolina was scarcely longer considered an American state, but a subdued British colony;—her lion-hearted and invincible whigs, indignant but not dispirited, retiring before the invading enemy, had sought an asylum in the frontier of the West. It was at this crisis the pioneers of Tennessee—though by their remote and insulated position secure from foreign invasion, and exposed at home to the cruelties of a savage foe—evinced their devotion to the cause of their country and of freedom. At this crisis, western patriotism projected the most daring expedition, and western valour achieved the brightest victory, which adorn the page of our revolutionary history. Free as the air of their mountains, and indignant that the land of freemen should be polluted by the footsteps of an invader, the patriots of the West flew, uninvited, to the rescue of their bleeding country—ascending the Alleghany, and precipitating themselves from its summit, they overwhelmed the enemy with discomfiture and death.

The early civil and political history of Tennessee presents, also, a fruitful and interesting subject of investigation. A feeble and remote settlement of hunters, herdsmen and small farmers—dissociated from Virginia and North-Carolina by the intervention of a desert mountain, not embraced within

the ascertained boundaries, and beyond the reach of the jurisdiction of either province, without its laws, its courts and its protection—this primitive, simple and virtuous community, formed a civil and military organization adapted to their peculiar condition, and, under the unpretending name of the Watauga Association, laid the foundation of the future Tennessee. Assuming for themselves the name of Washington District—the first thus entitled to the credit of doing this honour to the father of his country—at the dawn of American independence these pioneers of the West applied to the Council of North-Carolina to be annexed to that province. They give as reasons, in support of their application, that "they had already organized their militia, and were willing to become a party in the existing war, acknowledging themselves indebted to the American colonies their full proportion of the Continental expense, and pledging their determination to adhere "to the glorious cause in which we are now struggling, and to contribute to the welfare of our own or of ages yet to come." This pledge was most nobly redeemed,—the revolution was effected, and independence achieved.

Become thus a colonial appendage of North-Carolina, consisting of intrepid adventurers from every section of the country, and bound together by no principles of union but a sense of common danger, they were ceded by the mother state, soon after, to the Congress of the Confederacy, and thus reduced to a condition of political orphanage. Struggling with the difficulties attendant on such a state, its onward march may be traced, with much interest and curiosity, through the period of its existence as the State of Franklin. This incipient effort of the western people to exercise the "divine right" of self-government—this first combination of the discordant materials, of which the trans-montane community then consisted—their crude and immature legislation, the disorder and tumult which resulted, their return to their former allegiance, and the overthrow of the new commonwealth,—are all fruitful themes of research and enquiry. From the investigation of these, the philosophic historian will be furnished with irrefragable proofs of the adequacy of the

people, under the most unfavourable circumstances, to govern themselves, and will be enabled to trace the important bearing these unhappy commotions had upon great national interests, till then not perceived in their true light.

Peace, order and law, succeeding to tumult, and chaos, and violence, the character of the partizan became merged in that of the citizen and patriot; and throughout the subsequent stages of political organization, whether as a territory of the United States, or as one of the independent sovereignties constituting the American Union, we are proud to find the impress of the valour, virtue and patriotism of the first emigrants, stamped upon their descendants, who, obeying the injunction,

> "Let no mean hope your souls enslave;
> Be independent, generous, brave;
> Your fathers such example gave,
> And such revere!"

have, in all after times, emulated the heroism exhibited by their ancestors in their own wilderness and on the heights of King's Mountain; and animated by the same lofty spirit of freedom and independence, and glowing with the holiest impulses of patriotism, have displayed at Tohopeka and Emuckfaw, in the fastnesses of Florida, on the plains of the Mississippi, at the Alamo and St. Jacinto, under the walls of Monterey, at Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Cherubusco and Chapultepec, the same fearless disregard of danger, the same inextinguishable love of freedom, the same pure devotion to liberty, the same undying thirst for glory.

The soldiery of Tennessee have, under the lead of her own Jackson, hallowed the plains of Chalmette with a renown as extensive and immortal as the channel and the sources of the Mississippi. The lustre of the escutcheon of Tennessee has grown brighter wherever they were present, whether serving in the ranks, or leading the battalions and columns of the Volunteer State to the assault of a fortress or against the bristling bayonets of an enemy. On the fields of battle where the riflemen of Tennessee have fought, new laurels have been won, fresh victories have been achieved, and un-

dying glory acquired, worthy of her ancient fame and her deathless renown.

Virginia has been called the mother of statesmen. Tennessee, with equal truth, has been called the mother of states. From her prolific bosom, more than from any other state in the Union, have been sent forth annually, for half a century, numerous colonies for the peopling of the great valley of the Mississippi. Her emigrants are found everywhere in Alabama, Florida, Northern Georgia and Mississippi. The early population of Missouri, Arkansas and Texas, went from her boundaries; while the entire Northwest of the United States, and the Pacific possessions, have been enriched from year to year by swarms of her enterprising and adventurous people from the parent hive.

Tennessee has already assumed an elevated rank among her sister republics. Her future must be prouder and even magnificent. From the amount of her population, now numbering more than a million,* from the extent of her territory,

* *Tennessee Statistics of* 1850, *in population, agriculture, manufactures, &c.*

The relative rank of Tennessee, as compared with other states of the Union, is:

In area of square miles, Tennessee is the seventeenth, containing 45,600 square miles.

In population, the fifth, and the second of the Western States—being exceeded only by New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio.

In number of inhabitants to the square mile, the sixteenth.

In ratio of deaths to the number of living in 1850, the fifth—being exceeded even in a cholera year only by Wisconsin, Vermont, Iowa and Michigan.

In number of acres of improved land, the eighth.

In value of agriculture, implements, &c., the eleventh.

In value of live stock, the seventh.

In number of bushels of Indian corn, the fifth—being exceeded only by Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois and Indiana—the product of Tennessee, in 1850, being 52,137,863 bushels. In the census of 1840, Tennessee was the first in the product of this grain.

In tobacco, the fourth—being exceeded only by Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland—the crop of 1850 being 20,144,480 pounds.

In number of bales of cotton, the fifth—the amount of the year's crop being 172,625 bales; being exceeded only by Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and South-Carolina.

In the production of wool, the eleventh.

In the value of home made manufactures, the first state in the Union, amounting, in 1850, to $3,168,116.

and from her peculiar geographical location, touching upon eight members of the Union, and in close propinquity to three others, she will in all future time exert a weighty influence upon coterminous states, as well as upon the country at large. She has already furnished two Presidents of the U. States—Jackson and Polk—whose iron will and energy, whose ability and virtue, have stamped their administrations as worthy of the state, honourable and glorious to themselves, and eminently useful to the country and to the world. White and Grundy have added dignity and effulgence to the United States Senate; and a long list of statesmen, and jurists, and patriots, and heroes, have adorned the public councils, the bar, the bench, and in peace and war given eclat and celebrity to Tennessee. This relative consequence will become still more considerable when a concentration of the intelligence, and public spirit, and enterprise of her citizens, shall have more fully developed her physical and commercial resources. Her history is becoming, therefore, every day more interesting and more important. What visions of the future greatness and glory of their country, would have burst upon the view of Boone and his associates, could they have conceived, that their lonely and toilsome passage through the Apalachian mountain should open up a communication to the West, for that flood of emigration, which, restrained for a time within narrower limits, at length broke over every impediment, and extending further, and wider, and onward, has overspread the vast valley of the Mississippi, and crossed, in its mighty sweep of adventurous enterprise, the mountain desert and the arid plain, to the shores of the distant Pacific? How must the heart of Robertson have thrilled with honest exultation, when he saw his feeble settlement on Watauga expand and grow to its present dimensions; and what rays of comfort would have cheered the evening of his life, could he have realized that Tennessee, in eighteen hundred and fifty,

In the value of cotton manufactures, the eleventh.
In the value of woollen goods, the tenth.
In the value of pig iron, the fourth.
In the value of wrought iron, the sixth.

[*Extracted from Nashville American.*]

had become in population the fifth state in the Union, and the second of its western division? With what zeal should we of the present day cherish a grateful and hallowed remembrance of the wisdom, patriotism and enterprise, which have bequeathed to us such a country, and endowed it with the "patrimonial blessings of wise institutions, of liberty and of religion?" How keen should be our regret that we know so little of those who have done so much for us? With one brilliant exception, no one has attempted to perpetuate the achievements of the pioneers of Tennessee. An adopted son is the only one who has recorded her annals. In his history the late Judge Haywood has left a monument of industry, of research and of talents, scarcely less imperishable or honourable to himself, than the distinction acquired in another department of science—of being designated, by a competent authority, the Mansfield of America. But it is no qualification of this just and sincere tribute to his memory to add, that he has left much of the field before us unoccupied, unexplored and unknown. Some of the most brilliant incidents in our early history are unrecorded, which, if not soon rescued from oblivion, will be lost to the present generation, posterity and the world. We design, by this remark, no imputation of indifference or neglect on the part of those who have gone before us. The omission may be traced to a more obvious cause. The condition of the country at its first settlement, created a continued demand for exertion in the active pursuits of life. Cut off by their local situation from all foreign sources of supply, the first adventurers depended upon their own labour in their own country, for the procurement of subsistence. A wilderness was to be reclaimed to the use of the husbandman, a border warfare was to be kept up, defences were to be erected, and the foundations of government were to be laid. From the pressure of these varied demands upon their time, no leisure was allowed to record their achievements, to perpetuate the tales of their privations and sufferings, to narrate the deliberations of their sages, or the prowess of their heroes. This duty has devolved upon their grateful posterity. The task, however, is not without its difficulties. Much is already forgotten, and has faded from the

minds of the oldest inhabitant; much is indistinctly remembered, or handed down by vague and uncertain tradition. But difficult as it is, the duty has been attempted. To have shrunk from its performance, were a parricidal ingratitude. Its omission would have been criminal.

In the investigations which have been made of the history of Tennessee, and the result of which is given in these pages, the usual assistance has not been derived from the archives of state and the portfolios of ministers. Sources more humble, but not less authentic, have supplied this defect. The writer has procured the narratives of the older citizens, who have, "ab urbe condita," resided in the country and participated in its settlement and defence, and each of whom may truthfully say of the events he narrates, "quorum magna pars *fui*." He has examined the papers of their deceased contemporaries, which have survived the ravages of time and accident. He has, with untiring perseverance, searched for and obtained "the private files of the leaders of the day." In the loft of a humble cabin, in a secluded neighbourhood, he was so fortunate as to find many of the official papers of the State of Franklin; in another, the lost constitution of the inchoate or proposed State of Frankland. In the garret of an old uninhabited mansion, in Knoxville, was found an antique trunk, containing the Sevier papers. From like sources, much of the matter in this volume has been procured. But these manuscripts, valuable and interesting as they are, furnished an inadequate supply of material necessary to form the Annals of Tennessee. The deficit has been made up by oral communications to this writer from the aged pioneer, whom he has visited in health and watched over in sickness, and from whose dying couch he has received, as a rich legacy, an account of the services of his youth and the exploits of his manhood. He has seen the eye of the aged narrator sparkle with unwonted brilliancy during the recital, the heart of the infirm pulsate with unnatural vigour, and the spirit of the decrepid warrior animated with the fire of youthful heroism.

Narratives, thus obtained, are the authority for many of the incidents which will be hereafter detailed. Their fre-

quency and minuteness will, to some readers, be tedious and uninteresting. When known to be authentic, the writer conceives them to be worthy of preservation in the annals of his countrymen.

Intimately blended with the general history of Tennessee, is the biography of the prominent actors in the interesting scenes it records. We are proud to mention, among the patriot sages of the country, the names of Carter, Cocke, Campbell, the Blounts, Jackson, White, Claiborne, Roane, Scott, McNairy and Trimble ; among the apostles of religion and learning, Doak, Barton, Houston, Craighead, Carrick, Brooks and Stone. Our state pride is justly excited when, among American worthies, we enumerate Boone, Christian, the Seviers, the Robertsons, the Shelbys, the Tiptons—names dear to the country and known to fame. Yet, where will be found a detailed account of their services, their exploits, or their sufferings? Where will be read the affecting story of the patriotic and brave Tipton, who, when peace was restored to his own frontier, gallantly led his soldiers to the standard of his country under St. Clair, and fell fighting in the unequal conflict, refusing to leave the field while an enemy survived him? Who has heard the last injunction to his family, given apparently under the presentiment of certain death? Who has read the biography of Shelby, whose youthful patriotism first glowed under the genial influence of a Carolina sky, but retained its ardour undiminished by the cold and chilling temperature of a Canadian winter? And who has been the biographer of our own Sevier, that noble chieftain that led the pioneers of Tennessee to battle and to victory? Who has recited his civic deeds? or who, when a grateful Tennessean, wandering over the plains of Alabama, enquires in his lonely exile for the grave of the first general and the first governor in the West, can point to the place of his entombment? On what field of victory has Tennessee gratitude erected his cenotaph?

"How died that hero? In the field, with banners o'er him thrown?
With trumpets in his falling ear by charging squadrons blown?
With scattered foemen flying fast and fearfully before him?
With shouts of triumph swelling round, and brave men bending o'er him?
He died not thus; no war note round him rang;

No warriors underneath his eyes in harness'd squadrons sprang;
Alone he perished in the land he sav'd,
And where in war the victor stood, in peace he found a grave.
Ah, let the tear flow freely now, it will not awake the sleeper,
And higher as ye pile his tomb, his slumber shall be deeper.
Freemen may sound the solemn dirge—the funeral chant be spoken;
The quiet of the dead is not by idle mockeries broken!
Yet, let Tennessee's banner droop above the fallen chief,
And let the mountaineer's dark eye be dim with earnest grief;
For who will stand as he has stood, with willing heart and hand,
To wrestle well with freedom's foes,—defender of his land!"

To remedy and supply, in some small degree, the defects and omissions thus alluded to, is the object and design of the succeeding pages. In the execution of this purpose, the writer proposes to give—

1st. The discovery and exploration of the country now known as the State of Tennessee, the first approaches of civilization to it, and some account of the contiguous Indian tribes.

2d. Its settlement and government under the Watauga Association.

3d. As a part of North-Carolina, embracing the participation of the pioneers of Tennessee in the war of the American Revolution.

4th. The history of the revolt of the three western counties, and of the insurrectionary State of Franklin.

5th. The history of the Cumberland settlements, and of the Franklin counties, after they returned to their allegiance to the mother state.

6th. The subject of the relations with Spain, and the negotiation with that Power, relating to boundaries and the navigation of the Mississippi river.

7th. The territory of the United States south of the River Ohio.

8th. The State of Tennessee to the end of the last century.

ANNALS OF TENNESSEE.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF TENNESSEE.

As has been already remarked, Tennessee is, in population, the fifth state in the Union. Her geographical position is peculiar, and before the annexation of Texas, and the acquisition of New Mexico and California, entitled her to the name of the *Central State.* She is one of the rapidly increasing family of daughters which have sprung from the *good old thirteen;* and though not a separate and distinct political organization at the eventful period of separation from the crown of Great Britain, it is a proud reflection that Tennessee is closely connected and directly identified with the cause of freedom and independence, and with the American Revolution, by a mournful but glorious *consanguinity.*

The adventures and perils of Tennessee pioneers, their hearty sacrifices for the general good, their character for conduct and courage in war, their uniform devotion to the honour and greatness of the country, their rapid advancements in the arts of peace, in population and political influence, and the impress of their wisdom, valour and patriotism which they have stamped upon their descendants, invite to the early history of their state the attention of every American, and secures the deepest regard of every Tennessean.

To examine these various topics satisfactorily, it will be necessary to look a little into the original condition of the country, its first discovery and exploration, its aboriginal inhabitants, and the approaches of civilized man to it; since,

without this examination, feeble and inadequate indeed will be our conceptions of the adventure displayed, the hardships suffered, the dangers encountered, the services rendered, the conquests achieved, the glory won, by those who have effected the transmutation from rudeness to refinement, from barbarism to civilization, and from heathenism to christianity.

Postponing to another place any remarks upon the boundaries, the physical history, and the aboriginal population of Tennessee, it is proposed here to trace the approaches of civilization to its several boundaries in the exact order of their occurrence; in doing which, its first discovery, exploration and settlement, will be the more clearly delineated and the more easily understood.

Of the country included within the limits of the present State of Tennessee, little was known for more than two hundred and thirty years after the discovery of America. Until that time, with perhaps a single exception, the foot of no European adventurer had touched her soil. The vast interior of North America was a terra incognita, till long after the skill, and science, and cupidity, and arms of Spain, had crossed the continent further south, and reached the shores of the Pacific ocean.

After the conquest of Mexico, achieved by Cortes with a handful of soldiers, vastly disproportioned to the population and resources of that immense empire, and after the capture and execution of the Inca and the subjugation of Peru by Pizarro, with a force still smaller, the fame of their victories, the rapidity and ease with which they had been obtained, their sudden acquirement of incalculable treasure, and the imperishable renown of these skilful and indomitable leaders, excited afresh the spirit of exploration, adventure and acquisition.

While Spanish discoveries and Spanish conquests had reached across the American continent, and extended along the Pacific coast from Chili to California, little was known of that immense country north of the Gulf of Mexico. As early as 1497, the coast of our parent state, North-Carolina, had been seen by Gaboto,* a Venetian adventurer, who,

* Anglice—Cabot.

under the auspices of Henry VII. of England, and the patronage of Bristol merchants, undertook to prosecute further discoveries in the New World. He returned, however, without attempting the conquest of the natives or the formation of a settlement. In 1512, Juan Ponce De Leon visited the continent, in north latitude 30°, 8′, and discovered a country of vast and unknown extent, to which, from the abundance of flowers, and from its being first seen on Palm Sunday, (Pascha Florida,) he gave the name of Florida.* Being afterwards invested by the King of Spain with the government of the country he had discovered, he attempted the erection of a town and fortress, but was assailed with such vigour by the natives, as to compel him to abandon the country. The Indians used poisoned arrows. De Leon died from the wounds received in the encounter, and lost most of his men. Similar disasters seem to have overtaken the adventurous leaders who, after De Leon, attempted the subjugation of Florida.†

In 1524, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon effected a landing further east, upon the coast of what is now Georgia or South-Carolina. Two hundred of his soldiers penetrated a few leagues in the interior, while he remained with the rest of his force to guard his ships. The Indians attacked unexpectedly the detachment he had sent out, and massacred the whole ; then falling suddenly upon the guard near the ships, succeeded in driving them from the coast. The few survivors returned to San Domingo.

In 1528, Pamphilo de Narvaez sailed from Cuba, having on board four hundred foot and twenty horse, for the conquest " of all the lands lying from the River of Palms to the Cape of Florida," for which he had obtained a grant from Charles V. He anchored on the eastern coast, landed his troops, and took possession of the country without opposition. But, marching into the interior, he at length reached Apalachee, where he encamped several days. The village had offered no resistance to the Spaniards, but this inoffen-

* From this discovery by De Leon, Spain claimed Florida, as England did from that made, in 1497, by Cabot.

† For a long time, all the country south of Newfoundland was called Florida.

sive spirit did not continue long. The natives were warlike and intrepid, harassed the camp of Narvaez by day and night, and compelled him to leave it. His march was beset by hordes of savages "of gigantic height; they had bows of enormous size, from which they discharged arrows with such force as to penetrate armour at the distance of two hundred yards."* After the loss of many of his soldiers and horses, and the endurance of incredible hardships, "the hopes of wealth and conquest were at an end," and, coming to an arm of the sea, Narvaez, despairing of reaching his ships by land, determined to construct small barques, and save the remnant of his little army from the ruin that menaced it. His frail barques were shipwrecked, and nearly all of his followers, with himself, found a watery grave. Five only survived the disasters by land and sea.

We have thus seen the unfortunate termination of several well arranged enterprises, undertaken by able and experienced leaders, and promising, under Castilian courage and discipline, a certain, if not an easy conquest, of the original inhabitants of the country. The spirit of the native American population seems no where to have been so energetically and so successfully exerted against the invaders of their country. A very different result had followed the standard of the conqueror of Mexico. He, under circumstances scarcely more favourable, had met and discomfited numerous armies of native warriors, fighting for their homes, their monarch and their religion, at Tobasco and Tlascala, and, with a courage bordering upon temerity, had pushed his conquest to the palace of Montezuma. Had the countries south of Tennessee been inhabited by the spiritless and imbecile natives of Mexico, which it was the good fortune of Cortes to meet and conquer, it is not difficult to conceive that some intrepid Castilian would have anticipated the laurels won by Anglo-American prowess on the hardly contested battle-grounds of Tamotlee, Etowah, Nickajack, Emuckfaw and Tohopeka, and erected the standard of the Cross upon the demolished council houses and ruined temples of the ancestors of Oceola, To-mo-chi-chi and Oconostota. Different,

* Irving.

indeed, was the character of the aborigines north of the Gulf of Mexico, at the period of which we are treating. A manly firmness of purpose, a wise union in counsel, and a determined bravery in action, enabled them to repel every hostile invasion of their country, and to maintain nearly undisturbed possession of it for two centuries after the dismemberment of the Mexican confederacy, and after the Children of the Sun had been driven into exile or reduced to an ignoble vassalage. The latter are humbled and nearly extinct, while the former retain even yet something of their original character; though restrained, they are not subjugated—though curbed, their spirit is yet independent and free.

Baffled and defeated as were the Spaniards, in the several attempts of invasion and conquest which have been thus slightly sketched, they projected further enterprises, upon a still larger theatre, under more imposing and magnificent appointments, and, if possible, under more distinguished and chivalrous leaders. The passion of the age was war and conquest; the vice of the times was wealth and the precious metals. In all these lay the path to preferment and distinction, and the cavaliers of Spain thrust themselves once more into it. Allured by the hope of finding gold and silver in the interior country, or incited by the thirst for glory, which had crowned their successes elsewhere—perhaps chagrined at the failure which had marked all previous efforts to achieve the conquest of Florida—they determined to invade the continent with such a force as would ensure its accomplishment. Ferdinand De Soto projected the expedition, and received from the Emperor Charles V. permis-
1539 { sion to undertake the conquest. He was invested with ample power, civil and military; and from the official relation he bore to the Island of Cuba, was enabled to command all the means necessary for the meditated invasion. A companion in arms of Pizarro, he had assisted that renowned leader in the conquest of Peru, and commanded in person the squadron of horse that captured the unfortunate Inca, Atahualpa, and put his army to flight. Having thus added to his fame for courage and adroitness as a soldier, the weight of experience and success as a commander; having

received the most signal marks of his monarch's confidence and favour; and having, in addition to the control of the resources of Cuba, the avails of his Peruvian conquests, Ferdinand De Soto, in less than a year from the date of his first proclamation, found himself at the head of nine hundred and fifty Spaniards, anxious to serve under him in his adventurous expedition. The chivalry, rank and wealth of Spain entered into his army. "Never had a more gallant and brilliant body of men offered themselves for the New World."*

In addition to the forces brought from Spain, the armament of De Soto, by recruits and volunteers in Cuba, was increased to a thousand men, besides the marines. There were also three hundred and fifty horses.

The account here given of the outfit and composition of the army of De Soto, and the details which follow of his marches, his disasters, and the melancholy fate of himself and his men, will not be considered foreign to the purpose of these annals, when it is remembered that the country they invaded, and through which they marched, has since been invaded successfully by Tennessee enterprise, and won by Tennessee valour, and hallowed by Tennessee blood; and that the Indian tribes, who attacked them soon after they landed at Tampa Bay, who harassed them on their march, obstructed their passage, broke in upon their bivouac, annoyed their camp, resisted them in battle, and finally forced them to leave their country uncolonized and unsubdued, have long since yielded to the prowess and arms of American pioneers. The minutiæ of the track pursued by the invaders will be excused for the further reason, that it has been conjectured, with much plausibility, that De Soto was the first European or civilized adventurer whose foot touched the soil, whose eye surveyed the vast wilderness, whose heart expanded with the contemplation of the magnificent scenery, and whose senses were regaled by the influences of the delightful climate of Tennessee. It may be added, in sorrow, that though not the first to see and cross her great mediter-

* Irving.

ranean boundary—the Mississippi—he was the first to find an inhospitable grave beneath its turbid waters.

Sailing from Havana on the 12th of May, 1539, the squadron, containing the army of De Soto, arrived in fifteen days at Espiritu Santo Bay, about half way down the western side of the peninsula of Florida. A detachment of three hundred men were landed, and, finding no Indians, they remained on shore all night in a state of careless security. Towards morning they were vigorously attacked by a great number of savages, and forced to retreat to the edge of the sea in confusion. A reinforcement was soon landed, and put the natives to flight after a slight resistance.

1539

From his encampment near Espiritu Santo Bay, De Soto marched two leagues to a village, which was found deserted by the inhabitants. By the aid of some straggling Indians whom he had captured, he endeavoured to appease the cacique of the village, Hirrihigua, and invited him from his retreat to a friendly interview. To this message, brought by his subjects, he replied, "I want none of their speeches nor promises; bring me their heads, and I will receive them joyfully."*

A neighbouring cacique, Mucozo, was more placable. At the invitation of the envoys sent to him by De Soto, he visited his camp, accompanied by his warriors. "He kissed the hands of the governor with great veneration, saluted each one of his officers, and made a slight obeisance to the privates."†

As far as Mucozo, their march had been impeded by morasses, which disappeared, however, as they advanced into the interior. It occupied them four days to go from Mucozo to Urribarracaxi (seventeen leagues). Here they were informed, in answer to inquiries about gold and silver, that there was a country to the westward, called Ocali, where the spring was perpetual and gold abundant.

De Soto had received intelligence, that at the village of Urribarracaxi, a cacique of great influence, to whom Hirri-

*Irving. †Idem.

higua and Mucozo paid tribute, he would find provisions for his army. He took up the line of march always to the north-east, and on the morning of the third day came to the village of Mucozo (thirteen leagues). After marching seventeen leagues further to Urribarracaxi, and passing beyond it, they encountered, at three leagues distance from the village, "a great morass, a league in width, two-thirds mire and one-third water, and very deep at the borders."* After several days' search, a pass was found, by which the army crossed it with ease.

Their route soon became obstructed with impassable swamps and bogs, made by the streams of the morass they had just passed. It was, therefore, recrossed by De Soto and his army. In their march from this place they encountered, again, the greatest difficulties from deep swamps and numerous bogs that everywhere intersected the country. In addition to these, they were often annoyed by the Indians, who hung upon their rear and shouted, in words of threat and defiance: "Keep on, robbers and traitors; in Acuera and Apalachee, we will treat you as you deserve. Every captive will we quarter and hang upon the highest trees along the road!"†

At the end of sixty miles from Urribarracaxi, they encamped in "a beautiful valley, where were large fields of Indian corn, of such luxuriant growth as to bear three and four ears upon a stalk." This fertile province was ruled by a cacique named Acuera. De Soto invited him to a friendly conference. The haughty chief replied: "others of your accursed race have in years past poisoned our peaceful shores. They have taught me what you are. What is your employment? To wander about like vagabonds from land to land; to rob the poor—to betray the confiding—to murder in cold blood the defenceless. No! with such a people I want no peace, no friendship. War—never-ending, exterminating war—is all the boon I ask. You boast yourselves valiant, and so you may be, but my faithful warriors are not less brave; and this, too, you shall one day prove, for I have sworn to maintain an unsparing conflict while one white

* Irving. † Idem, pp. 104 and 105.

man remains in my borders. Not openly in the battle field, though even thus we fear not to meet you; but by stratagem, and ambush, and midnight surprisal." *

In reply to the demand that he should yield obedience to the emperor, he said: "I am king in my own land, and will never become the vassal of a mortal like myself. Vile and pusillanimous is he who will submit to the yoke of another, when he may be free! As for me and my people, we choose death, yes, a hundred deaths, before the loss of our liberty and the subjugation of our country!"

As the event proved, these were no idle threats or unmeaning bravadoes of Acuera and his warriors. Stratagem, and ambush, and midnight surprisal, cut off many a brave Spaniard; and while a white man remained in this province, the natives, with most unyielding spirit, continued to oppose and annoy the invaders.

Unable to appease Acuera by pacific overtures or gentle treatment, De Soto broke up his encampment after a few days' rest, and passed over a desert tract twelve leagues broad, in a north-eastern direction, and then traversing an inhabited country, seven leagues more, arrived at the principal village of the province, called Ocali. It contained six hundred houses and vast quantities of provisions. "Hard by the village ran a wide and deep river, with most precipitous banks."† Crossing this stream by a temporary bridge, the army of De Soto continued its march three days to the frontiers of Vitachuco—"a province of great extent, being fifty leagues across." It was governed by three brothers. Two of these, after a protracted negotiation, entered into terms of peace with De Soto, and agreed to use their influence with Vitachuco, the other cacique, to accept the offers of peace from the Spaniards. This chieftain was the most powerful of the three, and disapproved the terms made by the others with De Soto. He detained the envoys charged with the embassy; imputed the pacific conduct of his brothers to cowardice, or to a spirit of inglorious submission; and represented the Spaniards as vagabonds and robbers, and warned them not to enter into his dominions, vowing that "va-

*Irving. †Idem.

liant as they may be, if they dare to put foot upon my soil, they shall never go out of my land alive—the whole race will I exterminate!" With similar messages he continued to threaten De Soto. At length, however, his two brothers visited Vitachuco, and he affected to be "won by their persuasions, and agreed to enter into a friendly intercourse with the strangers." *

After this deceitful alliance, the Spaniards marched to the village of Vitachuco, and were received with great kindness and hospitality. The Indian interpreters, however, in a few days, disclosed to De Soto that a perfidious plot was devised to destroy him and his army. Apprised by this disclosure of the details of the plot, De Soto, at a preconcerted signal, fell unexpectedly upon the cacique and his warriors, made Vitachuco a prisoner, killed several hundred of his followers, and nine hundred more whom he had captured, he distributed as menials to his soldiers. But the fierce spirit of the cacique was yet unsubdued. Though a prisoner, and in the power of his conqueror, he laid another plot to put into effect the menaces he had made against the invaders of his country. In this, too, he was unsuccessful. He fell, thrust through with a dozen swords and lances, and lost in these two engagements and "the subsequent massacres, thirteen hundred of his warriors, the flower of his nation." †

The village of Vitachuco, where these battles were fought, is thus described, and may possibly yet be identified by the physical features of the country around it. "Near the village was a large plain. It had on one side a lofty and dense forest, on the other, two lakes; the one about a league in circumference, clear of trees, but so deep that three or four feet from the bank no footing could be found. The second, which was at greater distance from the village, was more than half a league in width, and appeared like a vast river, extending as far as the eye could reach." ‡ The village is called by the Portuguese narrator, Napatuca. The province was likely very fertile, certainly very populous, as the chosen warriors in the first battle amounted to ten thousand.

De Soto, resuming his march, went four leagues the first

* Irving. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

day, and "encamped on the bank of a large and deep river," a boundary of the province. Crossing the river on a bridge constructed by his army, the march was continued two leagues through a country free from woods; here were found "large fields of maize, beans and pumpkins, with scattered habitations." * At the distance of four leagues further, the Spaniards arrived at Osachili, a village of two hundred houses. Hearing at this place of the fertility and extent of the province of Apalachee, they continued their march, and "were three days traversing an uninhabited desert, twelve leagues in extent, which lay between the two provinces, and about noon of the fourth day arrived at a great morass. It was bordered by forests of huge and lofty trees, with a dense underwood of thorns and brambles. In the centre of the morass was a sheet of water half a league in width, and as far as the eye could reach in extent. "The opposite side of the morass was bordered by the same kind of impervious forest as the other; the distance across it was about a league and a half." † Near this place, ten or eleven years before, the unfortunate Pamphilo de Narvaez had met with his signal defeat; and the Indians, encouraged by their successes over him, made a desperate effort to gain a similar victory over the present invaders; and the result seemed doubtful while the conflict was carried on in the morass. So soon, however, as the horsemen of De Soto gained the open woods, the contest was decided, and the natives were forced to fly. Apalachee, the province to which De Soto had been directing his course, was found to be not only fertile and well supplied with provisions, but, as he had been frequently forewarned, was inhabited by a brave and ferocious population, who, by stratagem and cunning, not less than by open assaults, attempted to repel the invading Spaniards.

The first night after they had crossed the morass, they encamped near a small village in an open plain. The march was resumed next day, and they passed two leagues through fields of corn, and "came to a deep stream bordered by deep forests." Here the Indians had made palisades and barriers, determining that at this place their utmost opposition

* Irving. † Idem.

should be made. But these efforts were insufficient. Several Spaniards were killed, others were wounded, yet they passed the stream with ease, and continued the march two leagues further, without opposition, and encamped. The next day they reached Anchayea, a village of two hundred and fifty large and commodious houses. Capafi was the name of the cacique of Apalachee.

The winter was now approaching, and De Soto determined to remain at Anchayea till the next spring. Fortifying the village, and building additional houses for barracks, and collecting from the adjoining neighbourhoods a supply of provisions, he went into winter quarters. Here he remained five months, during which time he had received such information of the countries in the interior, as to point out his future course in quest of gold and silver, which seems to have been the primary object of himself and his followers.

The march was resumed in the spring of 1540, in a northeast direction. On the third day the army reached Capachique, a village "situated on high ground, on a kind of peninsula, being nearly surrounded by a miry marsh, more than a hundred paces broad."* Two days further march brought them to the boundary between Apalachee and Atapaha, into which latter province they now entered. On the third day, De Soto reached the village of Achese, and meeting with no hostile feelings from the natives, rested there several days. "He then resumed his march northeast, ascending for ten days along the banks of a river, skirted by groves of mulberry trees, and winding through luxuriantly fertile valleys." On the eleventh day he entered the province of Cofa, (alias Ocute,) which was fertile and plentiful, and inhabited by a kind and hospitable people, who entertained De Soto and his army five days. The march was continued "through a pleasant and luxuriant country, fertilized by many rivers," to the confines of Cofaqui. The cacique received the Spaniards with great pomp and kindness, and "imparted to De Soto every information about his own territory, and spoke of a plentiful and populous province to the northwest, called Cosa."† De Soto, however, determined

* Irving. † Idem.

first to visit Cofachiqui, a province separated from Cofaqui by an uninhabited tract of great extent. In passing through this, the army crossed two rivers, "a cross-bow shot broad," which were with difficulty forded. On the seventh day their march was suddenly arrested by "a wide, deep and unfordable river." At length, after travelling along its banks several days, they reached a small village called Aymay, well furnished with provisions and surrounded with corn-fields. Here they rested seven days, and then continued their march along the bank of the river, till the third day they halted "in a verdant region, covered with mulberry and other fruit trees." Two leagues further they reached the village of the princess of Cofachiqui, situated on the opposite bank of the river, and were hospitably received.

From Cofachiqui De Soto started, May 3, 1540, towards the north or northwest, in the direction of Cosa, which was represented to him to be distant twelve days journey. "He passed through the province of Achalaque—the most wretched country, says the Portuguese narrator, in all Florida." * Progressing forward, he reached the province of Choualla, or Xualla, and encamped in its principal village of the same name, where he remained several days. "This village was situated on the skirts of a mountain, with a small but rapid river flowing by it." Unlike Chelaque, this province abounded with maize and other provisions.

At this place De Soto changed his route westward, aiming for the province of Quaxale. "The first day's march was through a country covered with fields of maize of luxuriant growth." † "During the next five days they traversed a chain of easy mountains, covered with oak and mulberry trees, with intervening valleys, rich in pasturage and irrigated by clear and rapid streams. These mountains were twenty leagues across, and quite uninhabited." These waste mountains being passed, the Spaniards entered the province of Guaxule. The cacique received them with great parade and courtesy, and conducted them to his village, which consisted of three hundred houses. "It stood in a pleasant spot, bordered by small streams, that took their rise in the adjacent

* Irving. † Idem.

mountains."* "The several streams that traversed this province, soon mingled their waters and formed a grand and powerful river, along which the army resumed their journey." "On the second day of their march, they entered the small town of Canasauga. Continuing forward for five days through a desert country, on the 25th of June they came in sight of Ichiaha, thirty leagues from Guaxule. This village stood on one end of an island, more than five leagues in length."† They crossed the river in many canoes, and on rafts prepared for the purpose, and were quartered in and around the village, and "their worn-out horses enjoyed rich and abundant pasturage in the neighbouring meadows." (Query. What island did Ichiaha stand upon?) While at this village the Indians showed the Spaniards how they obtained pearls from the oysters taken in the river.‡

* Irving. † Idem.

‡ The width of some of the streams, the number and extent of their islands, and the names of some of the villages and other localities mentioned in the accounts given of De Soto's marches, have led to the belief that he may have visited the southern part of what is now East Tennessee, and that then turning west he crossed and recrossed the Tennessee river. McCullough, in the map accompanying his learned work,(*) lays down the route of De Soto's army as penetrating at its extreme northern point to Choualla, near to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and amongst the sources of the Coosa river. Choualla was situated on the skirts of a mountain, with a small but rapid river flowing by it. Could that have been the modern Cherokee Chilhowee? The route had previously led the invaders to and through the province of Achalaque. It is known that the Cherokees do not pronounce the letter r, and that they call themselves Chelakees. The narrator also describes the country as mountainous, and as answering well to the features of the country near Chilhowee. The Portuguese Gentleman says the mountains were very bad. Herrera says that though they were not disagreeable, the mountains were twenty leagues across, and the army was five days in passing over them. After leaving Choualla, the route lay westward. Mention is made of Canasaqua. May this have been the present Canasauga? Talisse and Sequachee—names familiar to Tennessee readers—are also mentioned, and suggest the theory of Martin,(†) that De Soto may have passed through Tennessee and into Kentucky.

Col. Pettival, who had been in the service of Napoleon during the peninsular war, and was, therefore, familiar with Spanish fortifications, visited, in 1834, "two forts or camps on the west bank of the Tennessee river, one mile above Brown's

(*) Researches, Philosophical and Antiquarian, concerning the aboriginal history of America.

(†) Martin's Louisiana.

On the 2d day of July, De Soto left Ichiaha, and travelled the length of the island to Acoste, a village on its extreme point, where they encamped. Next day they crossed the river in rafts and canoes, and afterwards continued their march through a fertile and populous province called Cosa. It was more than one hundred leagues in extent. The village of the same name "was situated on the banks of a river, amidst green and beautiful meadows, irrigated by numerous small streams." *

On the 20th of August, De Soto left Cosa, and passing Ullabali, continued the march to Talise. It was a well fortified post, "and situated on the bank of a very rapid river, which nearly surrounded it." During his stay at Talise, De Soto received an embassy from Tuscaluza, the cacique of the immense province which the Spaniards now approached, inviting him to his residence, which was about thirteen leagues distant. The army accordingly crossing the river, in a few days reached Tuscaloosa (alias Piache). "It was a strong place, situated like Talise, upon a peninsula formed by the windings of the same river, which had here grown wider and more powerful."† The next day was spent in making rafts and crossing the river; and continuing the march on the third day, October 18, they arrived before the village of Mauvila. "It was strongly fortified, and stood in a fine plain, and was surrounded by a high wall made of logs." ‡ The pacific conduct of the several tribes with which the Spaniards had met during the last few months, and especially the friendly overtures of the powerful chieftain in whose capital they now were, had thrown them off their guard. But while reposing in the village and around its

Ferry, below the Muscle Shoals, and opposite the mouth of Cedar Creek, (the county not mentioned,) which certainly belongs to the expedition of Alphonso De Soto." He promises, in the letter from which this extract is made, a plan and description of these fortifications. He died soon after, and this writer is without further information on the subject. It is certainly worthy of the further attention of the curious.

The information concerning the exact route pursued by De Soto, is so obscure and scanty, that it is difficult to make even an approximation to the truth. After all the speculations and conjectures which several authors have made about it, little progress has been attained in the solution of the enquiry.

* Irving. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

walls in imagined security, they were suddenly assailed by the natives. They had concentrated all their own warriors at this place, and many from neighbouring provinces had joined them. For nine hours the battle raged, often with doubtful success to the Spaniards. At the setting sun, however, victory was obained over the Indians. They fought with desperation, as was evident by the numbers slain—twenty-five hundred. The loss of De Soto was eighty-two.

After so severe a battle, the army of De Soto needed repose. They rested, therefore, several days at Mauvila, to take care of his wounded followers. On the eighteenth of November he turned his course northward, and after marching five days through an uninhabited country, entered the province of Chicaza. "The first village at which they arrived, was called Cabusto. It was situated on a river, wide and deep, with high banks."* To the proffers of peace made by De Soto, the inhabitants replied, "War is what we want—a war of fire and blood." Eight thousand warriors collected together to oppose his crossing, but were soon put to flight by the cavalry, and dispersed to the fastnesses of the adjoining country. Without further opposition the march was continued to Chicaza. "It stood upon a gentle hill, stretching from north to south, watered on each side by a small stream, bordered by groves of walnut and oak trees." It was the 18th of December when the army arrived at Chicaza, and the weather being cold, with snow and ice, De Soto determined to winter here. At Chicaza, as at Mauvila, the Spaniards were surprised by a well arranged night attack from the Indians. As in the former case, the Spaniards were victorious; their loss, however, was severe. Forty soldiers were killed, and fifty horses.

After a few days his encampment was broken up, and the army marched to Chiacilla, about a league distant; here they spent the remainder of the winter, and till the end of March. "The cold was rigorous in the extreme."

From this place the army marched, the 1st April, four leagues, and encamped in a plain beyond the Chicaza boundary. At a fortress of great strength, called Alibamo, was

* Irving.

the next battle fought. It was "upon a narrow and deep river, that flowed in its rear." The loss of the Spaniards was fifteen; that of the natives, great. Continuing the march towards the north, "for seven days they traversed an uninhabited country, full of forests and swamps. At length they came in sight of a village, called Chisca, seated near a wide river."* This was the largest stream they had discovered in their expedition, and the Spaniards called it the Rio Grande. It is evidently the Mississippi. Juan Coles, one of the followers of De Soto, says that the Indian name of the river was Chucagua. The Portuguese narrator says, that in one place it was called Tomaliseu; in another, Tupata; in another, Mico; and at that part where it enters the sea, Ri. It is probable it had different names among the different Indian tribes. The village of Chisca, near its banks, was called by the Portuguese narrator, Quizquiz.

It is generally conjectured that Chisca, the village near which De Soto was encamped, and which bore the name of the chieftain of the province through whose territories the Spaniards were passing, occupied the site of the present thriving city of Memphis, and that the point where they crossed the Mississippi was near the Chickasaw Bluff. A mournful interest will be excited in the mind of the Tennessee reader to know every incident that occurred during the sojourn of the cavaliers near our boundaries or within our state. We copy from Irving.

"The Indians of this province, owing to their unceasing warfare with the natives of Chicaza, and the country lying between them being unpeopled, knew nothing of the approach of the strangers. The moment the Spaniards descried the village, they rushed into it in a disorderly manner, took many Indian prisoners, of both sexes and of all ages, and pillaged the houses.

"On a high artificial mound, on one side of the village, stood the dwelling of the cacique, which served as a fortress. The only ascent to it was by two ladders. Many of the Indians took refuge there, while others fled to a dense wood, that arose between the village and the river. Chisca, the chieftain of the province, was very old and lying ill in his bed. Hearing the tumult and shouts, however, he raised himself and went forth; and as he beheld the sacking of his village, and the capture of his vassals, he seized a tomahawk, and began to descend in a furious rage, threatening vengeance and extermination to all who had

* Irving.

dared to enter his domains without permission. With all these bravadoes, the cacique, besides being infirm and very old, was pitiful in his dimensions; the most miserable little Indian that the Spaniards had seen in all their marchings. He was animated, however, by the deeds and exploits of his youth, for he had been a doughty warrior and ruled over a vast province.

"The women and attendants of the cacique surrounded him, and, with tears and entreaties, prevailed upon him not to descend; at the same time, those who came up from the village informed him that the enemy were men such as they had never before beheld or heard of, and that they came upon strange animals of great size and wonderful agility. If you desire to battle with them, said they, to avenge this injury, it will be better to summon together the warriors of the neighbourhood, and await a more fitting opportunity. In the meantime, let us put on the semblance of friendship, and not, by any inconsiderate rashness, provoke our destruction. With these and similar arguments, the women and attendants of the cacique prevented his sallying forth to battle. He continued, however, in great wrath, and when the governor sent him a message, offering peace, he returned an answer, refusing all amity, and breathing fiery vengeance.

"De Soto and his followers, wearied out with the harassing warfare of the past winter, were very desirous of peace. Having pillaged the village and offended the cacique, they were in something of a dilemma; accordingly, they sent him many gentle and most soothing messages. Added to their disinclination for war, they observed, that during the three hours they had halted in the village, nearly four thousand well armed warriors had rallied around the cacique, and they feared that if such a multitude could assemble in such a short time, there must be large reinforcements in reserve. They perceived, moreover, that the situation of the village was very advantageous for the Indians, and very unfavourable to them; for the plains around were covered with trees and intersected by numerous streams, which would impede the movements of the cavalry. But more than all this, they had learned from sad experience, that these incessant conflicts did not in the least profit them; day after day, man and horse were slain, and, in the midst of a hostile country, and far from home and hope of succour, their number was gradually dwindling away.

"The Indians held a council, to discuss the messages of the strangers. Many were for war; they were enraged with the imprisonment of their wives and children, and the pillage of their property—to recover which, according to their fierce notions, the only recourse was arms. Others, who had not lost any thing, yet desired hostilities, from a natural inclination for fighting. They wished to exhibit their valour and prowess, and to try what kind of men these were, who carried such strange arms. The more pacific savages, however, advised that the proffered peace should be accepted, as the surest means of recovering their wives, and children, and effects. They added, that the enemy might burn their villages and lay waste their fields, at a time when their grain was almost ripening, and thus add to their calamities. The valour of these stran-

gers, said they, is sufficiently evident; for men who have passed through so many enemies, cannot be otherwise than brave.

"This latter counsel prevailed. The cacique, dissembling his anger, replied to the envoy, that since the Spaniards entreated for peace, he would grant it, and allow them to halt in the village, and give them food, on condition that they would immediately free his subjects and restore their effects, not keeping a single article. He also stipulated that they should not mount to see him. If these terms were accepted, he said he would be friendly; if not, he defied them to the combat.

"The Spaniards readily agreed to these conditions; the prisoners and plunder were restored, and the Indians departed from the village, leaving food in the dwellings for the Spaniards, who sojourned here six days to tend the sick. On the last day, with the permission of the cacique, De Soto visited him, and thanked him for his friendship and hospitality, and, on the subsequent day, they resumed their march. Departing from Chisca, the army travelled by slow journeys of three leagues a day, on account of the wounded and sick. They followed up the windings of the river until the fourth day, when they came to an opening in the thickets. Heretofore, they had been threading a vast and dense forest, bordering the stream, whose banks were so high, on both sides, that they could neither descend nor clamber up them. De Soto found it necessary to halt in this place twenty days, to build boats or piraquas to cross the river; for, on the opposite bank, a great multitude of Indian warriors were assembled, well armed, and with a fleet of canoes to defend the passage.

"The morning after the governor had encamped, some of the natives visited him. Advancing without speaking a word, and turning their faces to the east, they made a profound genuflexion to the sun; then facing to the west, they made the same obeisance to the moon, and concluded with a similar, but less humble, reverence to De Soto. They said that they came in the name of the cacique of the province, and in the name of all his subjects, to bid them welcome, and to offer their friendship and services; and added, that they were desirous of seeing what kind of men these strangers were, as there was a tradition handed down from their ancestors, that a white people would come and conquer their country. The adelantado said many kind things in reply, and dismissed them well pleased with their courteous reception."

At the end of twenty days, four piraquas were built and launched. About three hours before the dawn of day, De Soto ordered them to be manned, and four troopers of tried courage to go in each. The rowers pulled strongly, and when they were within a stone's throw of the shore, the troopers dashed into the water, and, meeting with no opposition from the enemy, they easily effected a landing and made themselves masters of the pass. Two hours before the sun went down, the whole army had passed over the

1541 Mississippi. The river in this place, says the Portuguese historian, was a half league from one shore to the other, so that a man standing still could scarce be discerned from the opposite bank. The stream was of great depth, very muddy, and was filled with trees and timber carried along by the rapidity of the current.

It is deemed not necessary to the purpose of these annals, to follow the route of De Soto further. The object of his expedition had been conquest and colonization. He had thus far succeeded in neither. The generous mind sympathizes in his reverses of fortune. The captor of Atahualpa entreated a peace with the superannuated cacique of Chisca; a leader at the storming of Cusco, asked leave to bivouac in the wigwam of his subjects; and the Governor of Cuba begs for the hospitalities of the chieftain of an interior province on the banks of the Mississippi. It is painful to wander with him a year longer in the wild and boundless solitudes west of that stream, or to trace his return to it, to die

1542 in the secluded forest upon its shore. It will be sufficient to remark, that the death of the enterprising commander of the expedition, the vast amount of money (100,000 ducats) expended, the loss of more than two-thirds of his army, his failure to find gold or to achieve any of the objects of the undertaking, discouraged further attempts by Europeans to penetrate this part of the country; and it was not till 1673 that another adventurer from the Old World again visited what is now known as Tennessee.

Maritime discoveries were, however, still prosecuted; and at the very time De Soto was carrying on his abortive invasion by land, the interior of North America was sought in another direction, and under the auspices of another nation. In 1542, Cartier and Roberval had sailed up the St. Lawrence, built a fort, and made a feeble effort to explore and settle Canada. The colony was soon abandoned, and for half a century the French took no measures to establish settlements there. England, also, partook of the spirit of exploration and adventure that was still active and engrossing. That power, in consequence of the discoveries by the Cabots, had taken formal possession, under Sir Humphrey

Gilbert, in 1583, of Newfoundland. The next year, Queen Elizabeth, by royal patent, authorized Sir Walter Raleigh to discover and occupy such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, not possessed or inhabited by Christian people, as to him should seem good.* Under this patent, Raleigh sent two experienced commanders, Amadas and Barlow, to explore the country then called Florida. They arrived on the American coast, July 4, 1584, and sailed along the shore one hundred and twenty miles, before they could find an entrance, by any river, issuing into the sea. Coming to one at length, they entered it, and having manned their boats and viewed the adjoining lands, they took formal possession of the country for the Queen of England.† They had landed upon the Island of Wocoken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracock Inlet, upon the coast of our parent state, North-Carolina. The adventurers explored Roanoke Island and Albemarle Sound, and, after a short stay, returned to England, "accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese, two natives of the wilderness; and the returning voyagers gave such glowing descriptions of their discoveries as might be expected from men who had done no more than sail over the smooth waters of a summer's sea, among 'the hundred islands' of North-Carolina. Elizabeth, as she heard their reports, esteemed her reign signalized by the discovery of the enchanting regions, and, as a memorial of her state of life, named them Virginia."‡ Raleigh, determined to carry into effect his scheme of colonization, found little difficulty in collecting together a large company of emigrants, and, in April of 1585, fitted out a new expedition of seven vessels and one hundred and eight colonists, with which to form the first settlement upon the soil of Carolina. The fleet reached Wocoken the 26th of June, and having left the colony under the direction of Ralf Lane as its governor, Sir Richard

* Thus Queen Elizabeth executed the first patent from an English sovereign, for any lands within the territory of the United States, to Sir Walter Raleigh. Its date is March 25, 1584. The present State of Tennessee is within its boundaries, but nearly two centuries elapsed before that part of the queen's grant was settled.

† Holmes. ‡ Bancroft.

Grenville, in command of the ships, returned to Plymouth. The colony, however, was destined to be short-lived. Its members became discontented, their supplies were exhausted, they sighed "for the luxuries of the cities of their native land," and an opportune arrival of Sir Francis Drake furnished the means of their return to England.

1587 Sir Walter Raleigh, not to be driven from his purpose of colonization by past failures, collected another body of emigrants, with wives and families and implements of husbandry; intending to form an agricultural community, in which the endearments of home and the means of procuring a certain subsistence, might ensure stability and permanence. This new and more promising colony, with John White for its governor, was sent out in April, and arrived July 23, at Roanoke, where the foundations of the "citie of Raleigh" were laid.

Eleanor Dare, wife of one of the assistants, and the daughter of Governor White, gave birth to a female child, the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States.* It was called, from the place of its birth, Virginia Dare.

But the wise policy and liberal provision of Raleigh were lost upon this his last colony. In 1590 not a vestige of its existence could be found.

In 1607, a more successful effort secured the formation of a permanent English colony in America. Captain Newport commanded a fleet of three ships, with one hundred emigrants, to Virginia. He had intended to land at Roanoke, and make further attempts to form a settlement there; but being driven by a storm to the northward of that place, the fleet entered Chesapeake Bay, and, on the 13th of May, the adventurers took possession of a peninsula upon the north side of the river Powhatan. Here they laid off a town, which, in honour of the king, they called James Town. The charter under which this first English colony in America was planted, reserved supreme legislative authority to the king; and while a general superintendence of the colony was confided to a council in England, appointed by him, its local administration was entrusted to a council residing within its

* Bancroft.

limits. "To the emigrants themselves it conceded not one elective franchise ; not one of the rights of self-government."*

A second charter, in 1609, invested the company with the election of the council and the exercise of legislative power, independent of the crown.

In 1612, a third patent gave to the company a more democratic form; power was transferred from the council to the stockholders, and "their sessions became the theatre of bold and independent discussions." In 1619, the colonists themselves were allowed to share in legislation ; and in June of that year, the governor, the council, and two representatives from each of the boroughs, constituted the first popular representative body of the western hemisphere.† In 1621, a written constitution was brought out by Sir Francis Wyat, governor of the colony, extending still further the representative principle. Under its provisions two burgesses were to be chosen for the assembly by every town, hundred or particular plantation. All matters were to be decided by a majority in the assembly, reserving to the governor the veto power, and requiring the sanction of the general court of the company in England. On the other hand, no order of the general court was to bind the colony until assented to by the assembly ; each colonist thus became a freeman and a citizen, and ceased to be a servant of a commercial company, and dependent on the will and orders of his superior.‡ The colony flourished, and its frontier extended to the Potomac in the interior, and coastwise expanded to Albemarle Sound, upon which the first permanent settlers in North-Carolina pitched their tent, having been attracted by the report of an adventurer from Virginia, who, on his return from it, "celebrated the kindness of the native people, the fertility of the country, and the happy climate, that yielded two harvests in each year."§ These representations of the advantages of the country, and the prosperous condition of its pioneer emigrants, awakened the cupidity and excited the ambition of English courtiers. On the 24th of March, 1663, Charles II. granted to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Monk, Lord Craven, Lord Ashley Cooper, Sir John Colleton, Lord John Berkeley, Sir

* Bancroft. † Holmes. ‡ Idem. § Smith's Virginia.

William Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret, all the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, included between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth parallels of latitude, and constituted them its proprietors and immediate sovereigns. Extensive as was this grant, the proprietaries in June, 1665, secured by a second patent, an enlargement of their powers, and such further extent of their boundaries, as to include all the country between the parallels of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes and twenty-nine degrees north latitude, embracing all the territory of North and South-Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, a part of Florida and Missouri, and much of Texas, New Mexico and California. That part of its northern boundary extending from the top of the Alleghany mountain to the eastern bank of the Tennessee river, is the line of separation between Virginia and Tennessee, and Kentucky and Tennessee.

"Among other powers conferred upon the lord proprietors was that of enacting laws and constitutions for the people of that province, *by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen thereof, or of the greater part of them, or of their delegates or deputies*, who were to be assembled from time to time for that purpose." * So early and so deeply was the germ of self-government planted in Carolina. In 1667, the first constitution was given by the proprietary government. It directed that the governor should act with the advice of a council of twelve, one half to be appointed by himself, the other half by the assembly, and this was to be composed of the governor, the council, and twelve delegates chosen by the freeholders.

Historians do not agree as to the precise year in which the first legislative body in North-Carolina convened. It was certainly, however, in 1666 or 1667. This legislature was called the "Grand Assembly of the County of Albemarle." Its principal acts were such as were believed to be required by the peculiar situation of the country, and were prompted by an anxious desire to increase its population.†

While the colonists of Virginia and Carolina were slowly extending their settlements in the direction of Tennessee,

* Preface of Revised Statutes of North-Carolina. † Idem.

they remained entirely ignorant of the great interior of the continent. It was the policy of the proprietors to know something more of the vast domains within the limits of their grants, and explorations were projected to ascertain and occupy them. In their hunting excursions, the highlands of Virginia had been seen, but adventure had not discovered the distant sources of its rivers, and the country beyond the Blue Ridge was yet unknown. Its original inhabitants still roamed through the ancient woods, free, independent and secure, in happy ignorance of the approaches of civilized man. Its flora, scattered in magnificent profusion over hill and dale, mountain and prairie, still "wasted its fragrance on the desert air." La Belle Reviere, in quietude and silence, winded along its placid current through the "dark and bloody land" to the Father of Rivers, which itself, in turbid violence, rolled its angry floods in solitary grandeur to the sea. It was not till 1655, that "Colonel Woods, who dwelt at the falls of James river, sent suitable persons on a journey of discovery to the westward; they crossed the Alleghany mountains, and reached the banks of the Ohio and other rivers emptying into the Mississippi." * The route pursued is not distinctly known. It is scarcely probable that, ascending the James river, Colonel Woods fell into the beautiful valley of Virginia, and, following its course, passed through the upper part of East Tennessee and Cumberland Gap to the Ohio. With the limited knowledge then had of the geography of the West, the Holston would be considered as an immediate tributary of the Mississippi. If such was indeed the route pursued, Colonel Woods was the pioneer in that great channel of emigration that more than a century afterwards began to pour its immense flood of emigrants from the Atlantic to the West.

In the meantime, religious enthusiasm and French loyalty were extending discoveries to the westward in another channel. The feeble settlements of the French planted upon the
1665 { St. Lawrence, were strengthened and extended along
{ the great lakes. In 1665, Father Claude Alloüez embarked on a mission to the Far West by way of the Ottawa.

* Martin's North-Carolina, vol. 1, p. 115.

During his voyages along the lakes, and his sojourn in the immense wilds around them, "he lighted the torch of faith for more than twenty different nations." His curiosity was roused by hearing from the Illinois "the tale of the noble river on which they dwelt, and which flowed towards the south." Alloüez reported its name to be *Messipi.*

In 1673, Marquette, another missionary, and Joliet, penetrated beyond the lakes. Talon, the intendant of New France, wished to signalize his administration by "ascertaining if the French, descending the great river of the central west, could bear the banner of France to the Pacific, or plant it, side by side with that of Spain, on the Gulf of Mexico."* Under his patronage, Marquette and Joliet, with five French companions and two Algonquins as guides, entered upon the enterprise. Their canoes were carried across the narrow portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and on the 10th of June, in the beautiful language of Bancroft, France and Christianity stood in the valley of the Mississippi. Descending the Wisconsin in seven days, they entered the great river. They were peaceably received by the Illinois and other Indian tribes along its banks. The Missouri was then known by its Algonquin name, Pekitanoni. The Ohio was then, and long after, called the Wabash. In the map published with Marquette's Journal, in 1681, numerous villages are laid down upon its banks as inhabited by the (Chauvanon) Shawnees, and east of them, in the interior, are represented dense Indian settlements or villages of different tribes, and all situated between the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth degrees. Highlands corresponding to the first, second and third Chickasaw Bluffs, as now known, are delineated with considerable accuracy; as is also a large island in the Mississippi nearly opposite to the lower bluff, now known as President's Island. The Ohio has a tributary running into it from the south-east, and the Shawnee villages occupy a place upon the map between that tributary and the Mississippi. The latter stream is spelled Mitchisipi. In the land of the Chickasaws, the Indians had guns, obtained probably by traffic or warfare with the Spaniards. Lower down the

1673

* Bancroft.

river axes were also seen, acquired probably in the same way.

The adventurers descended as low as the mouth of the Arkansas, and on the 17th of July ascended the Mississippi on their return. The account of their voyage and discoveries excited among their countrymen brilliant schemes of colonization in the south-west,—a spirit of territorial aggrandizement for the crown of France, and of commerce between Europe and the Mississippi—and La Salle was commissioned to perfect the discovery of the great river. In 1682, he descended that stream to the sea, planted the arms of France near the Gulf of Mexico, claimed the territory for that power, and in honour of his monarch, Louis XIV., gave it the name of Louisiana. As he passed down the river he framed a cabin and built a fort,* called Prud'homme, on the first Chickasaw Bluff. The first work, except probably the piraquas of De Soto, ever executed by the hand of civilization within the boundaries of Tennessee. A cabin and a fort! Fit emblem and presage of the future in Tennessee. The axe and the rifle, occupancy and defence, settlement and conquest!

While at the Bluff, La Salle entered into amicable arrangements for opening a trade with the Chickasaws, and established there a trading post that should be a point of rendezvous for traders passing from the Illinois country to the posts that should be established below. The commercial acumen of La Salle in founding a trading post at this point, is now made most manifest. Near the same ground has since arisen a city, whose commerce already exceeds that of any other in Tennessee, and whose facilities for trade, foreign and domestic, by land or water, portend a commercial destiny scarcely inferior to that of the ancient Memphis; and, after the accomplishment of the public improvements contemplated and projected, not surpassed by any point upon the Mississippi above New-Orleans.

Thus one hundred and eighty years after the discovery of America, and one hundred and thirty years after De Soto had crossed our western limit, did Marquette and Joliet coast

* Martin's North-Carolina, vol. 1, p. 176.

along and discover the western boundary of Tennessee. And thus, one hundred years after Queen Elizabeth had signed the patent to Sir Walter Raleigh, did La Salle claim for his monarch, Louis XIV., the rich domain, with the illimitable and magnificent resources of the great Mississippi valley. In proof of the uncertain tenure of all earthly monarchs, it may be remarked, that the claims of both these rival kingdoms have long since passed into the hands of others, and that American sovereignties and American freemen now possess and control the rich heritage which, in its lust for territorial acquisition, European royalty had, with munificent prodigality, appropriated for trans-atlantic subjects.

After this rapid survey of French exploration and discovery in the West, we return to notice further the growth and extension of Virginia and Carolina, as through them, at later periods, were the principal avenues of emigration to Tennessee.

In the former colony, temporary difficulties resulted from civil commotion and occasional aggressions of the natives; still the government had been conducted with such wise moderation that tranquillity was restored, and a rapid increase of population and the extension of the settlements followed. In 1671, Virginia contained forty thousand souls.

Albemarle, as North-Carolina was then called, contained, in 1670, about fourteen hundred inhabitants. Other settlements had begun to expand along the coast south of it. "The command of Sir John Yeamans, who ruled the plantation around Cape Fear, was extended over that which lay southward of Cape Carteret. The planters from Clarendon and Port Royal resorted to the banks of Ashley river." * In 1671, "old Charlestown" was laid out. In 1674, "all the freemen of Carolina, meeting by summons, there elected representatives to make laws for the government of the colony. There were now a colonial governor, an upper and a lower house of assembly, and these three branches took the name of parliament. This was the first parliament that passed acts which were ratified by the proprietaries, and preserved in the records of the colony." † In 1680, Charlestown

* Holmes. † Idem.

was removed to the point formed by the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, and was declared to be the capital for the general administration of government in Carolina.

In December, 1677, Miller, a collector of the royal customs, in attempting to reform some abuses in Albemarle, became obnoxious to the people, and an insurrection followed. The insurgents, conducted chiefly by Culpeper, imprisoned the president and seven proprietary deputies, seized the royal revenue, established courts of justice, appointed officers, called a parliament, and for two years exercised all the authority of an independent state. This insurrection, rather this bold attempt at revolution and self-government by the fourteen hundred colonists of Albemarle, deserves a further notice. We copy from Marshall:

"The proprietors of Carolina, dissatisfied with their own system, applied to the celebrated Mr. Locke for the plan of a constitution. They supposed that this profound and accurate reasoner must be deeply skilled in the science of government. In compliance with their request, he framed a body of fundamental laws, which were approved and adopted. A palatine for life was to be chosen from among the proprietors, who was to act as president of the palatine court, which was to be composed of all those who were entrusted with the execution of the
1669 { powers granted by the charter. A body of hereditary nobility was created, to be denominated landgraves and caciques, the former to be invested with four baronies, consisting each of four thousand acres, and the latter to have two, containing each two thousand acres of land. These estates were to descend with the dignities forever. The provincial legislature, denominated a parliament, was to consist of the proprietors, in the absence of any one of whom his place was to be supplied by a deputy appointed by himself, of the nobility, and of the representatives of the freeholders, who were elected by districts. These discordant materials were to compose a single body, which could initiate nothing. The bills to be laid before it were to be prepared in a grand council, composed of the governor, the nobility, and the deputies of the proprietors, who were invested also with the executive powers. At the end of every century, the laws were to become void without the formality of a repeal. Various judicatories were erected, and numerous minute perplexing regulations were made."

The Duke of Albemarle was chosen the first palatine, and
1670 { the philosophic Locke himself was created a landgrave. When Governor Stephens attempted to introduce, as he was ordered to do, this constitution in Albemarle, the innovation was strenuously opposed; and the discontent

it produced was increased by a rumour that the proprietors designed to dismember the province. At length these discontents broke out into open insurrection, and resulted, as has been narrated, in the establishment, under Culpeper, of an independent government. Thus furnishing, in the language of the same writer, additional evidence to the many afforded by history, of the great but neglected truth, that experience is the only safe school in which the science of government is to be acquired, and that the theories of the closet must have the stamp of practice, before they can be received with implicit confidence. The truth is, the people of Albemarle were, perhaps of all communities, the least favourable for a fair experiment of the philosophic system of Mr. Locke. It contained scarcely a single feature suited to the wants of a primitive people. Most of its provisions were in conflict with their interests. They needed little legislation and less government, and heretofore they had legislated for and governed themselves. "The representative principle, indeed the right of self-government, seems to have been, if not an inheritance to the Carolina colonists, certainly cognate and inborn. They were the 'freest of the free.' Self-government was epidemic to them. It was inherited from them. It has descended without alloy or adulteration to their descendants beyond the mountain. Its contagion has affected the original territorial boundaries of Carolina, has crossed the Mississippi, pervades all Texas, approaches Mexico and California, and can have its ardour quenched only by the waves of the Pacific. From the germ at Albemarle sprang, remotely, our independence; and the seed sown in 1677, although it required the culture of ninety-eight years to bring it to maturity, continued to vegetate, till it produced the rich harvest of American independence." *

1688 The proprietors, discovering the growing dissatisfaction of the colonists with the constitution of Mr. Locke, abolished it, and wisely substituted the ancient form of government.

While the grievances in Carolina were being redressed,

* Written before the war with Mexico.

discontents in Virginia assumed a serious aspect; and about the same time that Culpeper was revolutionizing Albemarle, a rebellion appeared at Jamestown, and was headed by Bacon, a member of the council. It was so far successful as to produce the flight of Governor Berkeley from the capital, a convention of the people, a new election of burgesses, and a new government. A civil war followed; the insurgents burned Jamestown, and would probably have entirely subverted the authority of the governor, but for the sudden death of their daring leader.

The pacification which followed the death of Bacon, was
1677 { accompanied with increased emigration and an extension of the settlements into the valley of Virginia. In 1690, they reached to the Blue Ridge, and explorations of the distant West were soon after undertaken. "Early in his ad-
1714 { ministration, Colonel Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, was the first who passed the Apalachian mountains, or Great Blue Hills, and the gentlemen, his attendants, were called Knights of the Horseshoe, having discovered a horse pass." * "Some rivers have been discovered on the west side of the Apalachian mountains, which fall into the River Ohio, which falls into the River Mississippi below the River Illinois." † It is said that Governor Spotswood passed Cumberland Gap during his tour of exploration, and gave the name to that celebrated pass, the mountain and the river, which they have ever since borne.

Intestine wars prevailed among the numerous Indian tribes in Carolina, and the colonists, as the means of their own security, had fomented these disputes between the natives. As early as 1693, twenty chiefs of the Cherokee nation waited upon Governor Smith, and solicited the protection of his government against the Esaw and Congaree (Coosaw) ‡ Indians, who had lately invaded their country and taken prisoners. The governor expressing a disposition to cultivate their friendship, promised to do what he could for their defence. In 1711, the Tuscaroras, Corees, and other tribes, attempted the extermination of the settlers upon Roanoke. One hundred

* Summary, historical and political, of British Settlements. Vol 2, p. 362
† Idem. ‡ Martin.

and thirty-seven were massacred. The news of the disaster reaching Charleston, Governor Craven sent Colonel Barnwell, with six hundred militia and nearly four hundred Indians, to their relief. These allies consisted, in part, of the Cherokees and Creeks. The Tuscaroras were subdued, and the hostile part of the tribe emigrated to the vicinity of Oneida Lake, and became the sixth nation of the Iroquois confederacy. "Thus the power of the natives was broken, and the interior forests became safe places of resort to the emigrant." *

The alliance between the colonists of Carolina and the aboriginal inhabitants, perhaps never cordial, was certainly of short duration. In less than five years after Colonel Barnwell's expedition against the Tuscaroras, every Indian tribe, from Florida to Cape Fear, had united in a confederacy for the destruction of the settlements in Carolina. The Congarees, Catawbas, Cherokees and Creeks, had joined the Yamassees in this conspiracy. They had recently received presents, and guns and ammunition from the Spaniards at St. Augustine; and it has been supposed that the defection of the Indians may be traced to their authority and seductive influence. The confederates, after spreading slaughter and desolation through the unsuspecting settlements, were met by

1715 { Governor Craven at Salkehachie, and defeated and driven across the Savannah.

In 1719, a domestic revolution took place in the southern part of Carolina. The proprietary government had, from the operation of several causes, become unpopular with the people. An association was therefore formed for uniting the whole province against the government of the proprietors, and "to stand by their rights and privileges." The members elected to the assembly "voted themselves a convention delegated by the people, and resolved on having a governor of their own choosing." The new form of government went into operation without the least confusion or struggle.†

In 1732, the province was divided into two distinct governments, called North-Carolina and South-Carolina.

In the meantime the French had extended their settlements, laid out Kaskaskias and other towns, and built several forts

* Bancroft. † Martin.

in the valley of the Mississippi, and established New-Orleans upon its bank. It had become evident that their intention was, not only to monopolize the Indian traffic in the West, but by a chain of forts on the great passes from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, to confine the English colonies to narrow limits along the coast of the Atlantic, and, by their influence with the natives, to retard their growth and check their expansion westward. Traders from Carolina had already penetrated to the country of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, but had been driven from the villages of the latter by the influence of Bienville, of Louisiana. By prior discovery, if not by conquest or occupancy, France claimed the whole valley of the Mississippi. "Louisiana stretched to the head-springs of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, of the Kenhawa and the Tennessee. Half a mile from the head of the southern branch of the Savannah river is Herbert's Spring, which flows to the Mississippi; strangers who drank of it would say they had tasted of French waters." This remark of Adair may probably explain the English name of the principal tributary of the Holston. Traders and hunters from Carolina, in exploring the country and passing from the head waters of Broad river, of Carolina, and falling upon those of the stream with which they inosculate west of the mountain, would hear of the French claim, as Adair did, and call it, most naturally, French Broad.

1714 M. Charleville, a French trader from Crozat's colony at New-Orleans, came among the Shawnees then inhabiting the country upon the Cumberland river, and traded with them. His store was built upon a mound near the present site of Nashville, on the west side of Cumberland river, near French Lick Creek, and about seventy yards from each stream. M. Charleville thus planted upon the banks of the Cumberland the germ of civilization and commerce, unconscious that it contained the seminal principle of future wealth, consequence and empire.

About this period the Cherokees and Chickasaws expelled the Shawnees from their numerous villages upon the lower Cumberland.

At the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, the French

built and garrisoned Fort Toulouse, Tombeckbee, in the country of the Choctaws, Assumption, on the Chickasaw Bluff, and Paducah, at the mouth of Cumberland, and trading posts at different points along the Tennessee river, indicated future conflict of territorial rights, if not aggression and hostility between the English and French colonies. Colonial rivalry prompted each to ingratiate itself with and secure the trade and friendship of the native tribes.

In pursuance of this policy, Governor Nicholson, in 1721, sent a message to the Cherokees, inviting them to a general congress, in order to treat of friendship and commerce. The chieftains of thirty-seven different towns met him. He made them presents, smoked with them the pipe of peace, laid off their boundaries, and appointed an agent to superintend their affairs. With the Creeks he also made a treaty of commerce and peace, and appointed an agent to reside among them. In 1730, the projects of the French, for uniting Canada and Louisiana, began to be developed. Already had they extended themselves northwardly from the Gulf of Mexico, and had made many friends among the Indians west of Carolina. To counteract their intentions, it was the wish of Great Britain to convert the Indians into allies or subjects, and to make with them treaties of union and alliance. For this purpose, Sir Alexander Cumming was sent out to treat with the Cherokees, who then occupied the lands about the head of Savannah and backward among the Apalachian mountains. They were computed to amount to more than twenty thousand, six thousand of whom were warriors. Sir

1730 { Alexander having summoned the Lower, Middle, Valley and Over-hill settlements, met in April the chiefs of all

the Cherokee towns at Nequassee,* informed them by whose authority he was sent, and demanded of them to acknowledge themselves the subjects of his sovereign, King George, and to promise obedience to his authority. Upon which the chiefs, falling on their knees, solemnly promised obedience and fidelity, calling upon all that was terrible to fall upon them if they violated their promise. Sir Alexander then, by

* Martin has it Requassee. It is laid down on Adair's map among the mountains near the sources of the Hiwassee.

their unanimous consent, nominated Moytoy* commander and chief of the Cherokee nation. The crown was brought from Tenassee,† their chief town, which, with five eagle tails and four scalps of their enemies, Moytoy presented to Sir Alexander, requesting him, on his arrival at Britain, to lay them at his majesty's feet. But Sir Alexander proposed to Moytoy, that he should depute some of his chiefs to accompany him to England, and do homage in person to the great king Six of them, accordingly, did accompany him, and, being admitted to the royal presence, promised, in the name of their nation, to continue forever his majesty's faithful and obedient subjects.‡ A treaty was then drawn up and executed formally,§ of friendship, alliance and commerce. Without mentioning the Spaniards and French, it is plain that some of its provisions were intended to exclude their traders from any participation in traffic with the Cherokees, and to prevent any settlements or forts from being made by them in their country. In consequence of this treaty, a condition of friendship and peace continued for many years between this tribe and the colonists.

In 1732, the colony of Georgia was projected, and the governor of it, Oglethorpe, effected a treaty with the Lower and Upper Creeks, a large tribe, numbering together between twenty and thirty thousand. To-mo-chi-chi was their chief, and with his queen and other Indians accompanied Oglethorpe to London. This alliance of the Creeks and Cherokees with the colonists promised security from the approaches of the Spanish and French in Florida and Louisiana.

These treaties, however, were not considered sufficient guarantees to the southern English colonies of permanent security and quiet. The tribes with which they had been negotiated were in close proximity with rival nations, and

* Moytoy of Telliquo, probably the modern Tellico.

† This is the first place in any of the authorities we have consulted, that Tenassee is mentioned. The town, thus called, was on the west bank of the present Little Tennessee river, a few miles above the mouth of Tellico, and afterwards gave the name to Tennessee river and to the state.

‡ Hewitt.

§ See Hewitt's History of South-Carolina for an account of this treaty, and also the speech of one of the chiefs, Skijagustah.

were easily seduced from their fidelity to a distant monarch, by the machinations of French emissaries amongst them. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to adopt further measures of protection and defence against future defection and attack. The Carolinas and Georgia were now royal provinces. The crown had already granted them many favours and indulgences for promoting their success and prosperity, and for securing them against external enemies. What further favours they expected, may be learned from a memorial and representation of the condition of Carolina transmitted to his majesty, bearing date April 9, 1734, and signed by the governor, president of the council, and the speaker of the assembly.* The memorial, after enumerating instances of the royal care and protection of these distant parts of his dominion, represents—

"That being the southern frontier of all his American possessions, they are peculiarly exposed to danger from the strong castle of St. Augustine, garrisoned by four hundred Spaniards, who have several nations of Indians under their subjection; that the French have erected a considerable town near Fort Thoulous on Mobile river, and several other forts and garrisons, some of which are not above three hundred miles from their settlements, and that their possessions upon the Mississippi are strengthened by constant accessions from Canada; that their garrisons and rangers are producing disaffection to the English among the Indian tribes, one of which, the Choctaws, consists of above five thousand fighting men; that they are paving the way for an invasion of the English colonies, by the erection of the Alabama fort in the centre of the Upper Creeks, which is well garrisoned and mounted with fourteen cannon, and which, with the liberal presents they are making to them, has overawed and seduced them from their allegiance to the British crown, and from a dependence upon British manufactures for their supplies. An expedient is then proposed, to recover and confirm the Indians to his majesty's interest, and that is, by presents to withdraw them from the French alliance, and by building forts among them to enable us to reduce Fort Alabama, and prevent the Cherokees from joining our enemies and making us a prey to the French and savages. The Cherokee nation has lately become very insolent to our traders, and we beg leave to inform your majesty that the building and mounting some forts among them may keep them steady in their fidelity to us, and that the means of the province are inadequate to its defence—the militia of Carolina and Georgia not exceeding three thousand five hundred men."

The results of this memorial will be given at another

* Hewitt.

place. In 1732, the country in the neighbourhood of Winchester, Virginia, began to be settled.

1732 Louisiana had, in the meantime, reverted from the Mississippi Company to the crown of France; and it continued to be the policy of Louis to unite the extremes of his North American possessions by a cordon of forts along the Mississippi river. The Chickasaws had been an obstacle to the accomplishment of this purpose. They had resisted the insinuations of French emissaries, and were indeed considered unfriendly to them. It was, therefore, determined to subdue them. A joint invasion, carried into their country from opposite directions, by Bienville and D'Artaguette, terminated disastrously to France. A further invasion was projected, and

1739 "In the last of June, an army, composed of twelve hundred whites, and twice that number of red and black men, took up its quarters in Fort Assumption, on the bluff of Memphis; the recruits from France—the Canadians—sunk under the climate. In the March of next year, a small detachment proceeded towards the Chickasaw country; they were met by messengers who supplicated for peace, and Bienville gladly accepted the calumet. The fort at Memphis was razed—the Chickasaws remained the undoubted lords of their country."*

From Kaskaskia to Baton Rouge was a wilderness, and the present Tennessee was again without a single civilized inhabitant, two centuries after Europeans had visited it.

1740 In this year there was a handsome fort at Augusta, where there was a small garrison of about twelve or fifteen men, besides officers. The safety the traders derived from this fort, drew them to that point. Another cause of the growth of the place, was the fertility of the lands around it. The Cherokee Indians marked out a path from Augusta to their nation, so that horsemen could then ride from Savannah to all the Indian nations.

1749 "The boundary line between the provinces of Virginia and North-Carolina was this year continued, by commissioners appointed by the legislatures of the respective provinces, to Holstein river, directly opposite to a place called the Steep Rock."†

* Bancroft.

† Martin. This is the first time that this tributary of the Tennessee river is mentioned. Haywood says it was called Holston, from a man of that name who first discovered and lived upon it.

1750 The settlements in Virginia were gradually extended along its beautiful valley in the direction of Tennessee. Those of North-Carolina had reached the delightful country between the Yadkin and Catawba, and Fort Dobbs was built in 1756, and had a small neighbourhood of farmers and graziers around it. It stood near the Yadkin, about twenty miles west of Salisbury,* and had been erected agreeably to the stipulations of a treaty held by Col. Waddle with Atta-Culla-Culla, the Little Carpenter, in behalf of the Cherokees. It was usually garrisoned by fifty men. The Indians paid little regard to the treaty, as the next spring they killed some people near the Catawba.

To prevent the influence of the French among the Indian tribes, it became necessary to build some forts in the heart of their country. This policy had been suggested to the crown by the authorities of South-Carolina, in their memorial, as already mentioned. A friendly message was received by Governor Glen from the chief warrior of the Over-hill Settlements in the Cherokee nation, acquainting him that

"Some Frenchmen and their allies were among their people, endeavouring to poison their minds, and that it would be necessary to hold a general congress with the nation, and renew their former treaties of friendship. Accordingly, the governor appointed a time and place for holding a treaty."

1755 Governor Glen needed no argument to convince him that an alliance with such a tribe was, under present circumstances, essential to the security of South-Carolina and her sister provinces, and, accordingly, in 1755, he met the Cherokee warriors and chiefs in their own country.

"After the usual ceremonies were over, the governor sat down under a spreading tree, and Chulochculla† being chosen speaker for the Cherokee nation, took a seat beside him. The other warriors, about five hundred in number, stood around them in solemn silence and deep attention. The governor then arose and made a speech in the name of his king, representing his great power, wealth and goodness, and his particular regard for his children, the Cherokees; and added, that he had many presents to make to them, and expected them, in return, to surrender a share of their territories, and demanded lands to build two forts upon in their country, to protect them against their enemies, and to be a retreat

* Williamson.

† Prol ably Atta-Culla-Culla, with whom Col. Waddle of North-Carolina also formed a treaty.

to their friends and allies. He represented to them the great poverty and wicked designs of the French, and hoped they would permit none of them to enter their towns.* When the governor had finished his speech, Chulocculla arose, and, holding his bow in one hand, his shaft of arrows and other symbols in the other, spoke to the following effect: 'What I now speak, our father, the great king, should hear. We are brothers to the people of Carolina—one house covers us all.' Then taking a boy by the hand, he presented him to the governor, saying—'We, our wives and our children, are all children of the great King George. I have brought this child, that when he grows up he may remember our agreement on this day, and tell it to the next generation, that it may be known forever.' Then, opening his bag of earth and laying it at the governor's feet, said—'We freely surrender a part of our lands to the great king. The French want our possessions, but we will defend them while one of our nation shall remain alive.' Then shewing his bows and arrows, he added—'These are all the arms we can make for our defence. We hope the king will pity his children, the Cherokees, and send us guns and ammunition. We fear not the French. Give us arms, and we will go to war against the enemies of the great king.' Then, delivering the governor a string of wampum in confirmation of what he had said, he added—'My speech is at an end; it is the voice of the Cherokee nation. I hope the governor will send it to the king, that it may be kept forever.'"

At this treaty a large cession of territory was made to the king, and deeds of conveyance were formally executed by the head men, in the name of the whole people.

Soon after this cession, Governor Glen built Fort Prince George upon the Savannah, near its source, and three hundred miles from Charleston, and within gun-shot of an Indian town, called Keowee. It contained barracks for one hundred men, and was well mounted with cannon, and designed for a defence of the western frontier of the province.

1756 The earl of Loudon, who had been appointed commander of the king's troops in America, and governor of the province of Virginia, came over in the spring of this year. He sent Andrew Lewis to build another fort on Tennessee river, on the southern bank, at the highest point of its navigation, nearly opposite to the spot on which Tellico Block House has since been placed, and about thirty miles from the present town of Knoxville; the fort was called, in

* There is reason to believe that the French at this time had trading establishments on the Tennessee river, about the Muscle Shoals, in close propinquity with the Over-hill Cherokees, and that in their hunting, trapping and trading excursions, they had ascended to the centre of East Tennessee.

honour of the earl, Fort Loudon. Lewis informed Governor Dobbs that, on his arrival at Chota, he had received the kindest usage from Old Hop, the Little Carpenter, and that the Indians in general expressed their readiness to comply with the late treaty with the Virginia commissioners (Byrd and Randolph). They manifested this disposition while the fort was building; but when it was finished, and they were pressed to fulfil their engagements, and send warriors to Virginia, they equivocated. Lewis observed that the French and their Indian allies, the Savannahs, kept a regular correspondence with the Cherokees, especially those of the great town of Tellico. He expressed his opinion that some scheme was on foot for the distress of the English back settlers, and that the Cherokees greatly inclined to join the French. While he was at Chota, messengers had come to the Little Carpenter, (Atta-Culla-Culla,) from the Nantowees, the Savannahs, and the French at the Alabama fort. He took notice that the object of the communications were industriously concealed from him, and that a great alteration in that chief's behaviour towards him had ensued. In return, towards the latter part of September, a Frenchman, who had lived a considerable time among the Cherokees, accompanied by a Cherokee woman, who understood the Shawnee tongue, went from Chota to the Alabama fort, and to the Savannah Indians. The object of his visit to the French, was to press them for the accomplishment of a promise the commander of the fort had made, to send and have a fort built among the Cherokees, near the town of Great Tellico. The communication concluded, by observing that the Indians had expressed a wish that Captain Dennie, (Demerè ?) "sent by the Earl of Loudon, with a corps of two hundred men to garrison the fort, might return to Virginia, the Indians being displeased at seeing such a large number of white people, well armed, among them, expressing a belief that their intention was to destroy any small force that might be sent, in order to take the fort and surrender it to the French. On this information, Captain Hugh Waddle was sent with a small force to reinforce Captain Dennie."*

* Martin.

Fort Loudon was then estimated to be five hundred miles from Charleston, and Hewitt remarks, that it was a place to which it was very difficult at all times, but, in case of a war with the Cherokees, utterly impracticable, to convey necessary supplies. Prince George and Loudon were garrisoned by the king's independent companies of infantry stationed there. "The Indians invited artizans into Fort Loudon by donations of land, which they caused to be signed by their own chief, and, in one instance, by Governor Dobbs of North-Carolina."* "These strongholds were garrisoned by troops from Britain; and the establishment of these defences in the interior, led to the rapid accumulation of settlers in all the choice places in their neighbourhood."† Loudon is remarkable as being the first fort or other structure erected in Tennessee by Anglo-Americans.‡

The continued possession of Fort Du Quesne enabled the French to preserve their ascendancy over the Indians, and to hold undisturbed control over almost the entire country west of the Alleghany mountains. The spirit of Britain rose in full proportion to the occasion, and Mr. Pitt, in a circular letter to the colonial governors, promised to send a large force to America to operate by sea and land against the French, and called upon them to raise troops to assist in that measure. In furtherance of that object, Virginia, pushing her settlements south-west, and guarding and protecting them, as they advanced, by forts and garrisons, had built Fort Lewis near the present village of Salem, in Bottetourt county. In 1758, Col. Bird, in pursuit of the French and Indians, who had recently taken Vaux's Fort on Roanoke, marched his regiment, and built Fort Chissel and stationed a garrison in it. It stood a few miles from New river, near the road leading from what is since known as Inglis' Ferry.

Col. Bird continued his expedition further, and erected another fort, in the autumn of this year, on the north bank of Holston, nearly opposite to the upper end of the Long Island, now the property of Col. Netherland. It was situated upon

* Haywood. † Simms.

‡ In Haywood, the time of its erection is given in 1757. I have chosen to follow Hewitt, who wrote in 1779, and gives it as it is in the text, 1756.

a beautiful level, and was built upon a large plan, with proper bastions, and the wall thick enough to stop the force of small cannon shot. The gates were spiked with large nails, so that the wood was all covered. The army wintered there in the winter of 1758. The line between Virginia and North-Carolina had not then been extended beyond the Steep Rock. Long Island Fort was believed to be upon the territory of the former, but as it is south of her line, the Virginians have the honour of having erected the second Anglo-American fort within the boundaries of Tennessee.

In the spring of 1758, the garrison of Fort Loudon was augmented to two hundred men. In a few months, by the arrival of traders and hunters, it grew into a thriving village.

In the meantime, the French garrison at Fort Du Quesne, 1758 { deserted by their Indian allies, and unequal to the maintenance of the place against the army of General Forbes that approached it, abandoned the fort, and escaped in boats down the Ohio. The English took possession of it, and, in compliment to the popular minister, called it Pittsburg. In the army of Forbes were several Cherokees, who had accompanied the provincial troops of North and South-Carolina.

"The capture of Fort Du Quesne, though a brilliant termination of the several campaigns so successfully prosecuted from the northern colonies against the French, was followed by disastrous consequences as to the frontier settlements in the south. The scene of action was only changed from one place to another, and the baneful influence of those active and enterprising enemies that had descended the Ohio, soon manifested itself in a more concentrated form among the Upper Cherokees; the interior position of whose country furnished facilities of immediate and frequent intercourse with the defeated and exasperated Frenchmen, who now ascended the Tennessee river and penetrated to their mountain fastnesses. An unfortunate quarrel with the Virginians helped to forward their intrigues, and opened an easier access into the towns of the savages. The Cherokees, as before remarked, had, agreeably to their treaties, sent a number of their warriors to assist in the reduction of Du Quesne. Returning home through the back parts of Viriginia, some of them, who had lost their horses on the expedition, laid hold on such as they found running at large, and appropriated them. The Virginians resented the injury by killing twelve or fourteen of the unsuspecting warriors, and taking several more prisoners. This ungrateful conduct, from allies whose frontiers they had defended and recovered,

aroused at once a spirit of deep resentment and deadly retaliation." * * * "The flame soon spread through the upper towns. The garrison of Fort Loudon, consisting of about two hundred men, under the command of Captains Demerè and Stuart, was, from its remote position from the white settlements, the first to notice the disaffection of the Indians, and to suffer from it. The soldiers, as usual, making excursions into the woods, to procure fresh provisions, were attacked by them, and some of them were killed. From this time such dangers threatened the garrison, that every one was confined within the small bonndaries of the fort."† * * * "All communication with the settlements across the mountains, from which they received supplies, was cut off, and the soldiers, having no other sources from which provisions could be obtained, had no prospect left them but famine or death. Parties of the young warriors rushed down upon the frontier settlements, and the work of massacre became general along the borders of Carolina."‡ * * * "Governor Lyttleton, receiving intelligence of these outrages, prepared to chastise the enemy, and summoned the militia of the province to assemble at Congaree." * * * "A treaty was made afterwards, signed by the governor and only six of the head men; in this, it was agreed that the twenty-two chieftains should be kept as hostages, confined in Fort Prince George, until the same number of Indians, guilty of murder, should be delivered up, and that the Cherokees should kill or take prisoner every Frenchman that should presume to come into the nation."§

The treaty, however, illy expressed the sentiment of the tribe. And, immediately after the return of the governor and the dispersion of his army from Fort Prince George, hostilities were renewed, and fourteen whites were killed within a mile of the fort. Under a pretence of procuring a

1760 { release of the hostages, Oconostota approached and surprised the fort, and faithlessly fired upon and killed

its officers. Exasperated to madness by this outrage, the garrison fell upon the hostages, and killed them to a man. This was followed by a general invasion of the frontier of Carolina, and an indiscriminate butchery of men, women and children.

† Hewitt. ‡ Simms.

§ Colonel, afterwards General, Sumpter, accompanied Oconostota and his Cherokee delegation on their visit to Charlestown. Returning with that distinguished chief to the seat of his *empire,* he there found among the Indians one Baron Des Johnnes, a French Canadian, who spoke seven of the Indian languages. Sumpter, suspecting the baron of being an incendiary sent to excite the several tribes to hostility against their white neighbours, with characteristic resolution arrested him; taking him single-handed, in spite of the opposition of the Indians, and, at much personal risk, carrying him prisoner to Fort Prince George. Des Johnnes was afterwards sent to Charleston, where he was examined, and though not proved guilty, it was deemed expedient to send him to England.

Prompt measures were adopted to restrain and punish these excesses. Application was made to the neighbouring provinces, North-Carolina and Virginia, for assistance, and seven troops of rangers were raised to patrol the frontiers, and the best preparation possible was made for chastising the enemy, so soon as the regulars coming from the north should arrive. Before the end of April, 1760, Colonel Montgomery landed with his troops, and, being joined by several volunteer companies, hastened to the rendezvous at Congarees, where he was met by the whole strength of the province, and immediately set out for the Cherokee country. His march was spirited and expeditious. Little Keowee was surprised by a night attack, and every warrior in it put to the sword. Estatoe was reduced to ashes. Sugaw Town, and every other settlement in the lower nation, suffered the same fate.

"Montgomery, after the loss of but four men, advanced to the relief of Fort Prince George, which had been for some time invested by the savages. From this place a message was sent to the Middle Settlements, inviting the Cherokees to sue for peace, and also to Captains Demerè and Stuart, the commanding officers at Fort Loudon, requesting them to obtain peace with the Upper Towns. Finding the enemy not disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, he determined to penetrate through the dismal wilderness between him and the Middle Towns." * * * "Captain Morrison's rangers had scarcely entered the valley near Etchoe, when the savages sprang from their lurking den, fired upon and killed the captain, and wounded a number of his men. A heavy fire began on both sides. The battle continued above an hour. Colonel Montgomery lost in the engagement twenty men, and had seventy-six wounded. The Indians, it is believed, lost more. But the repulse was far from being decisive, and Colonel Montgomery, finding it impracticable to penetrate the woods further with his wounded men, returned to Fort Prince George with his army, and soon after departed for New-York.

"In the meantime, the distant garrison of Fort Loudon, consisting of two hundred men, was reduced to the dreadful alternative of perishing by hunger or submitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. The Governor of South-Carolina hearing that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve it, for a while seemed satisfied, and anxiously waited to hear the news of that happy event. But they, like the Carolinians, were unable to send them assistance. So remote was the fort from any settlement, and so difficult was it to march an army through the barren wilderness, where every thicket concealed an enemy, and to carry, at the same time, sufficient supplies along with them, that the Virginians had

dropped all thoughts of the attempt. Provisions being entirely exhausted at Fort Loudon, the garrison was upon the point of starving. For a whole month they had no other subsistence than the flesh of lean horses and dogs, and a small supply of Indian beans, procured stealthily for them by some friendly Cherokee women. The officers had long endeavoured to animate and encourage the men with the hope of succour; but now, being blockaded night and day by the enemy, and having no resource left, they threatened to leave the fort, and die at once by the hands of savages, rather than perish slowly by famine. In this extremity, the commander was obliged to call a council of war to consider what was proper to be done; when the officers were all of opinion, that it was impossible to hold out longer, and therefore agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees, on the best terms that could be obtained from them. For this purpose Captain Stuart, an officer of great sagacity and address, and much beloved by those of the Indians who remained in the British interest, procured leave to go to Chota, one of the principal towns in the neighbourhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation, which were signed by the commanding officer and two of the Cherokee chiefs. 'That the garrison of Fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for the march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry; that the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia or Fort Prince George, as the commanding officer shall think proper, unmolested; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and hunt for provisions during the march; that such soldiers as are lame, or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then be allowed to return to Fort Prince George; that the Indians do provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with the officers and soldiers for payment; that the fort, great guns, powder, ball and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay, on the day appointed for the march of the troops.'*

"Agreeable to this stipulation, the garrison delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Oconostota, Judd's friend, the prince of Chota, and several other Indians, and that day went

* Great guns. Of these there were twelve. It is difficult to conceive how the cannon of Fort Loudon, in 1756, had been transported to a point so interior and inaccesible. A wagon had not then passed the head of Holston, and not till the autumn of 1776 had one come as low down that stream as the Long Island, with provisions for the supply of Fort Patrick Henry. Artillery could not have been brought down the Ohio and up the Tennessee, for after the loss of Du Quesne the French still held undisturbed possession of the rivers below. The cannon at Loudon were most probably taken there across the mountain from Augusta or Fort Prince George when reinforcements were sent to its relief. In this case the transportation of the great guns must have been made along a narrow mountain trace upon pack horses—requiring in the more difficult gorges even yet found in the intervening country, the assistance of the soldiers. It is barely possible that these cannon may have been brought from Fort Lewis or Fort Chissel, to the head waters of Holston, and carried down that stream, and up the Little Tennessee to Loudon. There is no tradition on the subject in Tennessee.

fifteen miles on their way to Fort Prince George. At night they encamped upon a plain about two miles from Taliquo, an Indian town, when all their attendants, upon one pretence or another, left them; which the officers considered as no good sign, and therefore placed a strict guard around their camp. During the night they remained unmolested, but next morning about break of day, a soldier from an outpost came running in, and informed them that he saw a vast number of Indians, armed and painted in the most dreadful manner, creeping among the bushes, and advancing in order to surround them. Scarcely had the officer time to order his men to stand to their arms, when the savages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different quarters, accompanied with the most hideous yells, which struck a panic into the soldiers, who were so much enfeebled and dispirited that they were incapable of making any effectual resistance. Captain Demerè, with three other officers, and about twenty-six privates, fell at the first onset. Some fled into the woods, and were afterwards taken prisoners and confined among the towns in the valley. Captain Stuart and those that remained, were seized, pinioned, and brought back to Fort Loudon. No sooner had Attakullakulla heard that his friend Mr. Stuart had escaped, than he hastened to the fort, and purchased him from the Indian that took him, giving him his rifle, clothes, and all he could command by way of ransom. He then took possession of Captain Demerè's house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and freely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until a fair opportunity should offer for rescuing him from the hands of the savages; but the poor soldiers were kept in a miserable state of captivity for some time, and then redeemed by the province at great expense.

"While the prisoners were confined at Fort Loudon, Oconostota formed the design of attacking Fort Prince George. To this bold undertaking he was the more encouraged, as the cannon and ammunition surrendered by the garrison would, under the direction of French officers who were near him, secure its success. Messengers were therefore dispatched to the valley towns, requesting their warriors to meet him at Stickoee.

"By accident a discovery was made of ten bags of powder, and a large quantity of ball that had been secretly buried in the fort, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This discovery had nearly proved fatal to Captain Stuart; but the interpreter had such presence of mind as to assure the incensed savages that these warlike stores were concealed without Stuart's knowledge or consent. The supply of ammunition being sufficient for the siege, a council was held at Chota, to which the captive Stuart was taken. Here he was reminded of the obligations he was under for having his life spared, and as they had determined to take six cannon and two cohorns against Prince George, the Indians told him he must accompany the expedition—manage the artillery and write such letters to the commandant as they should dictate to him. They further informed him that if that officer should refuse to surrender, they had determined to burn the prisoners one by one before his face, and try whether he could be so obstinate as to hold out while his friends were expiring in the flames.

"Captain Stuart was much alarmed at his present situation, and from that moment resolved to make his escape or perish in the attempt. He privately communicated his design to Attakullakulla and told him that the thought of bearing arms against his countrymen harrowed his feelings, and he invoked his assistance to accomplish his release. The old warrior took him by the hand—told him he was his friend, and was fully apprised of the designs of his countrymen, and pledged his efforts to deliver him from danger. Attakullakulla claimed Captain Stuart as his prisoner, and resorted to stratagem to rescue him. He told the other Indians that he intended to go a hunting for a few days, and to take his prisoner with him. Accordingly they departed, accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother and two soldiers. The distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition was necessary to prevent surprise from Indians pursuing them. Nine days and nights did they travel through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course by the sun and moon for Virginia. On the tenth they arrived at the banks of Holston's river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of three hundred men, sent out by Colonel Bird for the relief of Fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day the captain reached Colonel Bird's camp on the frontiers of Virginia. His faithful friend, Attakullakulla, was here loaded with presents and provisions, and sent back to protect the unhappy prisoners till they should be ransomed, and to exert his influence with the Cherokees for the restoration of peace."

After Captain Stuart's escape, he lost no time in concerting measures of relief to his garrison. An express was at once forwarded to the Governor of South-Carolina to inform him of the disaster at Fort Loudon, and of the designs of the enemy against Fort Prince George. The prisoners that had survived the hardships of hunger, disease and captivity, at Loudon, were ransomed and delivered up to the commanding officer at Fort Prince George.

This account of the siege and capitulation of Fort Loudon, and of the attack upon the retiring garrison, has been copied or condensed from "Hewitt's Historical Account of South-Carolina and Georgia," as republished in the valuable historical collection of Carroll. Being written in 1779, soon after the transactions which it relates took place, Hewitt's work is considered authentic, and may be fully relied on as being generally correct. Still in some of the details other historians differ from him. One of them gives another version of the assault upon the camp the morning after the evacuation of the fort. Haywood says: "At this place, about day-break, the Indians fell upon and destroyed the whole troop, men, women and children, except three men,

Jack, Stuart and Thomas, who were saved by the friendly exertions of the Indian chief called the Little Carpenter; except also, six men, who were in the advance guard, and who escaped into the white settlements." * * * "It is said that between two and three hundred men, besides women and children, perished in this massacre. The Indians made a fence of their bones, but after the war they were, by the advice of Oconostota, King of the Over-hill Cherokees, removed and buried, for fear of stirring afresh the hostility of the English traders, who began again to visit them." Such, too, has been the prevalent tradition.

In addition to the concealment within the fort of the ammunition, as already related, Haywood mentions that the garrison threw their cannon, with their small arms and ammunition, into the river. After the close of the war the Cherokees excused their perfidy in violating the terms of the capitulation, and their barbarous massacre of the garrison, by imputing bad faith on the part of the whites in hiding the warlike stores surrendered with the fort.

Associations connected with Loudon as the first English fort erected within the State of Tennessee, the mournful fate of its garrison, and the tragic issue of the earliest Anglo-American settlement planted upon our soil, have invested the history of *Old Fort Loudon* with a romantic and melancholy interest—one that may be deemed elsewhere disproportioned to its real importance. But the writer persuades himself that the tediousness of the preceding details—scarcely in consonance with the object of these annals—will be excused, when it is considered, that hereafter no opportunity will present itself of again recording the surrender of a fort or the capture and massacre of a garrison. In the narration of the events upon which he will soon enter, it will be the grateful duty of the annalist to show, that in all their border conflicts, in their wild adventures into the wilderness, in their frequent invasions of neighbouring tribes, in their glorious participation in the struggle for independence and freedom, in all their wars with European or American enemies, the sons of Tennessee have every where achieved success, triumph, victory, conquest and glory.

The indecisive battle at Etchoe and the catastrophe in the valley of the Tennessee, served only to stimulate Cherokee aggression; and Canada being now reduced, an adequate force was at once sent from the north for the defence of the southern provinces. Col. Grant, early in 1761, arrived in Charleston with the British regular troops. A provincial regiment had been raised, and it accompanied the army to the Cherokee country. Among its field officers were Middleton, Laurens, Moultrie, Marion, Huger and Pickens—afterwards so highly distinguished in the service of the country. The army arrived at Fort Prince George on the 27th of May. Attakullakulla hearing that a formidable army approached his nation, hastened to the camp of Col. Grant and proposed
1761 { terms of accommodation. But it was known that the temper of his countrymen was averse to peace, and his proposals received no encouragement.

"The Cherokees encountered Grant, with all their strength, near the town of Etchoe, on the spot where they had fought with Montgomery in the previous campaign. For three hours did the engagement continue, until the persevering valour of the whites succeeded in expelling the Indians from the field. * * * * * * Their granaries and corn fields were destroyed, and their miserable families driven to the barren mountains. The national spirit was, for a while, subdued, and they humbly sued for peace, through the medium of the old and friendly chief, Attakullakulla. 'I am come,' said the venerable chief, 'to see what can be done for my people, who are in great distress.' His prayer was granted, peace was ratified between the parties, and the end of this bloody war, which was supposed to have originated in the machinations of French emissaries, was among the last humbling blows given to the expiring power of France in North America.

"The peace which followed this victory over the Cherokees, and the expulsion of the French and Spaniards from the borders of the southern provinces, brought with it a remarkable increase of population and prosperity. Multitudes of emigrants from Europe and the middle provinces came out in rapid succession to the interior, and pursuing the devious progress of the streams, sought out their sources, and planted their little settlements on the sides of lofty hills, or in the bosom of lovely vallies."*

Emigrants from Ireland sought the wilds of America, through two avenues. The one by the Delaware Bay, whose chief port was Philadelphia—the other by a more southern landing—the port of Charleston. Those landing at the

* Simms.

latter place, immediately sought the fertile forests of the upper Carolinas, where they met a counter tide of emigration. Those who landed on the Delaware, after the desirable lands, east of the Alleghanies, in Pennsylvania, were occupied, turned their course southward, and soon meeting the southern tide, the stream turned westward to the wilderness long known as "the backwoods, or beyond the mountains," now as Tennessee. These two streams from the same original fountain—Ireland—meeting and intermingling in the new soil, preserve the characteristic difference; the one possessing much of the air and manner of Pennsylvania, and the other of Charleston.*

But, as yet, Tennessee was a desert and a wilderness. The Adelantado of Cuba and his proud cavaliers had, indeed, looked upon its south-western angle, but resisted with unyielding spirit by the aboriginal inhabitants, the chivalry of Spain were driven across its western boundary, and glad to escape savage resentment for their daring invasion, buried themselves in the solitudes beyond it. At a later period, La Salle and his voyageurs had coasted along the shores of the great mediterranean of the west, and claimed for the monarch of France the magnificent valley watered by its tributaries; and Marquette, in his pious zeal for his church, had attempted the conversion of the natives from heathenism and barbarity to the worship of the God of Heaven. Later still, England and her colonies had penetrated far into the western wilds, and erected a fort and planted an infant settlement upon the distant banks of the Tennessee. But the efforts of Spain, of France, and of England, had been alike unsuccessful in founding, upon the soil of Tennessee, a permanent establishment of civilized man. The colonists of the Carolinas and of Virginia had been steadily advancing to the west, and we have traced their approaches in the direction of our eastern boundary, to the base of the great Apalachian range. Of the country beyond it, little was positively known or accurately understood. A wandering Indian would imperfectly delineate upon the sand, a feeble

* Foote.

outline of its more prominent physical features—its magnificent rivers, with their numerous tributaries—its lofty mountains, its dark forests, its extended plains and its vast extent. A voyage in a canoe, from the source of the Hogohegee* to the Wabash,† required for its performance, in their figurative language, "two paddles, two warriors, three moons." The Ohio itself was but a tributary of a still larger river, of whose source, size and direction, no intelligible account could be communicated or understood. The Muscle Shoals and the obstructions in the river above them, were represented as mighty cataracts and fearful whirlpools, and the Suck, as an awful vortex. The wild beasts with which the illimitable forests abounded, were numbered by pointing to the leaves upon the trees, or the stars in a cloudless sky.

These glowing descriptions of the west seemed rather to stimulate than to satisfy the intense curiosity of the approaching settlers. Information more reliable, and more minute, was, from time to time, furnished from other sources. In the Atlantic cities, accounts had been received from French and Spanish traders, of the unaparalleled beauty and fertility of the western interior. These reports, highly coloured and amplified, were soon received and known upon the frontier. Besides, persons engaged in the interior traffic with the south-western Indian tribes had, in times of peace, penetrated their territories — traded with and resided amongst the natives—and upon their return to the white settlements, confirmed what had been previously reported in favour of the distant countries they had seen. As early as 1690, Doherty, a trader from Virginia, had visited the Cherokees, and afterwards lived among them a number of years. In 1730, Adair, from South-Carolina, had travelled, not only through the towns of this tribe, but had extended his tour to most of the nations south and west of them. He was not only an enterprising trader, but an intelligent tourist. To his observations upon the several tribes which he visited, we are indebted for most that is known of their earlier history. They were published in London in 1775.

* Holston. † The Ohio was known many years by this name.

In 1740 other traders went among the Cherokees from Virginia. They employed Mr. Vaughan as a packman, to transport their goods. West of Amelia county, the country was then thinly inhabited; the last hunter's cabin that he saw was on Otter river, a branch of the Staunton, now in Bedford county, Va. The route pursued was along the Great Path, to the centre of the Cherokee nation. The traders and packmen generally confined themselves to this path till it crossed the Little Tennessee river, then spreading themselves out among the several Cherokee villages west of the mountain, continued their traffic as low down the Great Tennessee as the Indian settlements upon Occochappo or Bear Creek, below the Muscle Shoals, and there encountered the competition of other traders, who were supplied from New-Orleans and Mobile. They returned heavily laden with peltries, to Charleston, or the more northern markets, where they were sold at highly remunerating prices. A hatchet, a pocket looking-glass, a piece of scarlet cloth, a trinket, and other articles of little value, which at Williamsburg could be bought for a few shillings, would command from an Indian hunter on the Hiwassee or Tennessee peltries amounting in value to double the number of pounds sterling. Exchanges were necessarily slow, but the profits realized from the operation were immensely large. In times of peace this traffic attracted the attention of many adventurous traders. It became mutually advantageous to the Indian, not less than to the white man. The trap and the rifle, thus bartered for, procured, in one day, more game to the Cherokee hunter than his bow and arrow and his dead-fall would have secured during a month of toilsome hunting. Other advantages resulted from it to the whites. They became thus acquainted with the great avenues leading through the hunting grounds and to the occupied country of the neighbouring tribes—an important circumstance in the condition of either war or peace. Further, the traders were an exact thermometer of the pacific or hostile intention and feelings of the Indians with whom they traded. Generally, they were foreigners, most frequently Scotchmen, who had not been long in the country, or upon the frontier, who, having experienced

none of the cruelties, depredations or aggressions of the Indians, cherished none of the resentment and spirit of retaliation born with, and every where manifested, by the American settler. Thus, free from animosity against the aborigines, the trader was allowed to remain in the village where he traded unmolested, even when its warriors were singing the war song or brandishing the war club, preparatory to an invasion or massacre of the whites. Timely warning was thus often given by a returning packman, to a feeble and unsuspecting settlement, of the perfidy and cruelty meditated against it.

This gainful commerce was, for a time, engrossed by the traders; but the monopoly was not allowed to continue long. Their rapid accumulations soon excited the cupidity of another class of adventurers; and the hunter, in his turn, became a co-pioneer with the trader, in the march of civilization to the wilds of the West. As the agricultural population approached the eastern base of the Alleghanies, the game became scarce, and was to be found by severe toil in almost inaccessible recesses and coves of the mountain. Packmen, returning from their trading expeditions, carried with them evidences, not only of the abundance of game across the mountains, but of the facility with which it was procured. Hunters began to accompany the traders to the Indian towns; but, unable to brook the tedious delay of procuring peltries by traffic, and impatient of restraint, they struck boldly into the wilderness, and western-like, to use a western phrase, set up for themselves. The reports of their return, and of their successful enterprise, stimulated other adventurers to a similar undertaking. "As early as 1748, Doctor Thomas Walker, of Virginia, in company with Colonels Wood, Patton and Buchanan, and Captain Charles Campbell, and a number of hunters, made an exploring tour upon the western waters. Passing Powell's valley, he gave the name of 'Cumberland' to the lofty range of mountains on the west. Tracing this range in a south-western direction, he came to a remarkable depression in the chain: through this he passed, calling it 'Cumberland Gap.' On the western side of the range he found a beautiful mountain

stream, which he named 'Cumberland river,' all in honour of the Duke of Cumberland, then prime minister of England."* These names have ever since been retained, and, with Loudon, are believed to be the only names in Tennessee of English origin.

Although Fort Loudon was erected as early as 1756, upon the Tennessee, yet it was in advance of any white settlements nearly one hundred and fifty miles, and was, as has been related, destroyed in 1760. The fort, too, at Long Island, within the boundaries of the present State of Tennessee, was erected in 1758, but no permanent settlements had yet been formed near it. Still, occasional settlers had begun to fix their habitations in the south-western section of Virginia, and, as early as 1754, six families were residing west of New River. "On the breaking out of the French war, the Indians, in alliance with the French, made an irruption into these settlements, and massacred Burke and his family. The other families, finding their situation too perilous to be maintained, returned to the eastern side of New River; and the renewal of the attempt to carry the white settlements further west, was not made until after the close of that war."†

1756 Under a mistaken impression that the Virginia line, when extended west, would embrace it, a grant of land was this year made, by the authorities of Virginia, to Edmund Pendleton, for three thousand acres of land, lying in Augusta county, on a branch of the middle fork of the Indian river, called West Creek,‡ now Sullivan county, Tennessee.

1760 In this year, Doctor Walker again passed over Clinch and Powell's river, on a tour of exploration into what is now Kentucky.

The Cherokees were now at peace with the whites, and hunters from the back settlements began with safety to pe-

* Monette The Indian name of this range was Wasioto, and of the river, Shawanee.

† Howe.

‡ The original patent, signed by Governor Dinwiddie, and now in the possession of the writer, was presented to him by T. A. R. Nelson, Esq., of Jonesboro, Tennessee. It is probably the oldest grant in the state.

1761 { netrate deeper and further into the wilderness of Tennessee. Several of them, chiefly from Virginia, hearing of the abundance of game with which the woods were stocked, and allured by the prospects of gain, which might be drawn from this source, formed themselves into a company, composed of Wallen, Scaggs, Blevins, Cox, and fifteen others, and came into the valley, since known as Carter's Valley, in Hawkins county, Tennessee. They hunted eighteen months upon Clinch and Powell's rivers. Wallen's Creek and Wallen's Ridge received their name from the leader of the company; as, also, did the station which they erected in the present Lee county, Virginia, the name of Wallen's Station. They penetrated as far north as Laurel Mountain, in Kentucky, where they terminated their journey, having met with a body of Indians, whom they supposed to be Shawnees. At the head of one of the companies that visited the West this year "came Daniel Boon, from the Yadkin, in North-Carolina, and travelled with them as low as the place where Abingdon now stands, and there left them."

This is the first time the advent of Daniel Boon to the western wilds has been mentioned by historians, or by the several biographers of that distinguished pioneer and hunter. There is reason, however, to believe that he had hunted upon Watauga earlier. The writer is indebted to N. Gammon, Esq., formerly of Jonesboro, now a citizen of Knoxville, for the following inscription, still to be seen upon a beech tree, standing in sight and east of the present stage-road, leading from Jonesboro to Blountsville, and in the valley of Boon's Creek, a tributary of Watauga.

D. Boon

CillED A. BAR On

Tree

in ThE

yEAR

1760

. Boon was eighty-six years old when he died, which was September, 1820. He was thus twenty-six years old when the inscription was made. When he left the company of hunters in 1761, as mentioned above by Haywood, it is probable that he did so to revisit the theatre of a former hunt upon the creek that still bears his name, and where his camp is still pointed out near its banks. It is not improbable, indeed, that he belonged to, or accompanied, the party of Doctor Walker, on his first, or certainly on his second, tour of exploration in 1760. The inscription is sufficient authority, as this writer conceives, to date the arrival of Boon in Tennessee as early as its date, 1760, thus preceding the permanent settlement of the country nearly ten years.

1762 In the fall of the next year Wallen and his company returned again and hunted on the waters of Clinch; they crossed the Blue Ridge at the Flower Gap, New river, at Jones's Ford, and the Iron Mountain at the Blue Spring; they travelled down the south fork of Holston, and crossing the north fork and going to the Elk Garden, on the waters of Clinch, they discovered some Indian signs: they extended their journey, in the same direction, to the Hunters' Valley—so named from their travelling to and down it several days to Black-water Creek. They fixed their station-camp near the Tennessee line, and on the present road from Jonesville to Rogersville. Some of the same company travelled down to Greasy Rock Creek, and fixed a station-camp there. It stood near the present line between Hawkins and Claibourne counties.*

1763 This year Wallen's company ventured further into the interior—passed through Cumberland Gap, and hunted during the whole season on Cumberland river; and

*A grant, signed Arthur Dobbs, Governor of the Province of North-Carolina, William Beamer, Senr., Superintendent and Deputy Adjutant in and for the Cherokee Nation, and William Beamer, Junr., Interpreter, and the Little Carpenter, Half King of the Cherokee Nation of the Over-hill Towns, and Matthew Tool, Interpreter, made to Captain Patrick Jack, of the Province of Pennsylvania, is recorded in Register's office of Knox county. It purports to have been made at a council held at Tennessee river, March 1, 1757; and the consideration is four hundred dollars, and conveys to Captain Jack fifteen miles square south of Tennessee river. The grant itself, confirmatory of the purchase by Jack, is dated at a General Council met at Catawba river, May 7, 1762, and is witnessed by Nathaniel Alexander.

for the next several years continued to make fall hunts on Rockcastle river, near the Crab-Orchard, in Kentucky.

1764 Daniel Boon, who still lived on the Yadkin, though he had previously hunted on the western waters, came again this year to explore the country, being employed for this purpose by Henderson & Company. With him came Samuel Callaway, his kinsman, and the ancestor of the respectable family of that name, pioneers of Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri. Callaway was at the side of Boon when, approaching the spurs of the Cumberland Mountain, and in view of the vast herds of buffalo grazing in the vallies between them, he exclaimed, "I am richer than the man mentioned in scripture, who owned the cattle on a thousand hills—I own the wild beasts of more than a thousand vallies."

After Boon and Callaway, came another hunter, Henry Scaggins, who was also employed by Henderson. He extended his exploration to the Lower Cumberland, and fixed his station at Mansco's Lick.

1766 "About the last of June, 1766, Col. James Smith set off to explore the great body of rich lands, which, by conversing with the Indians, he understood to be between the Ohio and Cherokee rivers, and lately ceded by a treaty made with Sir William Johnston, to the King of Great Britain. He went, in the first place, to Holston river, and thence travelled westwardly in company with Joshua Horton, Uriah Stone and William Baker, who came from Carlisle, Pa.,—four in all—and a slave, aged 18, belonging to Horton. They explored the country south of Kentucky, and no vestige of a white man was to be found there, more than there is now at the head of the Missouri. They also explored Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, from Stone's river down to the Ohio. Stone's river is a branch of Cumberland, and empties into it eight or ten miles above Nashville. It was so named in the journal of these explorers, after Mr. Stone, one of their number, and has ever since retained the name. When they came to the mouth of Tennessee, Col. Smith concluded to return home, and the others to proceed to the Illinois. They gave to Col. Smith the greater part of their powder and lead—amounting only to half a pound of the former, and a proportionate quantity of lead. Mr. Horton, also, left with him his slave: and Smith set off with him through the wilderness, to Carolina. Near a buffalo path, they made them a shelter; but, fearing the Indians might pass that way and discover his fire place, he removed to a greater distance from it. After remaining there six weeks, he proceeded on his journey, and arrived in Carolina in October. He thence travelled to Fort Chissel, and from there returned home to Coneco-Cheague, in the fall of 1767."*

* Haywood.

This exploration of Col. Smith was, with the exception of Scaggins's, the first that had been made of the country west of Cumberland Mountain, in Tennessee, by any of the Anglo-American race. The extraordinary fertility of the soil upon the Lower Cumberland—the luxuriant cane-breaks upon the table-lands of its tributaries—its dark and variegated forest—its rich flora—its exuberant pasturage—in a word, the exact adaptation of the country to all the wants and purposes of a great and flourishing community, impressed the explorer with the importance of his discovery, and of its great value to such of his countrymen as should afterwards come in and possess it Not strange was it, that the recital of what he had seen during his long and perilous absence, should excite in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvnnia, as he passed homeward, an urgent and irrepressible desire to emigrate to, and settle, this El Dorado of the West.*

1767 During this year John Findley, a fearless Indian trader from North-Carolina, accompanied by several comrades, visited the West. Passing through Upper East Tennessee to the Cumberland Gap ,he continued his explorations to the Kentucky river.

Indeed, the spirit of exploration and adventure was now a mania: it had become an epidemic—numbering among its subjects every bold, fearless, daring, ambitious, intrepid backwoodsman. Companies of these, varying in number from two to forty, accumulated in rapid succession upon the border settlements, from the Monongahela to the Savannah, and excited in the minds of the more discreet and sagacious settlers, apprehension of renewed hostilities from the now friendly natives of the country. They clearly foresaw that an avalanche of population, concentrating thus upon the frontier, could not be restrained from precipitating itself across an ideal line—the feeble barrier that now separated the two races. These apprehensions were not without foundation.

"The peace of 1763 had secured to Great Britain the right of territorial sovereignty to the country east of the Mississippi, to which France

* Colonel Croghan, in his Journal, May 31, 1765, passing down the Ohio river, mentions "the mouth of the river Kentucky, or Holsten's river." The head of Holston may previously have been seen, and probably was supposed to run in the direction of the Kentucky river.

had previously asserted the paramount right of territory and dominion. The change of this right of dominion, whether real or imaginary, necessarily facilitated the transmigration of British colonists from their Atlantic settlements to the newly acquired territory on the western waters. * * * But the treaty of Paris had made no stipulation for the tribes who had been in alliance with France, and who claimed to be independent nations, and the real owners of the territory ceded by her. They had been no party to the treaty of peace, and they refused to be bound by any transfer which the French King should make of their country to the English. Every excursion, therefore, into their hunting grounds, was, at first, viewed with dissatisfaction and jealousy, and at a later period, resisted as an encroachment upon their rights and an invasion of their soil. This jealousy against the English colonists was the more easily excited in the minds of the Indians, as the French had always taken pains to impress upon them the inordinate desire and determination of England to occupy their lands and to dispossess them of their whole country. To quiet, as far as possible, any discontent from this source, and to remove any apprehension that the British government designed to extend its jurisdiction over the territory of the Indians, the proclamation of King George was issued, Oct. 7, 1763, prohibiting all the provincial governors from granting lands, or issuing land warrants, to be located upon any territory lying west of the mountains, or west of the sources of those streams which flow into the Atlantic, and all settlements by the subjects of Great Britain, west of the sources of the Atlantic rivers. The proclamation of the king further 'strictly enjoined and required that no private persons do presume to purchase from the Indians any lands, &c. And that if the Indians should be inclined to dispose of their lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some general meeting or assembly of the Indians, to be held for that purpose, by the governor or commander-in-chief of our colony respectively.'"*

It was further directed and required, that "all traders should take out licenses from their respective governors, for carrying on commerce with the Indians." In accordance, also, with the provisions of this proclamation, the boundaries of the Indian hunting grounds were fixed, and a superintendent of Indian affairs was appointed for the southern district. This office was conferred upon Captain John Stuart, who, as we have already seen, owed his life, at the massacre of the garrison at Fort Loudon, to the clemency and interposition of his captor, a Cherokee chief.

However well intended, this proclamation of the distant king was a dead letter. In the back woods of America, it received no hearty response—exacted not the lowest whisper

* Marshall.

of obedience. It was every where, and by all classes of men, disregarded. Masses of population were, upon the western boundary of all the middle and southern colonies, ready and impatient for the occupancy of the new lands in the wilderness. Hunters and traders had discovered and explored them. They knew the avenues by which they could be reached, and had spread abroad among their countrymen enchanting accounts of their value and beauty. Another circumstance hastened the more perfect exploration and future settlement of the western country. It was the bounty given in these very lands, by several of the provinces, with the approbation of the crown, to the officers and soldiers who had served in the British army, in their wars with the French and their Indian allies.* These, with the script and military warrants in their hands, and accompanied by hundreds of surveyors and agents, were constantly employed in selecting and locating their respective claims. The proclamation of the king could not deter them from their locations and surveys. Even the wise and virtuous George Washington and Chancellor Living ston admitted it to be intended merely to quiet the jealous apprehensions of the Indians, against the advance of the white settlements on the western side of the mountains. It was not, in any wise, designed, really, to check the ultimate occupation of the country. Virginia, viewing the proclamation in no other light than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians, soon afterwards patented considerable tracts of land on the Ohio, far beyond the Apalachian mountains.† Thus the discontents of the Indians were increased, and by the opening of the spring of 1768, along the whole line of the western frontier, from the sources of the Susquehannah to those of the Tennessee, they became exasperated, and united in their determination to check further encroachments, and to enforce an observance of their rights; still they refrained from open hostilities, while the

* By the proclamation of the king, the governors were directed to grant "to every person having the rank of a field officer, 5000 acres; to every captain, 3000 acres; to every subaltern or staff officer, 2000 acres; to every non-commissioned officer, 200 acres; and to every private, 50 acres.

† See Sparks's writings of Washington.

restless population of the Atlantic border continued to press forward into the west, regardless, alike of the rights of the Indians and the proclamation of the king, issued five years previously.*

1767 At the recommendation of Gov. Tryon, an appropriation was made by the Province of North-Carolina, on the application of the Cherokee nation, for running a dividing line between the western settlements of the province and their hunting grounds, and the governor was authorized to appoint three commissioners for that purpose.

1768 "In May of this year, an appeal was made to the proper authorities, to restrain further encroachments on the part of the frontier people, upon the lands claimed by the Indians. Some of the settlements now being formed upon the head of the Kenhawa, and the north fork of Holston, were upon territory to which the Indian title had not been extinguished, and parties of woodmen, explorers, and surveyors, were distributed in the vallies below, preparatory to a further occupancy. The superintendents of Indian affairs were, accordingly, instructed by the royal government to establish the boundaries between the whites and the Indians, and to purchase from the latter the lands already occupied by the king's subjects. But what tribe owned these lands? Who were the proprietors of the soil?"

At the time of its earliest exploration, the country east and north of the Tennessee river was not in the occupancy of any Indian tribe. Vestiges were then found, and, indeed, still remain, of an ancient and dense population—indicating higher progress in civilization and the arts than has been attained by more modern tribes in this part of the continent. A fresh hunting camp was occasionally found,

"But in their frequent peregrinations and trading expeditions through the vast territories between the Ohio and the Tennessee rivers, the first traders, hunters and explorers never found, within that extent of country, a single wigwam or modern Indian village. The Indian settlements nearest to the frontier border of the Carolinas, and of south-western Virginia, were on the Sciota and Miami, in the north, and on the waters of the Little Tennessee in the south. From these points the various war or hunting parties issued, to engage in the one or the other pursuit, as the passions or the opportunities of their expeditions might lead. Here the Choctaws, Chickasaws or Cherokees, of the south, used to engage with the various tribes of the Miami Confederacy, of the north; here they indulged their passion for hunting, in the profusion of game afforded by Tennessee and Kentucky. That part of these two states embraced within the boundaries mentioned, was one great park, where

* Monette.

the skill of the uncivilized hunter was practiced, and a central theatre, upon which the desperate conflicts of savage warriors and bloody rivals were perpetrated. By common agreement of all the surrounding tribes, this whole section of country seems to have been reserved for these purposes, from permanent occupancy; and so much was it exempted from settlement, that south of the Ohio, and north and east of the Tennessee, it is not known that a single village was settled by the Indians; yet no situations have generally delighted savage tribes, so much as the margins of water courses; the opportunities of navigation, and of fishing, unite to attract them to such spots. Some known and acknowledged inhibition must have, therefore, prevented the settlement and possession of this great Mesopotamia. What was it? On this subject, tradition and history are alike indistinct and unsatisfactory."*

At the point of time to which these annals have reached, the territory of which we are speaking was claimed, though not occupied, by the Confederacy of the Six Nations. These were called by the early French historians, Iroquois, and by the English, Mohawks. In 1672 these tribes conquered the Illinois and Shawanee Indians, the latter of whom were also incorporated with them. To these conquests they added, in 1685, that of the Miamis, and about the same time carried their victorious arms westward to the Mississippi, and southward to what is now Georgia. In 1711 they incorporated with them the Tuscaroras, when expelled from North-Carolina.† Gov. Pownal, in his "administration of the British Colonies," says that these tribes carried their arms as far south as Carolina and as far west as the Mississippi, over a vast country, twelve hundred miles in length and six hundred in breadth, where they destroyed whole nations, of whom there are no accounts remaining among the English: and, continues the same writer, the rights of these tribes to the hunting lands on the Ohio may be fairly proved by their conquests over the Shawanees, Delawares, &c., as they stood possessed thereof at the peace of Ryswick, in 1697. In further confirmation of this Indian title, Butler adds:

"It must be mentioned that Lewis Evans represents, in his map of the Middle Colonies of Great Britain, the country on the south-easterly side of the Ohio river, as the hunting lands of the Six Nations. In the analysis to his map, he expressly says that the Shawneese, who were once a most considerable nation, have been subdued by the confederates, and

* Butler's Kentucky. † Butler.

their country has since become their property. At a celebrated treaty, held more than a century since at Lancaster, the statement made by the delegates in attendance from the Six Nations to Dr. Franklin, was, 'that all the world knows that we conquered all the nations back of the great mountains; we conquered the nations residing there, and that land, if the Virginians ever get a good right to it, it must be by us.' These Indian claims are solemnly appealed to in a diplomatic memorial, addressed by the British ministry to the Duke Mirepoix, on the part of France, June 7, 1755. 'It is a certain truth, states the memorial, that these lands have belonged to the Confederacy, and as they have not been given up or made over to the English, belong still to the same Indian Nations.' The court of Great Britain maintained, in this negotiation, that the confederates were, by origin or by right of conquest, the lawful proprietors of the river Ohio and the territory in question. In support of this ancient aboriginal title, Butler adds the further testimony of Dr. Mitchell's map of North America, made with the documents of the Colonial office before him. In this map, the same as the one by which the boundaries in the treaty of Paris, in 1783, were adjusted, the Doctor observes, 'that the Six Nations have extended their territories ever since the year 1672, when they subdued and were incorporated with the ancient Shawaneese, *the native proprietors* of these countries.' This, he adds, is confirmed by their own claims and possessions in 1742, which include all the bounds as laid down in the map, and none have even thought fit to dispute them."*

Such was the aboriginal title to the greater part of Tennessee in 1767, when the white settlers approached its east-
1768 { ern boundary. On the 6th of May of this year a deputation of the Six Nations presented to the superintendent of Indian affairs, a formal remonstrance against the continued encroachments of the whites upon their lands. The subject was immediately considered by the royal goverment; and near the close of summer, orders were issued to Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Northern Indian Affairs, instructing him to convene the chiefs, warriors and sachems of the tribes most interested. Agreeably to these orders, Sir William Johnson convened the delegates of the Six Nations, and their confederates and dependents, at Fort Stanwix, (now Utica, N. Y.,) October 24. Three thousand two hundred Indians, of seventeen different tribes, tributaries to the Confederacy, or occupying territories coterminous with theirs, attended. On the 5th of November, a treaty of limits and a deed of cession to the King of England, were

* Franklin's works, as quoted by Butler.

signed. In this, the delegates of their respective nations aver that "*they are the true and absolute proprietors of the lands thus ceded*, and that for the considerations mentioned, "we have continued the line *south to the Cherokee or Hogohegee rivers,* because the same is, and we declare it to be, our true bounds with the Southern Indians, and that we have an undoubted right to the country as far south as that river.*"

The cession thus made by the Six Nations, of the country north and east of the Tennessee river, is the first deed from any of the aboriginal tribes for any territory within the boundaries of our state. The title of the Confederates to these lands was, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, forever transferred from them; but other tribes contended that the Six Nations had not an *exclusive claim* to them, but that they were the common hunting grounds of the Cherokees and Chickasaws also. In the journal of the commissioners, detailing the progress of the treaty, the tribes represented, &c., no mention is made of delegates in attendance from any of the southern Indian tribes. It is said by Haywood, that some visiting Cherokees were present at the treaty, who upon their route had killed game for their support, and on their arrival at Fort Stanwix, immediately tendered the skins to the Indians of the Six Nations, saying: "they are yours; we killed them after we passed the big river," as they always designated the Tennessee. This would seem to imply an acquiescence on their part, in the validity of the claim of the Six Nations. These claimed the soil, not as its aboriginal owners, but by the right of conquest; and all tradition concurs in admitting their right to that extent. But the Cherokees had long exercised the privilege of hunting upon these lands, and therefore regarded, with jealousy and dissatisfaction, the approaches of the white settlements. Mr. Stuart, the Superintendent of Southern Indian Affairs, was therefore instructed to assemble the southern Indians for the purpose of establishing a boundary with them; and before negotiations with the confederates at Fort Stanwix had begun, he concluded a treaty with the Cherokees at Hard Labour, in South-Carolina, October 14, 1768. By this treaty, it

* The Holston was thus called.

was agreed that the south-western boundary of Virginia should be a line "extending from the point where the northern line of North-Carolina intersects the Cherokee hunting grounds, about thirty-six miles east of Long Island, in the Holston river, and thence extending in a direct course, north by east, to Chiswell's Mine, on the east bank of the Kenhawa river, and thence down that stream to its junction with the Ohio." This line, however, did not include all the settlements then made; and even during the progress of the treaty, the settlers were advancing further west, and erecting their cabins north-west of the Holston, and upon the branches of the Clinch and Powell's river, within the limits of the Indian territory. This fact being ascertained, a subsequent treaty became necessary for the adjustment of a new boundary and the remuneration of the savages for an additional extent of country."*

ABORIGINES OF TENNESSEE.

At the time of its first exploration, Tennessee was a vast and almost unoccupied wilderness—a solitude over which an Indian hunter seldom roamed, and to which no tribe put in a distinct and well defined claim, For this reason, and on account of the mildness of its climate, and the rich pasturage furnished by its varied ranges of plain and mountain, Tennessee, in common with Kentucky, had become an extensive park, of which the beasts of the forest held undisturbed possession. Into these wild recesses, savage daring did not often venture to penetrate. Equi-distant from the settled territories of the southern and northern Indian tribes, it remained, by common consent, uninhabited by either, and little explored. The approach of civilization, from several directions, began to abridge the territories of surrounding Indian nations; and the margin of this great terra incognita was occasionally visited by parties of savages in pursuit of game, and as places of retreat from the encroachments of a superior race. In these respects, the value of the country began to be appreciated as hunting

* Monette.

grounds, and as affording immunity from the molestations of civilized man. Vague and uncertain claims to several portions of the territory, were asserted by as many several tribes; but no part of the present Tennessee was held by the actual and permanent occupancy of the Indians, except that section embraced by the segment of a circle, of which Tennessee river is the periphery, from the point where it intersects the North-Carolina line to that where this stream enters the State of Alabama. This was settled by the Cherokees. All of Tennessee, besides this, was uninhabited, though a portion of it was claimed or occupied as hunting grounds by the Shawnees, the Chickasaws, the Choctaws and the Cherokees.

The limits of these several territorial claims were ill defined and indistinct. An ideal line, merely, passing through boundless forests and pathless mountains, with no river or other notorious object to ascertain its exactness, became the occasion of misunderstanding between rival Indian nations.

Of the four tribes, as above enumerated, a brief notice will be given, as connected with and illustrative of, the settlement of Tennessee.

SHAWNEES.

The earlier French explorers, and geographers after them, designate the banks of the Lower Cumberland as the country of the Shawnees. Numerous villages are laid down on the map, published with Marquette's Journal in 1681, within the present boundaries of Tennessee. They were a wandering nation—one of their tribes being mentioned as dwelling for a time in Eastern Virginia, and another, soon after, on the headwaters of the Savannah. Adair, little more than a century since, "saw the chief part of the main camp of the Shawano, consisting of about four hundred and fifty persons, on a tedious ramble to the Muskoghee country, where they settled, seventy miles above the Alabahma garrison."

The late General Robertson learned from the Indians, that more than a century and a half ago, (1665,) the Shawnees occupied the country from the Tennessee river to where Nashville now is, and north of the Cumberland; and that about 1700, they left this country and emigrated north, and were re-

ceived *as a wandering tribe* by the Six Nations, but were not allowed to have there any claim to the soil. As late as 1764, the Shawnees moved from Green river, in Kentucky, where a part of them then resided, to the Wabash.

In 1772, the Little Corn Planter, a most intelligent Cherokee chief, narrated, that the Shawnees, a hundred years before, by the permission of his nation, removed from the Savannah river to Cumberland. That many years afterwards, the two nations becoming unfriendly, the Cherokees marched, in a large body, to the frontiers of the Shawnees—and dividing themselves into several small parties, unexpectedly and treacherously, as Little Corn Planter expressed himself—fell upon the Shawnees, and put a great many of them to death. The survivors then forted themselves, and maintained a protracted war in defence of their possession of the country. At length the Chickasaws became the allies of the Cherokees; and the expulsion of the Shawnees from the Cumberland valley was gradually effected. This was about the beginning of the last century. A few years later, when Monsieur Char-

1714 { leville opened a store where Nashville now is, he occupied this fort of the Shawnees, as his dwelling.

They were then, and had been for several years, so harassed by their enemies, that small parties of them had been, for a long time, gradually withdrawing from the country; and their number had become so inconsiderable, that they determined to abandon Cumberland entirely, and soon after did so. The Chickasaws, hearing of the intended removal of the Shawnees, resolved to strike an effectual blow against them, and, if possible, possess themselves of their stores. For this purpose, a large party of Chickasaw warriors posted themselves on both sides of Cumberland, above the mouth of Harpeth, provided with canoes, to prevent escape by water. Their attack was successful. All the Shawnees were killed, and their property was captured by the Chickasaws.

The hostilities between these tribes not being brought to a close, by any formal treaty of peace, they continued to destroy each other as often as opportunity offered. At length, afraid of meeting each other, all of these tribes wholly forsook the country; and for sixty years it remained not only unoccupied by either, but was seldom visited by a hunting party. In this

way, when it was first explored and began to be settled by the whites, the whole country west of Cumberland mountain was found uninhabited, and abounding with all the wild beasts of the forest.

Small parties of wandering Shawnees occasionally infested the frontiers, and from their familiarity with the mountains, the rivers, and the paths to and from the country, were able to inflict serious damage to the infant settlements. A part of the banditti who afterwards infested the narrows of the Tennessee river, and committed such enormous outrages on emigrants and navigators, at these celebrated passes, were Shawnees.

In the map accompanying Adair's book, the river from the head of Holston to the confluence of the Tennessee and Ohio, is called Cherake. The Cumberland is called Old Shauvanon, or river of the Shawnees. Near the source of the latter stream, a tributary of the Tennessee takes its rise; it is probably intended for the modern Clinch. The Hiwassee is called Euphasee, of which Chestoe is a confluent. Tennase is the stream now known as Little Tennessee.

CHICKASAWS.

This nation of Indians inhabited the country east of the Mississippi, and north of the Choctaw boundary; their villages and settlements were generally south of the 35th degree of north latitude, but they claimed all the territory within the present States of Tennessee and Kentucky, which lies between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers, and a considerable portion north of the former. These they claimed as hunting grounds, though they had few or no permanent settlements within them. Tradition assigns to this tribe, when they first emigrated to this country, a very considerable population, but when Adair first visited them, (1735,) the Chickasaw warriors were estimated below five hundred. Though thus inconsiderable in numbers, the Chickasaws were warlike and valiant. They exercised an unwonted influence over the Natches, Choctaws and other tribes. Their peaceable but brave warriors, were instrumental in preventing hostilities between their more numerous neighbouring tribes, or in concentrating their hostile operations against the

French and Spaniards. Generally they were the friends and allies of the Anglo-Americans.

At the time of De Soto's invasion, this tribe, as has been already mentioned, occupied the same territory which has since been the seat of that nation, extending south from the mouth of the Tennessee river, to the country of the Natches and Choctaws. Chickasaw tradition assigns to this tribe a residence, at one time, upon the Savannah. Chonubbee, one of their chieftains, said, that when his tribe occupied the country opposite to and east of Augusta, Georgia, hostilities arose between their people and the Creeks, and forced a great part of them to migrate to the country bordering on the Mississippi, while another fragment of their tribe was subdued by, and became incorporated with, the Creeks. As late as 1795, the Chickasaws presented to Congress their claim for lands on the Savannah.

There is a close affinity between the Chickasaws and Choctaws, in their physical appearances, their languages, customs, traditions and laws. These tribes are believed to have had a common origin.

UCHEES.

A small tribe of Uchees once occupied the country near the mouth of Hiwassee. Their warriors were exterminated in a desperate battle with the Cherokees. Little else is known of them.

MUSKOGEE OR CREEKS.

Fragments of this powerful tribe occasionally lived on the southern boundary of Tennessee, but never formed a permanent settlement in it.

CHEROKEES.

Adair says of the Cherokees, "their national name is derived from *Chee-ra*—fire—which is their reputed lower heaven, and hence they call their magi, Cheera-tahge, men possessed of the divine fire. The natives make two divisions of their country, which they term *Ayrate* and *Ottare*, signifying *low* and

mountainous. The former is on the head branches of the beautiful Savannah, and the latter on those of the eastern-most river of the great Mississippi."

The same writer says, that forty years before the time he wrote, (1775,) the Cherokees had sixty-four populous towns, and that the old traders estimated their fighing men at above six thousand. The frequent wars between the Over-hill Towns and the northern Indians, and between the Middle and Lower Towns and the Muskogee or Creek Indians, had greatly diminished the number of the warriors, and contracted the extent of their settlements.

"Within twenty miles of the late Fort Loudon," continues Mr. Adair, "there is a great plenty of whet-stones for razors, of red, white and black colours. The silver mines are so rich, that by digging about ten yards deep, some desperate vagrants found at sundry times, so much rich ore, as to enable them to counterfeit dollars to a great amount, a horse-load of which was detected, in passing for the purchase of negroes at Augusta." He also mentions load stone as being found there and at Cheowhee, and also a variety of precious stones, of "various colour and beautiful lustre, clear and very hard." A tradition still continues of the existence of the silver mine mentioned thus by Adair. It is derived from hunters and traders who had seen the locality, and assisted in smelting the metal. After the whites had settled near and began to encroach upon the Over-hill towns, their inhabitants began to withhold all knowledge of the mines from the traders, apprehending that their cupidity for the precious metals would lead to an appropriation of the mines, and the ultimate expulsion of the natives from the country. The late Mr. De Lozier, of Sevier county, testified to the existence and richness of mines of silver, one of which he had worked at, in the very section of the Cherokee country described by Adair.

The Cherokee tribe is closely identified with the settlement and history of Tennessee. Their nation, and some of their villages, are frequently mentioned in the accounts of De Soto's invasion, and the journals of other explorers and adventurers into the interior of the south-west. They were formidable alike for their numbers and their passion for war.

The frontier of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, all suffered from their vigour and their enterprise; and these pages will hereafter abound with instances of their revenge, their perfidy, and their courage. They were the mountaineers of aboriginal America, and, like all other mountaineers, adored their country, and held on to and defended it with a heroic devotion—a patriotic constancy, and an unyielding tenacity, which cannot be too much admired or eulogized.

"Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent: etiam hac defensa fuissent."

The native land of the Cherokee was the most inviting and beautiful section of the United States, lying upon the sources of the Catawba and the Yadkin—upon Keowee, Tugaloo, Flint, Etowah and Coosa, on the east and south, and several of the tributaries of the Tennessee on the west and north.

This tribe, inhabiting the country from which the southern confluents of the Tennessee spring, gave their name, at first to that noble stream. In the earlier maps, the Tennessee is called the Cherokee river. In like manner, the name of this tribe also designated the mountains near them. Currahee is only a corruption of Cherokee, and in the maps and treaties where it is thus called, it means the mountains of the Cherokees.

Of the martial spirit of this tribe, abundant evidence will be hereafter given. In the hazardous enterprises of war, they were animated by a restless spirit which goaded them into new exploits, and to the acquisition of a fresh stock of martial renown. The white people, for some years previous to 1730, interposed their good offices to bring about a pacification between them and the Tuscaroras, with whom they had long waged incessant war. The reply of the Cherokees was: "We cannot live without war. Should we make peace with the Tuscaroras, we must immediately look out for some other, with whom we can be engaged in our beloved occupation." Actuated by the restless activity of this sentiment, there have been but few intervals in the history of the Cherokees, when they have permitted themselves to sink into the inglorious arms of peace, and to be employed only in the

less perilous slaughter of the wild beasts of the wilderness. They have hardly ever ceased to sigh for danger, and to aspire to the rank which is attained by acts of heroic valour.* Under the promptings of this feeling, they have, at different times, been engaged in war against the colonists of England, of France, and of Spain, and also against other Indian tribes, with varied success. They assisted in the reduction of Fort Du Quesne; they besieged and captured Fort Loudon; they met the entire tribe of the Uchees, at the Uchee Old Fields, in what is now Rhea county, and, exterminating all its warriors, compelled the surviving remnant of that brave race to retreat to Florida, where they became incorporated with the Seminoles.

The Cherokees have a tradition, that when their tribe first crossed the Alleghanies, and settled upon the Little Tennessee river, some Creeks had previously occupied the country near the mouth of the Hiwassee river. Being near neighbours, the latter pretended to enter into alliance with the former, in a war which they were then carrying on against the Shawnees, but secretly abetted the common enemy. Their treachery became known to the Cherokees while celebrating one of their national festivals at Chota, when they fell suddenly upon the unsuspecting Creeks, and cut them off. A general war between these two tribes succeeded, and was carried on with such vigour as to cause the Creeks to abandon all their settlements and villages on the waters of Tennessee, and to leave them in the undisturbed possession of the Cherokees. Indeed, the latter pushed their conquests as far as the great Creek Path, and then crossed over to Coosa, where, at a large settlement on an island, they by stratagem drew the Creeks from their towns, in a fleet of canoes, to a place on the bank of Coosa, where they lay in ambush, captured the canoes and all the Creek warriors, sacked their towns, and massacred the defenceless inhabitants. The English name of the leader of this excursion was Bullhead. Cherokee tradition abounds with instances of the exploits performed by this Brave against the Creeks.

These continued successes of the Cherokees made them

* Haywood's Aboriginal History.

quarrelsome, arrogant and incautious. They took offence at the Chickasaws, with whom they had confederated in the expulsion of the Shawnees, and in prosecution of a hostile invasion of their country, had advanced as far as the Chickasaw Old Fields. The inoffensive but brave owners of the country, there met the invaders with great spirit. A terrible conflict ensued. The Cherokees were defeated, and withdrew by the way of the Cumberland river and the Cany Fork, to their own villages. This signal overthrow of the flower of the Cherokee nation, took place about 1769—the period when the first white settlement was being formed on Watauga, and, doubtless, contributed much to the pacific demeanour manifested for some years by the neighbouring Indians to that infant, feeble and secluded community. The favourable moment was lost, when the young Hercules might have been strangled in his cradle, by a slight exertion of the usual vigilance and enterprise of the Indian sachem and warrior. A germ of the Anglo-American family was permitted to take root and to grow for a time, unmolested by Cherokee opposition, and unrestrained by savage wariness and caution.

Every Indian tribe, according to Adair, has a house or town of refuge, which is a sure asylum to protect a man-slayer, or the unfortunate captive, if he can once enter into it.

Among the Cherokees, Chota, five miles above the ruins of Fort Loudon, was their city of refuge. At this place an Englishman took refuge and found protection, after killing an Indian warrior in defence of his property. His dwelling-house being near to Chota, the English trader resolved, after remaining in the city of refuge some months, to return home; but he was assured by the head men, that although perfectly safe where he then was, it would be not only dangerous but fatal to him, if he attempted to remove thence. The Indians will revenge blood for blood, unless in some particular case, where the eldest kinsman of the slain is allowed to redeem or pardon.

Among the distinguished Cherokees, was Oconostota. Of him Adair says: "Before the last war, *Old Hop*, who was helpless and lame, presided over the whole nation, as Archimagus, and lived in Chota, their only town of refuge."

Speaking of the Indian's passion for revenge, Adair says: "I have known them to go a thousand miles for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods, over hills and mountains, through large cane swamps, full of grape-vines and briars, over broad lakes, rapid rivers and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, if not with the rambling and lurking enemy—while, at the same time, they were exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitudes of the season, to hunger and thirst—both by chance and their religious scanty method of living when at war—to fatigues and other difficulties. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly contemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer or enemy, to satisfy the supposed craving ghosts of their deceased relations."

Amongst the Cherokees, when first seen by the pioneers of Tennessee, there were no cities or fortresses—scarcely a considerable village. Their towns—settlements, rather—were rude huts and wigwams, scattered without order or regularity, along the banks of some stream abounding with springs, and convenient to a fishery, a hunting ground, or lands for pasturage. To each hut was attached a small patch of rich land, from which the cane had been removed. This was used as a garden, where the women cultivated beans, Indian corn, and, at a later period, apples, peaches and plums. These lots were often without fences—as the domestic animals which the Indians raised, were not kept near their houses, but roamed at large over the cane-breaks, or the more distant prairies or forests.

The Indians designated the mountains and streams of their country by names remarkable for their euphony and beauty. Many of these have been lost, or are now seldom heard. The loss is, we fear, irreparable. Bay's, Stone, Iron, Yellow, Smoky, Black, Grand-father Mountains, were once doubtless known by names as smooth and musical as Alleghanee, Unaca, Chilhowee and Chattanooga. Dumplin, Sandy Mush, Little Dismal, Bull Run, Calf Killer, Sweet Water, and High Tower, though sufficiently significant, would grate harshly upon the ears of a Cherokee, who had bathed in the waters, luxuriated

in the shades, formed his ambuscade and sung his war-song upon the banks of the Allejay, the Oustinalla and the Etowah.

ABORIGINAL NAMES OF THE RIVERS IN TENNESSEE.

From information derived from all the sources within his reach, this writer believes that the Tennessee river was called by the first explorers and geographers, Reviere des Cheraquis, or Cosquinambeaux—but by the aborigines, Kallamuchee; which I take to be the aboriginal name of the stream, from its confluence with the Ohio to the mouth of Little Tennessee. From this point to the mouth of the French Broad, it was called Cootcla; and from there to the mouth of Watauga, and perhaps to its source in Virginia, the Holston was known to the Indians as Hogohegee. The French Broad, throughout its whole length, was the Agiqua, and received, on its northern bank, the Swannanoah and the Nonachunheh (now Nollichucky). The present barbarous Clinch, had the more euphonious name, Pellissippi. Little River was the Canot; Little Tennessee was the Tannassee; and its confluent, Tellico, has been changed from Ptsaliko, or Saliko; Hiwassee, was pronounced Euphasee; Cumberland, was called by the Indians, Warioto—but by the French, Shauvanon; Wolf River was the Margot; Loushatchee, Hatchee, Sequatchee, Ocoee, Conesauga and Watauga have, happily, escaped the Vandal mutilation or corruption which the unfortunate Holston, French Broad, Clinch, Wolf and Forked Deer have suffered.

When the pioneers of Tennessee settled in the south-western part of Virginia, and the coterminous portions of North-Carolina, the country had ceased to be, perhaps had never been, the settled residence of any of the more modern aboriginal tribes. At this time it was the common hunting grounds of the Shawnees, Cherokees and other southern Indians. But east and north of the Tennessee river, there was not a single Indian hut. Still, along the vallies of what is now East Tennessee and South-western Virginia, lay the great route and thoroughfare between the northern and southern Indians, in their intercourse with distant tribes, in their hunting excursions, in their hostile expeditions and in their em-

bassies of peace; this was the path of migration, the chase, the treaty and savage invasion. Besides its central position and its direct bearing, the great Apalachian chain could no where else be so easily ascended and crossed. Abundance of game, water and fuel, a healthful and moderate climate, an unoccupied territory, no impracticable swamps, or deep and wide streams to retard their journeyings, were all considerations that led to the selection of this path. One branch of it was nearly the same as the present stage route passing the Big Lick, in Bottetourt county, Viginia; crossing New River at old Fort Chissel, near Inglis' Ferry, Holston at the Seven Mile Ford, thence to the left of the present stage road and near to the river, to the North Fork, crossing as at present; thence to Big Creek and crossing the Holston at Dodson's Ford, to the Grassy Springs, near the residence of the late Micajah Lea; thence down the waters of Nollichucky to Long Creek, ascending that stream to its source, and descending Dumplin Creek to a point a few miles from its mouth, where the path deflected to the left and crossed French Broad near Buckingham's Island. Near this, the path divided. One branch of it went up the west fork of Little Pigeon, and crossed some small mountains to the Tuckalechee towns, and so on to the Over-hill villages of the Cherokees. The other and main fork, went up Boyd's Creek to its source, and falling upon the head branches of Allejay, descended its valley to Little River, and crossing near Henry's, went by the present town of Maryville, to the mouth of Tellico, and passing through the Indian towns and villages of Tellico, Chota and Hiwassee, descended the Coosa, where it connected with the Great War Path of the Creeks. Near the Wolf Hills, now Abingdon, another path came in from the north-west, which pursued nearly the same route now travelled from the latter place to Kentucky, and crossing the mountain at that remarkable depression called Cumberland Gap. It was along this path that the earlier English explorers and hunters first passed to Kentucky, and through it the Rockcastle and Ohio savages often penetrated, to molest and break up the early settlements upon New River and Holston.

Dr. Hardy, of Asheville, North-Carolina, believes that the

Cherokees used the country, near and around the sources of the French Broad, more as hunting grounds than as a place of residence. This opinion is sustained by the fact, that the streams and mountains of that region do not bear aboriginal names. French Broad, Pigeon, Sandy Mush, Ivy, &c., are the water courses. Blue Ridge, Pisgah, Glass, Smoky and Bald, are the mountains, all English names. No considerable war path or Indian trace passed through those elevated and almost inaccessible regions, and it was not till after 1787 that emigrants passed through them.

Little of the former history of the Cherokee tribe can be ascertained from their traditions. These extend little further back than the early days of O-ka-na-sto-ta, the distinguished chief who visited England in the days of George II. From his time they date the declension of their nation; he was king or principal chief. His seat of government was one of the Over-hill towns, Echota, more properly E-tsaw-ty, on Tellico river, since the property of the late John McGhee, Esq.

Of the tumuli scattered every where through the country, and of other remains occasionally found in and near them, the Cherokees know nothing, only that when their fathers first took possession of the country, they considered them as the vestiges of an ancient and more numerous population, further advanced in the arts of civilized life than their own people. For these relics they seemed to entertain some peculiar veneration, and never appropriated them to any secular purpose or use.

The piles or heaps of rocks, so often met with in the gaps or crossing places of mountains or ridges, are structures very different from the tumuli proper. They are believed to be more modern, and it is not improbable that they owe their origin to a superstition not uncommon, if not general, in all heathen countries. The Rev. Mr. Winslow, American missionary at Oodooville, in the district of Jafna, makes the following statement in a journal under date of May 19, 1832: "In coming over a tract of land which would be called in America 'barrens,' where there was no forest and but little cultivation, I saw in several places, near the foot paths leading to the principal bazaar, large piles of stones; and en-

quiring into the cause, was told that the people, in passing over such places, are in the habit, each one, of casting a stone upon heaps begun in some particular spot, as an offering to an evil spirit, who would otherwise afflict them and their families."

We may not here indulge in further remarks upon the aborigines of America. Were it otherwise proper, the theme would invite us to inquire into and examine their physical, domestic, political, social and religious history; their manners, rites, arts, traditions, religion, government and laws. The analogies which are found betwen these and those of some Asiatic tribes, not less than their physical affinities, furnish, if not the foundation of legitimate inference, certainly ground for plausible conjecture and speculation. In their language or dialects, is presented a subject for philological research that may illustrate the connection which, at some former time, existed between the aboriginal population of America and the rest of the world. But upon these topics we dare not enter. It must be sufficient here, only to say that every where in the West, we find ourselves surrounded with vestiges of different nations who have lived here before us; and that we may infer from these relics, very different degrees of progress and improvement in the people who constructed them. Of these there are three classes. First:—those belonging to the modern Indians; these are neither numerous nor interesting—such as rude axes of stone, pestles and mortars, arrow heads, earthen vessels, pipes, war clubs, musical instruments and idols, carved out of a species of serpentine, calumets, &c. Second:—those belonging to or constructed by a people of European or foreign descent; such as medals, coins, beads, crucifixes, furnaces, &c. Third:—those belonging to or made by a people evidently demi-civilized, who anciently inhabited the country; such as forts, cemeteries, tumuli, temples, altars, camps, towns, videttes, fortifications, &c. These structures furnish unquestionable evidence, that a dense population, at a remote period, occupied this country, and had made some advance in the arts of civilized life. These, though they may not awaken in the beholder the same associations as

the ruins of Rome, or the majestic desolations of Greece, are certainly not entirely devoid of interest, but excite a feeling of veneration for the memory of those mighty empires which once flourished where these vestiges of their former greatness are yet found. And the inquiry forcibly presents itself, who were these unknown people? How and when have these nations become extinct? Did some swarm of ruthless invaders from our northern hive, at some far distant period of time, seeking a more genial climate, descend the vallies of the West, and, carrying devastation in their march, Vandal-like, consign them to oblivion? Tradition, a medium of communication between remote ages too much undervalued, is not altogether silent on this subject. At a very noted congress or treaty, held early in the last century, at Lancaster, Pa., Indian delegates in attendance, said their ancestors had conquered several nations on the west side of the Great Mountains, viz: "The Cony-uch-such-roona, the Coch-now-was-roonon, the Tohoa-nough-roonaw, and the Conutskin-ough-roonaw."

The traditions of the Tennessee tribes on the subject, are indistinct and conflicting. They agree in this, that their forefathers found these vestiges here, or that they were always here, meaning, thereby, to assign to these ancient relics an indefinite antiquity. The several Indian families in America have been well compared to the fragments of a vast ruin. Certain is it, that these remains imply the former existence of a population so dense as to prove that it was incapable of existing in a country of hunters only, and that, possibly, Tennessee and the West were once the theatre upon which agriculture, civilization and peace exhibited their benign influence, or the dreadful battle field, where the lust of dominion, the bad passions of man and his unhallowed ambition, consigned to the grave and to oblivion hecatombs of human victims, and made the fairest part of God's creation a desert and a waste. Turning from the contemplation of this gloomy picture, we hasten to trace the progress of civilized man, of enlightenment and art over the wilds of Tennessee.

CHAPTER II.

WATAUGA—ITS SETTLEMENT AND GOVERNMENT.

In the meantime, the treaty of Fort Stanwix had given a pretext for a general disregard of the king's proclamation, prohibiting settlements of his subjects west of the mountains, and had excited afresh the spirit of emigration and exploration westward. Land-mongers penetrated fearlessly into the wilderness, while masses of emigrants had accumulated along the boundary, and concentrating themselves at the leading avenues from the Atlantic to the western waters, stood for a moment impatient of longer restraint, and casting a wishful look upon the inviting country before them. Tennessee was yet without a single civilized inhabitant. We have traced the approaches of the Anglo-American population to her eastern boundary. The genius of civilization, in her progress from the east, had passed the base of the great Apalachian range. She stood upon its summit, proud of past success—and, ambitious of further and greater achievement, surveyed from that height the wide field before and around her. On her right, are the rich vallies and luxuriant plains of Kentucky and Ohio, as yet imperfectly known from the obscure report of the returning explorer or the Shawnee prisoner. On the left, her senses are regaled by the luxuriant groves, the delightful savannas, and the enchanting beauties of the sunny south. Far in the distance and immediately before her, she contemplates the Great West. Its vastness at first overwhelms and astounds her, but at the extreme limit of her vision, American adventure and western enterprise are seen beckoning her to move forward and to occupy the goodly land. She descends to the plains below, and on the prolific soil of the quiet Watauga, in the lonely seclusion of one of its ancient forests, is deposited the germ of the future State of Tennessee. In that germ were contained all the elements of prospective great-

ness and achievement. What these elements were, succeeding pages will but feebly develope and illustrate. Toil, enterprise, perseverance and courage, had planted that germ in a distant wilderness. The circumstances that surrounded it, required for its growth, culture and protection, wisdom, virtue, patriotism, valour and self-reliance. *American* was to become *Western* character, and here was the place and this the time of its first germination.

1769 The news of the great grant from the Six Nations reached the frontier settlement soon after the treaty of November, 1768. Dr. Walker, the Commissioner from Virginia, had returned from Fort Stanwix, and brought with him an account of the cession. He is the same gentleman who, as has been already narrated, had twice explored the new country, and now bore with him one form of authority for an indefinite extension of the white settlements westward. The Indian boundary, as adjusted at Hard Labour, in October of the same year, had given the assent of the Cherokees to a further expansion of the Holston settlements; and late in December, 1768, and early in January of 1769, was formed the nucleus of the first permanent establishment of the white race in Tennessee. It was merely an enlargement of the Virginia settlement near it, and at the time was believed to be upon the territory of that province,—the line dividing Virginia and North-Carolina not having been yet run west of Steep Rock. The settlers were principally from what is now Wake county, in North-Carolina. Some of them had been among the troops raised by that province, and sent, in 1760, for the relief of the garrison at Fort Loudon—others of them had wintered, in 1758, at the Long Island Fort, around which a temporary settlement had been made, which was soon after broken up and its members forced to retire east of Kenhawa.

Early in this year further explorations were made. One of them originated with Gilbert Christian and William Anderson. They had accompanied the regiment commanded by Colonel Bird, and were so pleased with the country through which they had marched, that they determined to explore it more fully. They were joined by the

late Colonel John Sawyers, of Knox county, and four others. They crossed the north fork of Holston at the present ford, and penetrated as low down that stream as Big Creek, in the present county of Hawkins, where they met a large party of Indians. "They turned about and went back up the river ten or fifteen miles, and concluded to return home. About twenty miles above the North Fork, they found, upon their return, a cabin on every spot where the range was good, and where only six weeks before nothing was to be seen but a howling wilderness. When they passed by before, on their outward destination, they found no settlers on Holston, save three families on the head springs of that river."* So impetuous was the current of population westward.

Of those who ventured farthest into the wilderness with their families, was Capt. William Bean. He came from Pittsylvania county, Va., and settled early in 1769 on Boon's Creek, a tributary of Watauga, in advance of Carter and others, who soon after settled upon that stream. His son, Russell Bean, was the first white child born in what is now Tennessee. Captain Bean had hunted with Boon, knew his camp, and selected this as the place of his settlement on the account of its abundant game. His cabin was not far from Watauga. He was an intrepid man, and will be mentioned hereafter. Bean's Station was afterwards settled by him.

But explorations were not confined to the country since known as East Tennessee. A glimpse had been obtained by Findley, Boon and Smith, of those portions of Kentucky and Middle Tennessee lying upon the Cumberland river. It had been ascertained, too, that the entire territory between the Ohio and Tennessee was unoccupied by any aboriginal tribe, and that it was the hunting ground and often the battle field of the adjoining Indian nations. Possessed by none of these for residence or cultivation, it presented an inviting field for further exploration and future settlement. It had been represented, also, as a country of boundless fertility and inconceivably beautiful. Men of hardy enterprise and fearless spirit were at hand to explore and occupy it. The pio-

* Haywood.

neers of civilization in the West,—the trader, the hunter, the surveyor,—were already on the frontier ready to tempt the dangerous wilds.

After the return of Smith in 1766, from his expedition to the Lower Cumberland, Isaac Lindsay, and four others from South-Carolina, were the next adventurers. They crossed the Alleghanies and the Cumberland at the usual place—hunted upon the Rockcastle and descended Cumberland as low as the mouth of Stone's river. Here they met Michael Stoner, who, with —— Harrod, had come from Illinois to hunt. These two were from Pittsburg. Previous to this time, in 1764, the Shawnees had removed from the Cumberland and Greene rivers to the Wabash, and no Indians were then there. At the bluff, where Nashville now stands, some French were settled and had a station. Ten or twelve miles above the mouth of Tennessee, there was then another French station.

The first of May, 1769, Daniel Boon, as narrated by himself, "left his peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river, in quest of the country of Kentucky," in company with John Findley, John Stewart, and three others. These hunters must have passed rapidly through Upper East Tennessee, as we learn from the narrative that on the 7th of June they were upon Red River, the northern-most branch of the Kentucky river. In December of that year, John Stewart was killed by Indians, "the first victim, as far as is known, in the hecatombs of white men, offered by the Indians to the god of battles, in their desperate and ruthless contention for Kentucky."* Of Findley, nothing more is known than that he was the first hunter of Kentucky, and the pilot of Boon to the dark and bloody ground.

On the 2d of June, 1769, a larger company of adventurers was formed, for the purpose of hunting and exploring, in what is now known as Middle Tennessee. As the country was discovered and settled by the enterprise and defended by the valour of these first explorers, we choose to give their names, the places from which they came, and such details of their hazardous journeyings as have been preserved.

* Butler.

May the time never come, when the self-sacrificing toil and the daring hardihood of the pioneers of Tennessee will be forgotten or undervalued by their posterity. The company consisted of more than twenty men. Some of them from North-Carolina; others from the neighbourhood of the Natural Bridge, and others from the infant settlement near Inglis' Ferry, in Virginia. The names of some of them follow: John Rains, Kasper Mansco, Abraham Bledsoe, John Baker, Joseph Drake, Obadiah Terrill, Uriah Stone, Henry Smith, Ned Cowan, Robert Crockett. The place of rendezvous was eight miles below Fort Chissel, on New River. They came by the head of Holston, and, crossing the north fork, Clinch and Powell's rivers, and passing through Cumberland Gap, discovered the southern part of Kentucky, and fixed a station camp at a place since called Price's Meadow, in Wayne county, where they agreed to deposit their game and skins. The hunters here dispersed in different directions; the whole company still travelling to the south-west. They came to Roaring River and the Cany Fork, at a point far above the mouth and somewhere near the foot of the mountain. Robert Crockett was killed near the head waters of Roaring River, when returning to the camp, provided for two or three days' travelling; the Indians were there in ambush, and fired upon and killed him. The Indians were travelling to the north, seven or eight in company. Crockett's body was found on the war track, leading from the Cherokee nation towards the Shawnees tribe. All the country through which these hunters passed, was covered with high grass; no traces of any human settlement could be seen, and the primeval state of things reigned in unrivalled glory; though under dry caves, on the side of creeks, they found many places where stones were set up, that covered large quantities of human bones; these were also found in the caves, with which the country abounds. They continued to hunt eight or nine months, when part of them returned in April, 1770.*

The return of Findley and Boon to the banks of the Yadkin

* Haywood.

1770 { and of the explorers, whose journal has just been given, to their several homes, produced a remarkable sensation. Their friends and neighbours were enraptured with the glowing descriptions of the delightful country they had discovered, and their imaginations were inflamed with the account of the wonderful products, which were yielded in such bountiful profusion. The sterile hills and rocky uplands of the Atlantic country began to lose their interest, when compared with the fertile vallies beyond the mountains.* A spirit of further exploration was thus excited in the settlements on New River, Holston and Clinch, which originated an association of about forty stout hunters, for the purpose of hunting and trapping west of Cumberland mountains. Equipped with their rifles, traps, dogs, blankets, and dressed in the hunting shirt, leggins and mocassins, they commenced their arduous enterprise, in the real spirit of hazardous adventure, through the rough forest and rugged hills.† The names of these adventurers are now not known. The expedition was led by Colonel James Knox. The leader, and nine others of the company, penetrated to the Lower Cumberland, and, making there an extensive and irregular circuit, adding much to their knowledge of the country, after a long absence, returned home. They are known as the "Long Hunters."

In the meantime, the infant settlement on Watauga was receiving constant additions to its numbers from North-Carolina and Virginia, where the rage of visiting unexplored regions had become irresistible, and an irrepressible anxiety to emigrate succeeded. Other causes, too, were exerting an indirect influence upon the people of both North and South-Carolina. In each of these provinces, civil disturbances existed, the results of which augmented the population and stimulated the growth of the new community germinating across the mountain.

In South-Carolina, previous to 1770, no courts of justice were held beyond the limits of the capital, and, in the interior of that province, the inhabitants took the law into their own hands and punished offenders in a summary way.

* Monette. † Marshall.

"This mode of proceeding was called Regulation, and its authors Regulators."* Those who opposed them were called Scovilites, after their leader, Scovil, commissioned by the governor to suppress them. Each party was armed and prepared for the last extremity.

These tumults, and the bitter animosities they engendered, drove many from South-Carolina to the settlements on Holston and Watauga.

In North-Carolina, disturbances existed also, but produced by other and different causes, and, unlike those just narrated, were, unfortunately, not quieted without bloodshed. The inhabitants of this province, who lived upon Lord Granville's reservation, about two-thirds of the whole, complained that illegal and exorbitant fees were extorted by officers of government, that oppressive taxes were exacted by the sheriffs, and that the manner of collecting them was arbitrary and tyrannical. The people had long petitioned and remonstrated, but the officers remained unpunished. Another fruitful source of general discontent increased the popular clamour. In 1764 the intentions of the British ministry to quarter troops in America, and to support them at the expense of the colonies, were publicly announced. After debate in the House of Commons, it was unanimously determined that the Parliament of Great Britain had the *right* to tax the Americans, but it was not till March, of the next year, that this right was exercised by the passage of an act for raising a revenue by a general stamp duty through all the American colonies. This act excited the most serious alarm. It was received as a violation of the British constitution, and as destructive of the first principles of liberty, and combinations against its execution were every where formed. Virginia was the first to assert colonial rights, and to deny the claim of parliamentary taxation. To the bold patriotism and fervid eloquence of Patrick Henry, is due the immortal honour of this early avowal of the inviolability of the representative principle.

In North-Carolina, the public mind was much disturbed by the report that the stamp act had been passed by Parliament.

* Ramsay.

This intelligence reached Wilmington shortly after the meeting of the Assembly, and such was the violence exhibited by the members of the popular House, that Governor Tryon suddenly prorogued the legislative body.* By the passage of the stamp act, an amalgamation of all parties in the province was brought about. The people of North-Carolina were never before so unanimous. All joined in giving a solemn assurance to the mother country that the colonies would not be forcibly taxed—an assurance that was nobly, though not unanimously, enforced, and which achieved the freedom of America.† Col. Ashe, on the approach of the stamp ship, embodied a company of militia, and held himself ready for battle. The odious freight was never landed, and the fiery impetuosity of the colonel, aided by the enthusiasm of the whole people, arrested the stamp master, conducted him to the market house, where, in the presence of the assembled multitude, he swore a solemn oath never to perform the duties of his office.

The subsequent repeal of the odious stamp act was insufficient to appease the growing discontent, or to repress the insurrectionary tendencies of the people. The extortions of the officers were continued, and the taxes were multiplied. Besides, the office holders were all foreigners, who, not content with having engrossed the stations of authority and honour in their adopted country, endeavoured to revel upon the hard earnings of an agricultural and primitive people. The trade, too, of the province was monopolized by foreign merchants, "who came in shoals, to get rich and to get consequence. The poor man was treated with disdain, because unable to contribute to their emoluments. He was excluded from their society, unless when he was to be reminded of his insignificance, and to be told with brutal freedom of the low rank which he held."‡ Nothing is more offensive to correct taste, virtuous sentiment and just discernment, than the upstart consequence and fictitious importance engendered by sudden or unexpected accumulation. This hauteur is the more intolerable and annoying, as it is never accompanied with intellectual or moral worth.

* May 18, 1765. † Jones. ‡ Haywood.

Such were the outrages, political and domestic, that disquieted the people of North-Carolina. The perpetrators of the former were the men in power, who were appointed by law to redress the wrongs and protect the rights of the people. Those who were injured met and petitioned for relief, and made representations of the mal-practices from which they had suffered. Their petitions were rejected and treated with disdain. They held several meetings, assumed the name of Regulators, and resolved "to pay no more taxes, until they were satisfied that the tax was agreeable to law, and should be applied to the purposes therein mentioned; to pay no officer any higher fees than the law allows, to attend their meeting of conference; to consult our representatives on the amendment of such laws as may be found grevious or unnecessary; to choose more suitable men for burgesses and vestrymen, than we have heretofore done, and to petition the Assembly, Governor, Council, King and Parliament for redress, in such grievances as in the course of the undertaking may occur; and to inform one another, learn, know and enjoy, all the privileges and liberties that are allowed and were settled on us by our worthy ancestors, the founders of our present constitution, in order to preserve it on its ancient foundation, that it may stand firm and unshaken." In the public and documentary proceedings of the Regulators we see nothing to blame and much to admire. "On these principles, and to this extent of opposition, the whole western counties were agreed. The most sober and sedate in the community were united in resisting the tyranny of unjust and exorbitant taxes, and had been aroused to a degree of violence and opposition, difficult to manage and hard to quell. And the more restless, and turbulent, and unprincipled parts of society, equally aggrieved and more ungovernable, cast themselves in as part of the resisting mass of population, with little to gain, but greater license for their unprincipled passions; and little to lose, could they escape confinement and personal punishment. Unjustifiable acts perpetrated by these, were charged upon the Regulators, and they were held accountable for all the ill that wicked men chose to do, under the name of struggling for liberty; while it is well known that the leaders

of this oppressed party never expressed a desire to be free from law or equitable taxation. The governor's palace, double and treble fees, and taxes without law or reason, drove the sober to resistance and the passionate and unprincipled to outrage. But there were cases of injustice most foul and crying, that might palliate, where they could not justify, the violence that followed.

"The Regulators continued their resistance to illegal taxation, two or three years. The better part of the community were averse to the irregularities of those lawless spirits, who, attaching themselves to the cause of liberty, greatly impeded its progress; and desired to govern themselves and persuade their neighbours by reason, to gain the justice they demanded. But tumult, and violence, and rebellion followed; the Regulators prevented the setting of courts, and otherwise obstructed the execution of the laws. Governor Tryon met them on the 16th May, 1771, on the Alamance. They numbered between two and three thousand. The governor's troops were something less. The Regulators, being poorly armed, undisciplined and without commanders of skill or experience, were defeated. "It is the unvarying tradition among the people of the country, that they had but little ammunition, and did not flee until it was all expended. Nine of them, and twenty-seven of the militia, were left dead on the field; a great number were wounded on both sides in this first battle—in this first blood shed for the enjoyment of liberty. We cannot but admire the principles that led to the result, how much soever we may deplore the excesses that preceded and the bloodshed itself."*

The conduct of the Regulators is viewed in the same light by an American historian, who from his official position at the Court of St. James, has had the opportunity of examining in the British State Paper Office, all the documents pertaining to the "Regulation." He says, speaking of them: "Their complaints were well founded, and were so acknowledged, though their oppressors were only nominally punished. They form the connecting link between resistance to the Stamp Act, and the movement of 1775; and they also played a

* Foote.

glorious part in taking possession of the Mississippi valley, towards which they were carried irresistibly by their love of independence. It is a mistake if any have supposed that the Regulators were cowed down by their defeat at the Alamance. Like the mammoth, they shook the bolt from their brow and crossed the mountains."*

Thus early did a great political wrong—"taxation without representation"—ulcerate the minds of the subjects of the King in all the American colonies. A little later, did regal oppression, in exorbitant and illegal fees of Crown officers and their deputies, produce disaffection and resistance in Western Carolina. The defeat of the Regulators on the Alamance quelled, for a time, the spirit of resistance; but the disaffection remained, and caused the voluntary exile of thousands of indignant and independent freemen to the western wilds. Remote from the seat of power, and free from the oppressions of regal officers, Watauga gave its cordial welcome to these honest-hearted and virtuous patriots: and here was the cradle of the infant Hercules—Tennessee.

The tide of emigration continued from Southern Virginia, 1770 { and from the country near the sources of the Yadkin and Catawba, in North-Carolina, and was spreading itself beyond the limits assigned to the white inhabitants, by the treaty of Hard Labour, in 1768. Some of the settlements were within what was supposed to be the Indian territory, and the Cherokees began to remonstrate against the encroachment. To avoid Indian resentment, and to prevent hostilities on the part of the Cherokees, the Superintendent of Southern Indian Affairs took measures to establish a new boundary further west. The treaty of Lochaber was signed on the 18th of October, 1770, by the council of the chiefs, warriors, and head men of the Cherokee nation. The new line commenced on the south branch of Holston river, six miles east of Long Island—thence to the mouth of the Great Kenhawa.† This boundary—the western limit of the frontier settlements of Virginia and North-Carolina—was a feeble barrier against the approaches of the emigrants, who came in greatly increased numbers to the West. The Holston river was considered as the line dividing

* Letter to D. L. Swain, Esq., from Mr. Bancroft. † Monette.

North-Carolina and Virginia. An act of the Legislature of this Province, allowed every actual settler having a log cabin erected, and any portion of ground in cultivation, the right of four hundred acres of land, and so located as to include his improvement. A subsequent act extended the privilege much further—allowing such owner and occupant the preference right of purchasing a thousand acres adjoining him, at such cost as scarcely exceeded the expense of selecting and surveying it. These acts greatly encouraged emigration to the West, where every man, with the least industry, could not fail to secure to himself a comfortable home and a valuable estate for his children. Crowds of emigrants immediately advanced to secure the proffered bounty.* When the line was afterwards run, many of these were found to be within the limits of North-Carolina.

But the misgoverned Province of North-Carolina sent forth most of the emigrants to Watauga. The poor came in search of independence—others to repair their broken fortunes—the aspiring, to attain respectability, unattainable in the country of their nativity. In the wilderness beyond the mountain, they promised themselves, at least, exemption from the supercilious annoyance of those who claimed a pre-eminence above them.† Others came prompted by the noble ambition of forming a new community, of laying broad and deep the foundation of government, and of acquiring, under it, distinction and consequence for themselves and their children.

Amongst those that reached Watauga about this time, was Daniel Boon, who had previously crossed the mountain upon a hunting excursion, and had been as low as Boon's Creek, in the present county of Washington. He acted as pilot to the new settlements, and continued the pioneer to civilization, from the Yadkin to the district of St. Charles, in Missouri, where he ended his remarkable and eventful life, in 1820, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

A little after Boon, and early in 1770, came also James Robertson, from Wake county, North-Carolina. "He is the same person," to use the language of Haywood, who was his countryman, and knew him well, "who will ap-

* Monette. † Haywood.

pear hereafter by his actions, to have merited all the eulogium, esteem and affection, which the most ardent of his countrymen have ever bestowed upon him. Like almost all those in America who have attained eminent celebrity, he had not a noble lineage to boast of, nor the escutcheoned armorials of a splendid ancestry. But he had what was far more valuable : a sound mind, healthy constitution, a robust frame, a love of virtue, an intrepid soul, and an emulous desire for honest fame. He visited the delightful country on the waters of Holston, to view the new settlements which then began to be formed on the Watauga. Here he found one Honeycut living in a hut, who furnis ed him with food. He made a crop there the first year. On re-crossing the mountains he got lost for some time, and coming to a precipice, over which his horse could not be led, he left him there and travelled on foot. His powder was wetted by repeated showers and could not be used in the procurement of game for food. Fourteen days he wandered without eating, till he was so much reduced and weakened that he began seriously to despair of reaching his home again. But there is a Providence which rules over the destinies of men, and preserves them to run the race appointed for them. Unpromising as were the prospects of James Robertson, at that time, having neither learning, experience, property, nor friends to give him countenance, and with spirits drooping under the pressure of penury and a low estate, yet the God of nature had given him an elevated soul, and planted in it the seeds of virtue, which made him in the midst of discouraging circumstances look forward to better times. He was accidentally met by two hunters, on whom he could not, without much and pressing solicitation, prevail so far as to be permitted to ride on one of their horses. They gave him food, of which he ate sparingly for some days, till his strength and spirits returned to him. This is the man who will figure in the future so deservedly as the greatest benefactor of the first settlers of the country. He reached home in safety, and soon afterwards returned to Watauga with a few others, and there settled."

While a nucleus of a civilized community was thus being formed in what is now East Tennessee, the adventurous

hunters whom we left upon the Lower Cumberland were extending explorations in that part of the country. In 1769 or 1770, Mr. Mansco, Uriah Stone, John Baker, Thomas Gordon, Humphrey Hogan, Cash Brook, and others, ten in all, built two boats and two trapping canoes, loaded them with the results of their hunting, and descended the Cumberland river—the first navigation, and the first commerce probably ever carried on upon that stream by Anglo-Americans. Where Nashville now stands they discovered the French Lick, and found around it immense numbers of buffalo and other wild game. The country was crowded with them. Their bellowings sounded from the hills and forest. On the mound near the Lick the voyageurs found a stock fort, built, as they conjectured, by the Cherokees, on their retreat from the battle at the Chickasaw Old Fields. Descending to the Ohio, they met with John Brown, the Mountain-leader, and twenty-five other warriors, marching against the Senekas. The Indians offered them no personal injury, but robbed them of two guns, some ammunition, salt and tobacco. Descending the river, they met Frenchmen trading to the Illinois, who treated them with friendship. The voyage was prosecuted as low as the Spanish Natches. Here some of them remained, while Mansco and Baker returned by the way of the Keowee towns to New River.

1771 { In the fall of this year the country on the Lower Cumberland was further explored by Mansco, in company with John Montgomery, Isaac Bledsoe, Joseph Drake, Henry Suggs, James Knox, William and David Linch, Christopher Stoph, William Allen, and others. Among them was an old hunter named Russell, who was so dim-sighted that he was obliged to tie a piece of white paper at the muzzle of his gun to direct his sight at the game—and yet he killed a number of deer. The winter being inclement, the party built a skin house. Their ammunition being exhausted, five men were left to take care of the camp, while the rest returned home. During their absence in the settlements the camp was attacked, as was supposed, by Northern Indians, and Stoph and Allen were taken prisoners. Hughes escaped, and met the company returning to the camp. It was found

as it had been left—the Indians had not plundered it. The party thence extended their hunting and exploring excursions—formed a station camp upon a creek, which is still known as Station Camp Creek—each hunter made a discovery, and time has signalized it with the discoverer's name. Thus, Drake's Pond, Drake's Lick, Bledsoe's Lick, Mansco's Lick, etc. In the absence of the hunters, twenty-five Cherokees came to their camp, and plundered it of ammunition, skins, and every thing it contained. As they left no trail, it was supposed that they had retreated by wading along the channel of the creek—no pursuit of them could be made. The hunters soon exhausted the remaining ammunition and returned to the settlements.

1772 The Holston and Watauga settlements were in the meantime receiving a steady stream of emigrants. They embraced within their limits men of very different and indeed opposite traits of character. Most of them were honest, industrious, enterprising men, who had come there to improve their condition, by subduing and cultivating the new lands in the West. But others had arrived among them, who had fled from justice in their own country, and hoped to escape the demand of the law, and the punishment of crime, by a retreat to these remote and inaccessible frontiers. There, from the existing condition of affairs, they found safety from prosecution, and certainly from conviction through the regular channels of law. North of Holston, in what is now Sullivan and Hawkins counties, was then believed to be in Virginia, and the inhabitants agreed among themselves to adhere to the government of that province, and to be governed by its laws. The line separating the two provinces had not then been extended west of the Steep Rock. South of Holston was admitted to be within the boundaries of North-Carolina. There the settlers lived without law or protection, except by regulations of their own adoption. Being thus without any regular government, the people of Watauga, in 1772, exercised the "divine right" of governing themselves. They formed a written association and articles for the management of general affairs. Five Commissioners were appointed, by the decision of a majority of whom all matters in contro-

versy were settled; and the same tribunal had entire control in all matters affecting the common good. The government was paternal and patriarchal—simple and moderate, but summary and firm. It was satisfactory and sufficient for a number of years. The Articles by which the Association was governed have not been preserved. They formed, it is believed, the first written compact for civil government any where west of the Alleghanies, and would make a valuable and exceedingly interesting contribution to the historical literature of the Great West, and a most desirable addition especially to these annals. But after the most diligent inquiry and patient search, this writer has been unable to discover them.

The Watauga settlers, in convention assembled, elected as Commissioners, thirteen citizens. They were, John Carter, Charles Robertson, James Robertson, Zach. Isbell, John Sevier, James Smith, Jacob Brown, William Bean, John Jones, George Russell, Jacob Womack, Robert Lucas, William Tatham. Of these, John Carter, Charles Robertson, James Robertson, Zach. Isbell, and John Sevier, it is believed, were selected as the court—of which W Tatham was the clerk. It is to be regretted hat the account of thelives of all these pioneers is so meagre and unsatisfactory. The biography of each of them would be now valuable and interesting. Many of them will be hereafter frequently mentioned.

Col. John Carter was one of the pioneers of Tennessee, and a principal and prominent member of the Watauga settlement. He emigrated from Virginia, in 1771 or 1772. Intelligent and patriotic, he was soon a leader in the Watauga Association, and became the chairman of its committee and of the court—which, for several years, combined the legislative, judicial and executive functions of the infant government west of the Alleghany. His administration was wise and popular.

1771

Charles Robertson emigrated from South-Carolina—was the Trustee of the Watauga Association; and to him was the conveyance afterwards made by the Cherokee Indians, for the lands purchased or leased from them. He was distinguished for his great good sense and wisdom, not less than for his virtue.

Of *James Robertson* we have already spoken. He soon became distinguished in the new settlement, for sobriety and love of order, as well as for a firmness of character, qualifying him to face danger and defend the feeble colony.

Zachariah Isbell was a fearless soldier, and was, for years after, engaged in the military operations of the country.

John Sevier was one of the Watauga Committee. His character and services throughout a long life, will be frequently a theme of remark to the close of these annals. This may, therefore, be the proper place to introduce his family to the reader's attention.

The ancestors of Mr. Sevier were French Huguenots. The family name in France, is Xavier. About the beginning of the last century they emigrated to England. Valentine Sevier, the father of John, was born in London, and previous to 1740, emigrated to the county of Shanandoah, in the colony of Virginia. Here John Sevier was born, in the year 1744. The opportunity of literary improvement was small, but he used it diligently. The Earl of Dunmore, then Governor of Virginia, conferred upon young Sevier the appointment of captain in the military service of the colony. Not long after, the family emigrated to the West, and settled on Holston, in what is now Sullivan county. The father, Valentine Sevier, moved from there to Watauga, where he settled permanently, occupying a farm on that river, between the Sycamore Shoals and the present Elizabethton. The remains of part of the old family mansion could be traced in 1844.

Captain Sevier inherited some of the vivacity, ease and sprightliness of his French ancestry. He was fluent, colloquial and gallant—frolicsome, generous and convivial—well informed, rather than well read. Of books, he knew little. Men, he had studied well and accurately. Oral communications had been the source of his mental culture and his knowledge. He was impulsive, but his impulses were high and honourable. The Chevalier and the Huguenot were combined in his character. He exhibited, in good proportions, the suaviter in modo and the fortiter in re. He was without pride —if that feeling is not one of the ingredients that constitute a laudable ambition—for he was ambitious—not of anything

low or ignoble: he was ambitious of fame, character, distinction and achievement.

With such traits of character, it is not strange that Captain Sevier at once became a favourite in the wilds of Watauga, where a theatre presented itself for the exercise of the talents and principles which characterized "that portly young stranger from Williamsburg."

Early in this year the authorities of Virginia made a
1772 { treaty with the Cherokees, by which a boundary was fixed between them, to run west from the White Top Mountain, in latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. Soon after this, Alexander Cameron, a deputy agent for the government of Great Britain, and resident among the Cherokees, ordered the Watauga settlers to move off. Some of the Cherokees expressed a wish that they might be permitted to stay, if they would agree to make no further encroachments; this avoided the necessity of their removal. The inhabitants, however, became uneasy at the precarious tenure by which they occupied their land, and desired to obtain a more permanent title. For this purpose they deputed James Robertson and John Boon to negotiate with the Indians for a lease. The negotiation succeeded, and for an amount of merchandize, estimated to be worth five or six thousand dollars, some muskets, and other articles of convenience, the Cherokees made a lease for eight years of all the country on the waters of the Watauga.*

Hitherto the settlements had been confined to the Upper Holston and to the Watauga. About this time another stream south of them was found to present strong allurements, and to hold out great inducements to emigrants to settle upon it. The Nollichucky finds its source in the midst of the highest mountains in the United States. The scenery near it is romantic and Alpine. Its numerous tributaries, descending the northern slope of these stupendous heights, bear upon their currents the soil that forms and enlarges its rich alluvial. The bottoms were covered with the most luxuriant cane-brakes; the vallies near it abounded in game, and presented the most inviting prospect of present success

* Haywood.

to the hunter and grazier, and of a rich requital in future for the toils of the husbandman. The temptation to occupy it could not be resisted by the emigrants, and Jacob Brown, with one or two families from North-Carolina, pitched their tents, in 1772, upon its northern bank. Brown was a small merchant, and for the goods that were carried to his new settlement, upon a single pack-horse, bought a lease of a large tract of this fertile country from the Cherokees. Like that on the Watauga, the property advanced for its purchase, was reimbursed by selling out the lands in small parcels to individuals for the time the lease was to last.

The boundaries of these two leases are not distinctly known. There were no offices in the country at that time, in which such instruments of writing could be recorded, and the original papers have probably been lost. Brown's lease is believed to have embraced lands upon both sides of the Nollichucky. The writer has a deed of conveyance now before him, from Jacob Brown to Richard Trivillian, for two hundred and thirty-two acres of land, lying on the *south* side of the river. The consideration is one hundred pounds, and the title is not a fee simple, but only a relinquishment on the part of the grantor. In these early times, and among these primitive people, little regard seems to have been given to forms, even where real estate was concerned. A transfer of land was made in the most simple mode. Upon the back of the same deed from Brown, is endorsed—

"For value received of eighty-five pounds, I do hereby assign all my right, claim and interest of the within deed, unto George Gillespie, as witness my hand and seal.

RICHARD TRIVILLIAN. (Seal.)

Witness present test,
AMOS BIRD."

And again immediately below—

"For value received, of Jeremiah Jack, I do hereby assign all my right, claim and interest of the within deed, as witness my hand and seal.

GEORGE GILLESPIE. (Seal.)

Witness present,
THOS. GILLESPIE."

The present name of the river is a corruption of the abo-

riginal Nonachunheh. It is so given in Brown's deed of conveyance, and also in the plat upon the same paper. In his traffic with the Indians, and in his negotiation for the lease from them, Brown had, doubtless, learned the true pronunciation. Its signification is rapid or precipitous, and is exactly descriptive of the upper portion of the stream.

About the time Robertson was forming his settlement on Watauga, and a little previous to the first emigration to Nollichucky, several families settled in Carter's Valley, fifteen or eighteen miles above the present flourishing town of Rogersville. This country being north of Holston, was then believed to be in Virginia. The first emigrants to it were principally from that province. Two of them, Carter (whose name the valley still retains) and Parker, afterwards opened a store, which was robbed by the Indians; the depredators were supposed to be Cherokees, but of this no certain proof was obtained. The relations between them and the whites had recently been of the most friendly character, and mutual confidence was not destroyed on account of this robbery. But at the time when the Watauga lease was executed, an occurrence took place, which had well nigh involved the then feeble settlements of Robertson, Carter and Brown, in hostilities with their savage neighbours. At the close of that treaty, a great race was appointed to be run at Watauga. The occasion had brought together a large concourse of people from all the adjacent settlements. Many of the Indians were still there participating in the athletic amusements of the frontier people. Mischievous white men, from the neighbourhood of the Wolf Hills, in Virginia, as was believed, among others were present, and lurking about the place where the race was run, watched an opportunity at the close of the day and killed one of the Indians. This act, alike atrocious, inhuman and impolitic, gave great offence and produced much alarm. The inhabitants felt that it was not only wrong, but that it would expose them to the retaliatory vengeance of the outraged Cherokees. At this crisis the wisdom and intrepidity of Robertson saved the infant settlements from extermination. He undertook a journey to the Indian nation, one hundred and fifty miles distant, in order to

pacify them, and allay the irritation produced by this barbarous and imprudent act. The attempt was hazardous in the extreme; but the safety of the whites demanded the mission, and he proceeded at once to the chief town of the Cherokees, met their head men, and declared to them that his people "viewed the horrid deed which had been perpetrated, with the deepest concern for their own character, and with the keenest indignation against the offender, whom they intended to punish as he deserved whenever he could be discovered." The Indians were appeased by this instance of condescension in the white people, and of the discountenance which they gave to the miscreant. The settlers were saved from their fury, and Robertson began to be looked upon as an intrepid soldier, a lover of his countrymen, and as a man of uncommon address, in devising means of extrication from difficulties.*

In the fall of 1773, Daniel Boon made the attempt to take
1773 } his family to Kentucky. Before this time no white
} female, no family, had crossed the Cumberland range.
Boon prevailed on four or five other families to join him, and with them advanced towards Cumberland Gap. The little colony was joined in Powell's Valley by forty hunters, well armed. The whole formed a caravan of eighty persons. While passing a narrow defile in their march, on the fifth of October, they were startled by the terrific yell of Indians, in ambuscade, by whom they were furiously assailed. Some of the men flew to the protection of the helpless women and children, while others of them rushed to encounter the enemy in their coverts. A scene of consternation and confusion for a moment ensued; but the Indians, surprised at the fierce and resolute resistance of the men, soon fled in every direction.

The first fire of the Indians killed six men and wounded the seventh. Among the killed was a son of Boon, aged about twenty. The party fell back to the nearest settlement, where the emigrant families remained till after the close of Lord Dunmore's war.†

After the extension of the British dominion over West

* Haywood. † Monette.

Florida, encouragement was given by the English authorities to emigration thereto, from the Atlantic Provinces. No country surpassed in soil and climate that portion of Florida lying upon the Mississippi River, and emigrants began to seek a route to it through the interior, and down the Tennessee and Ohio. Many of these stopped one season and made a crop on Holston, sold the crop, built a boat, and performed the difficult and dangerous voyoge from the Boat-yard to Natches. A higher degree of nautical adventure has been no where exhibited. The passage, by men unaccustomed to navigation, through the Boiling Pot, the Skillet, the Suck, the Muscle Shoals, more than two thousand miles down an unexplored river, both banks of which were, at these places, in the occupancy of Indians, was more than an adventure, it was an enterprise, in which every movement was accompanied with danger and probable disaster. Through this channel Louisiana and Mississippi received some of the oldest American families. Some of these came from the Roanoke, in North-Carolina, and it was probably the first Anglo-American settlement upon the banks of the Mississippi.*

1774 A large number of surveyors and woodsmen had been sent under the authorities of Virginia to the wilderness of Kentucky, for the purpose of locating and selecting lands under royal grants and military warrants. This was viewed by the Indians as an encroachment upon their rights, as they still claimed these lands. Hostilities had, indeed, already been commenced by the Shawnees, who attacked the party of Boon the October previous. The murder of the whole family of the generous, but unfortunate Logan, who had been the friend of the whites, and an advocate for peace among his red brethren, aroused the vengeance of that bold warrior and influential chieftain. The Shawnees, in alliance with the warriors of other northern and western tribes, began the work of destruction and massacre, in detached parties, on the whole Virginia frontier. The emergency was met by Lord Dunmore with great vigour, and measures were immediately adopted to repress the hostilities, and punish the audacity of the enemy. General Andrew

* Martin's Louisiana.

Lewis* was ordered to raise four regiments of militia and volunteers, from the south-western counties, to rendezvous at Camp Union, and to march down the Great Kenhawa† to the Ohio. Captain Evan Shelby raised a company of more than fifty men, in the section of country now included in the counties of Sullivan and Carter. With these he marched on the 17th of August, and joined the regiment of Colonel Christian, on New River. From this place the regiment proceeded to the great levels of Green Brier, where they joined the army of General Lewis. On the 11th of September, the army set out for the designated point. The route lay through a trackless wilderness, down the rugged banks of the Kenhawa—through deep defiles and mountain gorges, where a pathway had never been opened. Twenty-five days were consumed in slow and toilsome marches. On the 6th of October, the army reached the Ohio and encamped upon its banks. The camp was upon the site of the present town of Point Pleasant. The troops being upon short allowance, select parties of hunters were kept constantly on duty to supply them with food. On the morning of the 10th, about daylight, two of the men belonging to Captain Shelby's volunteer company, James Robertson and Valentine Sevier, who had been out before day hunting, very unexpectedly met a large body of hostile Indians advancing towards the camp upon the provincials. They were on the extreme left of the enemy, and fired on them at the distance of ten steps. As it was yet too dark to see the assailants, or to know their number, the firing caused a general halt of the enemy, while Robertson and Sevier ran into camp and gave the alarm. Two detachments, under Colonel Charles Lewis and Colonel William Fleming, were immediately ordered forward to meet the Indians, and break the force of their assault upon the camp. These detachments had scarcely proceeded beyond the sentinels, when they encountered the enemy advancing upon them. A most violent and hard fought engagement

* This is the same person who was sent by the Earl of Loudon, in 1756, to erect a fort on the Tennessee River.

† Anglice. The river of the woods—now known as New River.

ensued. Fleming and Lewis were wounded in the first assault—the latter mortally—but refused to leave the field until the main line came to their relief. The contest lasted the whole day, with varied success—each line receding or advancing alternately, as the fate of war seemed to balance between the two armies. In the evening, General Lewis ordered the companies commanded by Captains Shelby, Matthews and Stewart, to advance up the Kenhawa River, under the shelter of the bank and the undergrowth, so as to gain the rear of the Indians, and pour in a destructive fire upon them. In the execution of this order, the men were exposed to a galling fire from some Indians, who had taken position behind a rude breast-work of old logs and bushes, and were from that point giving a deadly fire. One of Shelby's men, the late John Sawyers, of Knox county, wishing to shorten the conflict, obtained permission to take a few others and dislodge the Indians from the shelter which protected them. His bold conception was gallantly executed. A desperate charge was made—the dislodgement of the Indians was effected, and the three companies having gained the enemy's rear, poured in upon the savages a destructive fire. The Indians fled with great precipitation across the Ohio, and retreated to their towns on the Scioto.

The battle of the Kenhawa is, by general consent, admitted to have been one of the most sanguinary and well contested battles which have marked the annals of Indian warfare in the West. On the part of the provincials, twelve commissioned officers were killed or wounded, seventy-five non-commissioned officers and privates were killed, and one hundred and forty-one were wounded.*

Of the company of volunteers from what is now East Tennessee, Evan Shelby was captain; and his son, Isaac Shelby, lieutenant. After the fall of his colonel, Captain Shelby took command of the regiment. This was early in the action, and through the rest of the day Isaac Shelby commanded his father's company. "Two privates, Robertson and Sevier, had the good fortune on this occasion to make

* Monette.

an unexpected discovery of the enemy, and by that means to prevent surprise and defeat, and possibly the destruction of the whole army. It was the design of the enemy to attack them at the dawn of day, and to force all whom they could not kill into the junction of the river." The heroic charge of the little detachment under Sawyers is admitted to have had a decided influence in shortening the obstinate conflict. Many of the officers and soldiers in the battle of Kenhawa, distinguished themselves at a later period in the public service. Thus early did the "Volunteer State" commence its novitiate in arms.

As the battle of Point Pleasant furnished the first occasion for the display, by the pioneers of Tennessee, of the adventure and prowess which have since so signally characterized her volunteer soldiery in all periods of her history, it is thought proper to present, at this place, a list of Captain Evan Shelby's company, in the remarkable and patriotic campaign on the Kenhawa.

James Shelby, John Sawyers, John Findley, Henry Span, Daniel Mungle, Frederick Mungle, John Williams, John Camack, Andrew Torrence, George Brooks, Isaac Newland, Abram Newland, George Ruddle, Emanuel Shoatt, Abram Bogard, Peter Forney, William Tucker, John Fain, Samuel Vance, Samuel Fain, Samuel Handley, Samuel Samples, Arthur Blackburn, Robert Handley, George Armstrong, William Casey, Mack Williams, John Stewart, Conrad Nave, Richard Burk, John Riley, Elijah Robertson, Rees Price, Richard Holliway, Jarret Williams, Julius Robison, Charles Fielder, Benjamin Graham, Andrew Goff, Hugh O'Gullion, Patk. St. Lawrence, James Hughey, John Bradley, Basileel Maywell, and Barnett O'Gullion. Of the non-commissioned officers, it is only known that John Sawyers, James Robertson, and Valentine Sevier, were three of the orderly sergeants.

After the battle at Point Pleasant, and a further invasion
1775 } of their country, the Indians made a treaty with Lord
} Dunmore, in which they relinquished all *their* claim to lands south of the Ohio. To a large extent of this territory, the Cherokees, with other southern tribes, pretended

also to hold title. Early in that century they had expelled the Shawnees, and had since occupied their country as hunting grounds. Daniel Boon still adhered to his darling project of planting a colony upon the Kentucky River, which he had seen, and, desirous of obtaining the consent of the Cherokees, had stimulated Colonel Richard Henderson and others of North-Carolina, to effect a treaty with them for that purpose. Henderson, accordingly, associated with him other men of capital, viz: Thomas Hart, John Williams, James Hogg, Nathaniel Hart, David Hart, Leonard H. Bulloch, John Luttrell and William Johnston. Two of these, Colonel Henderson and Colonel Nathaniel Hart, accompanied by Daniel Boon, proceeded to the Cherokee towns, and proposed a general council, for the purpose of purchasing land. Subsequently, on the 17th of March, a treaty was concluded and signed by the agents of this company on the one part, and by certain chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation on the other part, at the Sycamore Shoals, on Watauga River. By this treaty, the Indians agreed to cede and relinquish to the associates all the lands lying between the Kentucky and the Cumberland Rivers. "Which said tract or territory of lands was, at the time of said purchase, and *time out of mind* had been, the land and hunting grounds of the said tribe of Cherokee Indians." In consideration of this cession, ten thousand pounds sterling were alleged to have been paid in merchandise. Twelve hundred Indians are said to have been assembled on the treaty ground.* Upon this occasion, and before the Indians had agreed to make the cession, one of the Cherokee orators, said to be Oconostota, rose and delivered a very animated and pathetic speech. He began with the very flourishing state in which his nation once was, and mentioned the encroachments of the white people, from time to time, upon the retiring and expiring nations of Indians, who left their homes and the seats of their ancestors, to gratify the insatiable desire of the white people for more land. Whole nations had melted away in their presence, like balls of snow before the sun, and had scarcely left their names behind, except as imperfectly recorded by their enemies and

* Monette.

destroyers. It was once hoped that they would not be willing to travel beyond the mountains, so far from the ocean on which their commerce was carried on, and their connections maintained with the nations of Europe. But now that fallacious hope had vanished; they had passed the mountains and settled upon the Cherokee lands, and wished to have their usurpations sanctioned by the confirmation of a treaty. When that shall be obtained, the same encroaching spirit will lead them upon other lands of the Cherokees. New cessions will be applied for, and, finally, the country which the Cherokees and their forefathers had so long occupied, would be called for, and the small remnant which then may exist of this nation, once so great and formidable, will be compelled to seek a retreat in some far-distant wilderness, there to dwell but a short space of time, before they would again behold the advancing banners of the same greedy host, who, not being able to point out any further retreat for the miserable Cherokees, would then proclaim the extinction of the whole race. He ended with a strong exhortation to run all risks, and to incur all consequences, rather than submit to any further dilaceration of their territory.*

The speech of the venerable chieftain was listened to by his assembled countrymen, with profound attention and marked respect. His counsels were disregarded: the cession was made. The future of his tribe, as delineated by his vehement eloquence, seems now, after the lapse of three quarters of a century ,to be stamped with the inspiration of prophecy. The cotemporaries of Oconostota have left "the lands which their forefathers had so long occupied," and their bones are mouldering "in some far-distant wilderness" beyond the Mississippi.

The proprietors of Transylvania, as Henderson's purchase was called, at first contemplated the establishment of a separate and independent government, not materially dissimilar from the other British colonies. In a memorial, however, addressed to the Continental Congress of 1775, they took care to request that Transylvania might be added to the number of the United Colonies. "Having their hearts warmed with the

* Haywood.

same noble spirit that animates the colonies"—such is their language—"and moved with indignation at the late ministerial and parliamentary usurpations, it is the earnest wish of the proprietors of Transylvania to be considered by the colonies as brethren engaged in the same great cause of liberty and mankind." *

During the treaty at the Sycamore Shoals, Parker & Carter, whose store had been robbed by the Indians, attended the conference, and demanded, in compensation for the injury they had sustained, Carter's Valley—to extend from Cloud's Creek to the Chimney-top Mountain of Beech Creek. The Indians consented, provided an additional consideration were given. This consideration was agreed to, and Robert Lucas was taken in as a partner, to enable them to advance the stipulated price. They leased their lands to job-purchasers. It was, however, afterwards ascertained that the lands thus leased lay in North-Carolina and not in Virginia; and the purchasers refused to hold under them, and drove them off.

The Watauga Association, holding the lands which they occupied, under a lease of eight years, as has been heretofore stated, desired to obtain for them a title in fee. They procured, two days after the purchase was made by Henderson & Co., a deed of conveyance to Charles Robertson, for a large extent of country. It is found in the Register's office of Washington county.

"LAND RECORDS OF THE WATAUGAH PURCHASE.

"This Indenture, made the 19th day of March, 1775, by O-con-os-to-
1775 { ta, Chief Warrior and First Representative of the Cherokee Na-
{ tion or Tribe of Indians, and Attaculleculy and Savanucah, otherwise Coronoh, for themselves and the rest of the whole Nation, being the aborigines and sole owners by occupancy from the beginning of time, of the lands on the waters of Holston and Wataugah Rivers, and other lands thereunto belonging, of the one part, and Charles Robertson, of the settlement of Wataugah, of the other part, Witnesseth, &c." The consideration was "the sum of two thousand pounds, lawful money of Great Britain, in hand paid." The deed embraced "all that tract, territory or parcel of land, on the waters of Wataugah, Holston and Great Canaway or New River: beginning on the south or south-west side of Holston River, six English miles above Long Island, in said river; thence a direct line near a south course to the ridge which divides the waters of Watau-

* Morehead's Address, p. 36.

gah from the waters of Nonachuckeh; thence along the various courses of said ridge nearly a south-east course to the Blue Ridge or line dividing North-Carolina from the Cherokee lands; thence along the various courses of said ridge to the Virginia line; thence west along the Virginia line to Holston River; thence down the meanders of Holston River to the first station, including all the waters of Wataugah, part of the waters of Holston and the head-branches of New River or Great Canaway, agreeable to the bounds aforesaid, to said Charles Robertson, his heirs and assigns," &c.

"And also, the said Charles Robertson, his heirs and assigns, shall and may, peaceably and quietly, have, hold, possess and enjoy said premises, without let, trouble, hindrance or molestation, interruption and denial, of them, the said Oconostota and the rest, or any of the said Nation."

Signed in presence of

JOHN SEVIER,
WM. BAILEY SMITH,
JESSE BENTON,
TILLMAN DIXON,
WILLIAM BLEVINS,
THOS. PRICE.
JAS. VANN, Linguister.

OCONOSTOTA, his ⋈ mark. [Seal.]
ATTACULLECULLY, his ⋈ mark. "
TENNESY WARRIOR, his ⋈ mark. "
WILLINAWAUGH, his ⋈ mark. "

The lands thus conveyed to Charles Robertson, were afterwards regularly patented to the settlers. Occupancy had probably heretofore given ownership. The first patentee was Joshua Haughton. The form of his patent is brief and simple, and is given at length.

"Joshua Haughton, on the seventh day of May, 1775, obtained a patent from this office of a tract of land lying on the south side of the Wataugah, half a mile below the mouth of Doe River, which tract was entered by the said Haughton, April 1, 1775, and obtained a warrant for surveying the same, a plan of which was returned to this office by the hands of Wm. Bailey Smith, Surveyor.

JAMES SMITH, C. L. O."

A list is given here of other patentees in their order: Thomas Haughton, Henry Grymes, Wm. Tacket, Matthew Talbot, Isaac Ruddle, Henry Lyle, John Sevier, John Carter and John Sevier, John Carter, George Russell, Wm. Bean, Andrew Greer, Robert Young, James Robertson, Ben. Ryburn, Baptist McNabb, Edmond Roberts, John McNabb, Andrew Little, John Jones, James Hollis, John Cassada George Gray, Choat Gambal, Jonathan Tipton, Farrer, Fletcher, Thompson, Lincoln, Lucas Messengall, Duncan Abbit, Walding Denton, Hodge, Bennet, Reaves, Cunningham, Jesse D. Benton, Catherine Choat.

To the holders of patents thus given, a deed regularly

drawn up, and signed by Charles Robertson, was made out. One of these is now before the writer, carefully drawn up and indented after the English style. The witnesses to it are John Sevier and J. Smith.

Another deed was made to Jacob Brown, for lands on both sides of Nonachunheh, and as far west as the mouth of Big Limestone Creek.

"This Indenture, made the 25th day of March, 1775, between Oconostota, chief warrior and head prince, the Tenesay Warrior, and Bread Slave Catcher, and Attakullakulla, and Chenesley, Cherokee chiefs of Middle and Lower Settlements, of the one part, and Jacob Brown, of Nonachuchy, of the other part—consideration ten shillings—a certain tract or parcel of land lying on Nonachuchy River, as follows: Beginning at the mouth of a creek called Great Limestone, running up the meanders of the said creek and the main fork of the creek to the ridge that divides Wataugah and Nonachuchy, joining the Wataugah purchase, from thence up the dividing ridge that divides the waters of Nonachuchy and Wataugah, and thence to the head of Indian Creek, where it joins the Iron Mountain, thence down the said mountain to Nonachuchy river, thence across the said river including the creeks of said river, thence down the side of the Nonachuchy Mountain against the mouth of Great Limestone, thence to the beginning.

In presence of,

Samuel Crawford,	Occonostota,	[Seal.]
Jesse Denham,	The Tenesay Warrior,	"
Moses Crawford,	The Bread Slave Catcher,	"
Zachary Isbell,	Attakullakulla,	"
	Chenesley.	"

"Witness the Warriors—Thomas Bulla, Joseph Vann, Richard Henderson."

Mr. Brown thus became the purchaser of a principality on Nonachunheh, embracing much of the best lands in Washington and Greene counties.

Another deed of the same date and between the same parties, conveys another tract of land "lying on Nonachuchy River, below the mouth of Big Limestone, on both sides of said river, bounded as follows, joining the rest of said Brown's purchase. Beginning on the south side of said river, below the old fields that lie below the said Limestone, on the north side of Nonachuchy Mountain, at a large rock; thence north thirty-two deg. west to the mouth of Camp Creek, on south side of said river; thence across said river; thence north-west to the dividing ridge between Lick Creek and Watauga or Holston; thence up the dividing ridge

to the rest of said Brown's lands; thence down the main fork of Big Limestone to its mouth; thence crossing the river a straight course to Nonachuchy Mountain; thence down the said mountain to the beginning."

1774 In the meantime, the British Parliament persisted in the determination to tax the American colonies without their consent. We copy or condense from Holmes:

"The obnoxious port duties of 1767 had been repealed, excepting the duty of three pence a pound on tea, which was continued for the purpose of maintaining the parliamentary right of taxation. 'That import was continued to keep up the sovereignty,' and 'could never be opposed by the colonists, unless they were determined to rebel against Great Britain.' Such was the language of Lord North. But the jealousy of the colonies was directed against the *principle* of the ministry, which was as discernible in the imposition of a small as of a large duty. The partial repeal was, therefore, unsatisfactory, and combinations were formed in the principal commercial cities, to prevent the importation of the excepted article. One sentiment appears to have pervaded all the colonies. The ministerial plan was universally considered as a direct attack upon the liberties of the American citizen, which it was the duty of all to oppose. The tax was every where resisted, and at Boston the cargoes of tea were thrown into the dock. This act so provoked the British government that the city of Boston was selected as the first object of legislative vengeance. A bill was passed by which its harbour was closed. This bill excited universal indignation. At Philadelphia contributions were made for such poor inhabitants of Boston as were deprived, by the act, of the means of subsistence. The Assembly of Virginia resolved to observe the first day of its operation as a fast, and espoused the cause of Massachusetts by the declaration 'that an attack made on one of our sister colonies to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack made on all British America, and threatens ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied.'"

They also proposed the meeting of a General Congress annually, to deliberate on those measures which the united interests of America might, from time to time, require. This recommendation of Virginia was gradually concurred with, from New-Hampshire to South-Carolina, and on the fifth day of September the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. A declaration of rights was soon agreed on; the several acts of Parliament infringing and violating those rights recited, and the repeal of them resolved to be essentially necessary to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. They resolved further on an address to the king and to the people of Great Britain, and

a memorial to the people of British America. These resolutions of the Continental Congress, received the general sanction of the Provincial Congresses and Colonial Assemblies. Massachusetts took immediate measures for the defence of the province. The Assembly of Rhode Island passed resolutions for obtaining arms and military stores, and for raising and arming the inhabitants. In New-Hampshire similar precautions were taken.

In the more southern colonies, signs of discontent and jealousy of the British government were strongly manifested. A meeting of the officers under the command of Lord Dunmore, resolved:—"That as the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, they would exert every power within them for the defence of American liberty and for the support of her just rights and privileges, not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen." The Provincial Congress of Maryland resolved:—"That if the late acts of Parliament shall be attempted to be executed by force, Maryland will aid such colony to the utmost extent of its power;" and further resolved to raise money for the purchase of arms and ammunition. In South-Carolina Judge Drayton, in a charge to a grand jury, said, in speaking of liberty:—"English people cannot he taxed, nay, cannot be bound by any law, unless by their consent, expressed by themselves or by the representatives of their own election. I charge you to do your duty; to maintain the laws, the rights, the constitution of your own country, even at the hazard of your lives and fortunes. In my judicial character I know no master but the law; I am a servant, not to the king, but to the constitution."

The testimony of one of the earliest and most distinguished martyrs to the cause of liberty is at once illustrative of his own patriotism and that of his countrymen. Dr. Warren said:—"It is the united voice of America to preserve their freedom or lose their lives in the defence of it. Their resolutions are not the effects of inconsiderate rashness, but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation. I am con-

vinced that the true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused through all ranks and orders of people in any county on the face of the earth, as it now is through all North America."

Georgia was the youngest of the colonies, the most feeble and the most exposed; yet her whigs were aroused and active at the very dawn of the Revolution. Under Habersham and Brown, her volunteers assisted in capturing, at the mouth of the Savannah, the schooner of Gov. Wright, containing the king's powder; and afterwards Doctor N. W. Jones, Joseph Habersham, Edward Telfair, William Gibbon, Joseph Clay, John Millege and others broke into the magazine and secured for their little band of whig patriots, the powder intended by the colonial authorities to intimidate the rising spirit of republicanism and resistance to the royal cause. "Some of the bravest and most honourable men in the Union were among the patriots of Georgia." "Mr. Habersham, alone and unaided, entered the house of Governor Wright and arrested him at his own table."*

But all these manifestations of a spirit of determined resist-
1775 { ance on the part of the American colonies, were disre-
{ garded by the British government. Parliamentary supremacy had been asserted, and coercive measures were adopted to enforce and sustain it. A crisis approached which precluded, forever, all reconciliation between England and her American colonies. On the 19th of April the battle of Lexington took place, the first act in the great drama of the American Revolution. The blood there shed was the signal for war. The martial spirit of the American people rose with the occasion. The forts, magazines and arsenals throughout the colonies, were instantly secured for the use of the Provincials. Troops were raised, and provision made for their pay and support. Valour in the field was not sufficient for the emergency; it demanded also wisdom in council. A new Congress met on the 10th of May, adopted measures of defence, and unanimously elected one of their number, George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United Colonies.

* Dr. Johnson's Reminiscences.

Notwithstanding these proceedings, the views of the colonists did not yet extend to a separation from Great Britain, or to the establishment of independent governments, except in the last extremity. This is evinced, not only by the declarations of Congress, but from those of the colonial assemblies and conventions in the course of this year.

"But the charm of loyalty to the king and allegiance to his government, was broken—the spell was dissolved. The colonists had armed in defence of their rights, and the transit was easy from resistance to independence and revolution. For ten years they had been complaining and remonstrating against the unconstitutional enactments of the mother country, in the submissive language of faithful and loyal subjects. Their tone was changed, and 'independency' was by many contemplated, and no where earlier than in North-Carolina. In this province, peculation by Crown officers, exorbitant taxes and the court law controversy, were prominent causes of early dissatisfaction to the people, and indeed transcended, in their immediate influence upon their personal comforts and rights, the abstract question of British allegiance. At a later period, their opposition to the ministry was embittered, not so much by their personal sufferings as by a deep sympathy with the people of Massachusetts, who were complimented in all their public meetings, and assured of their readiness to aid them in any general scheme of protection or resistance. The organization of a Continental Congress had been suggested. That was to be effected through the agency of Provincial Congresses; and in North-Carolina, as early as April 5, 1774, measures were in progress to convene one for that purpose. And on the 26th of the same month, William Hooper, in a letter to James Iredell, openly avows the propriety, as well as the probability, of independence. It distinctly says: 'With you I anticipate the important share which the colonies must soon have in regulating the political balance. They are striding fast to independence, and will, ere long, build an empire on the ruins of Britain—will adopt its constitution, purged of its impurities; and from an experience of its defects, will guard against those evils which have wasted its vigour and brought it to an untimely end-'" *

The people of North-Carolina elected delegates to a Provincial Congress, to meet at Newbern, August 25, 1774. The royal governor consulted his council, and with their advice issued his proclamation condemning the elections that had been held as illegal, and warning all officers of the king, civil and military, to prevent all such meetings, and especially that of certain deputies on the 25th instant. Neither the proclamation, nor the less official menaces of Gov. Martin, could prevent the assembling of the deputies; and on the appointed

* Jones.

day a deliberative assembly was organized at Newbern, independent of and contrary to the authority of the existing government. This assembly or congress, as it was called, elected William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell, delegates to the General Congress to be held in September at Philadelphia, and invested them with such powers as may make any act done by them, "obligatory in honour upon every inhabitant of the province, who is not an alien to his country's good and an apostate to the liberties of America." They recognize George the Third as sovereign of the province ; but, as if to mock this profession of loyalty, they claim the rights of Englishmen, without abridgement, and swear to maintain them to the utmost of their power. One of these rights is defined to be, that no subject shall be taxed but by his own consent, or that of his legal representative, and they denounce, in unmeasured terms, every policy that assails that most sacred right.* The instructions to their delegates were in consonance with their resolutions. They contemplated a restoration of harmony with Great Britain, but pledged a determined resistance to aggression upon their persons or properties, and "to all unconstitutional encroachments whatsoever."

It does not appear that the infant settlements west of the mountains were represented at Newbern. While the Congress of North-Carolina was in session at that place, her Western pioneers were laying the foundation of society, and her brave soldiery had volunteered in an expedition, distant, toilsome, dangerous, patriotic, against the inroads of a savage enemy : thus serving an apprenticeship in self government and self defence, which events transpiring on the Atlantic side of the mountain soon after rendered necessary and important.

At this period the colonial government claimed the sole right to treat with the Indian tribes and to purchase their lands, as one of the prerogatives of sovereignty. This claim furnished a new pretext to Governor Martin to vent his spleen upon the distant settlers. The purchase which they had made at Watauga of the Cherokee lands, was pronounced illegal ; the governor alleging, in his proclamation against it, that it was made in violation of the king's inhibition of Oct. 7, 1763, as well as of an act of the Provincial

* Jones.

Assembly. This proclamation of Gov. Martin was a dead letter. No regard was paid to it on Watauga.

A second Provincial Congress was elected. It convened 1775 at Newbern, April 3, 1775, the same time and place appointed for the meeting of the Provincial Legislature. The members elected by the people to one of these bodies, were generally the same persons elected to the other. "As the Provincial Assembly, with but few exceptions, consisted of the delegates to the Congress, and as the Speaker of the former was also the Moderator of the latter body, their proceedings are a little farcical. The Congress would be in session, when the Governor's Secretary would arrive, and then Mr. Moderator Harvey would turn himself into Mr. Speaker Harvey, and proceed to the despatch of public business. The Assembly, too, would occasionally forget its duty, and trespass upon the business of the Congress."* Governor Martin had, as on a former occasion, endeavoured in vain, by the efficacy of an intemperate and argumentative proclamation, to prevent the meeting of the Congress. That body issued a counter-proclamation, by way of reply, in terms firm, moderate, forcible, respectful, and not less logical. "On the 8th of April, 1775, the Assembly was dissolved by proclamation, and thus ceased forever all legislative action in North-Carolina under the royal government."

The Congress at Newbern approved of what had been done by their delegates at Philadelphia, and, in evidence of their continued confidence, re-appointed them delegates to the second Continental Congress. They also approved the Association entered into by that body, and firmly pledged themselves to adhere to its provisions, and to recommend its adoption to their constituents.

All this had transpired in North-Carolina before the battle at Lexington had been fought. The intelligence of that occurrence produced the most decisive effect. It not only stimulated resistance to arbitrary power, but precipitated a severance from the British government. Meetings were held throughout the province, in which the great whig principles of the day were asserted, and a cordial sympathy

* Jones.

with the distresses of the people of Massachusetts was expressed. Hooper had said, "that the colonies were fast striding to independence," and Mecklenburg county was the first to sustain his declaration. In that county a Convention was called, which met on the 19th of May, 1775, at Charlotte. Abraham Alexander was chosen Chairman, and John McKnitt Alexander, Secretary. After a free and full discussion of the various objects of the meeting, which continued in session till 2 o'clock, A. M., on the 20th, "It was unanimously

"I. *Resolved*, That whosoever, directly or indirectly, abetted, or in any way, form or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America, and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

"II. *Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connection, contract or association, with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington.

"III. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual cooperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honour.

"IV. *Resolved*, That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each, and every of our former laws—wherein, nevertheless, the Crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities or authority therein."

Other resolutions were adopted, making provision for the new condition of things. A copy of the proceedings of the Convention was sent by express to the North-Carolina members of Congress, then in session in Philadelphia. These delegates approving of the spirit of their fellow-citizens and the elevated tone of the resolutions, thought them, nevertheless, premature, as the Continental Congress had not yet abandoned all hopes of reconciliation, upon honourable terms, with the mother country. The Declaration of Independence was not, therefore, presented to nor acted upon by that body. A copy was also addressed to the Provincial Con-

gress in August, but, for similar reasons, was not particularly acted upon.

But the proceedings being published in the "Cape Fear Mercury," at Wilmington, and thus meeting the eye of Governor Martin, called forth another proclamation, in which he thus notices the Charlotte resolutions: "And whereas I have also seen a most infamous publication, in the 'Cape Fear Mercury,' importing to be Resolves of a set of people styling themselves a Committee of the County of Mecklenburg, most traitorously declaring the entire dissolution of the laws, government and constitution of the country, and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the laws, and subversive of his majesty's government, &c."

Doctor Brevard is the reputed author of the Mecklenburg Resolutions. The names of the delegates, and of the master spirits and patriots of the country through whose influence and popularity the resolutions were adopted, are Hezekiah Alexander, Adam Alexander, Charles Alexander, Ezra Alexander, Waightstill Avery, Ephraim Brevard, Hezekiah Jones Balch, Richard Barry, Henry Downs, John Davidson, William Davidson, John Flenniken, John Ford, William Graham, James Harris, Richard Harris, Senr., Robert Irwin, William Kennon, Neill Morrison, Matthew McClure, Samuel Martin, Thomas Polk, John Phifer, Ezekiel Polk, Benjamin Patton, Duncan Ocheltree, John Queary, David Reese, William Willson, and Zacheus Willson, Senr.*

At this time hope was entertained of a reconciliation with England, and the thought of independence had been conceived by few. Even Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Dr. William Small, under date of May 7, 1775, said: "When I saw Lord Chatham's bill, I entertained high hope that a reconciliation could have been brought about. The difference between his terms and those offered by our Congress, might have been accommodated, &c."†

A month after the Charlotte Convention, the people of Cumberland county entered into an association. They say: "Holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obliga-

* State Pamphlet, pp. 11 and 16. Raleigh: 1831.

† See American Archives, vol. ii, p. 523.

tions, the duty of good citizens towards an injured country, and thoroughly convinced that, under our distressed circumstances, we shall be justified in resisting force by force, do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honour, and associate as a band in her defence against every foe, hereby solemnly engaging, that, whenever our Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth, and be ready to sacrifice our lives and our fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to continue in force until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America upon constitutional principles—an event we most ardently desire." Mecklenburg still stood alone in the bold position she had assumed of absolute independence.

A similar association was also entered into by the people of Tryon county, on the 14th August, but, like the preceding, was limited by the "reconciliation to take place upon constitutional principles."

On the 20th of August the Provincial Congress assembled at Hillsborough. The royal governor had fled from his palace, and taken refuge on board his majesty's ship Cruiser, in Cape Fear River, from which he issued his proclamation, vainly hoping by these harmless missiles to intimidate the patriot freemen of North-Carolina. The Provincial Assembly had been prorogued—dissolved, rather—no vestige of the royal government was left, and a Whig Congress had assumed the control of North-Carolina. Still professing allegiance to the king, it denied his authority to impose taxes; and its members took an oath to support the Whig authorities of the Continental and Provincial Congress. They declared, unanimously, that North-Carolina would pay her due proportion of the expense of raising a Continental army, and appointed a committee to prepare a plan for regulating the internal peace, order and safety of the province. "This was the most important committee ever yet appointed by popular authority, and it achieved one of the most difficult and trying ends of the Revolution. It substituted a regular government, resting entirely on popular authority, for that of the royal government, and annihilated every vestige of the power of Josiah Martin. Nothing but the idle and vain

theory of allegiance to the throne was left to remind the people of the recent origin of their power."*

1776 The Provincial Congress of North-Carolina met again, April 4, 1776. The following extract from its Journal, shews "that the first legislative recommendation of a declaration of independence by the Continental Congress, originated, likewise, in North-Carolina. It is worthy of remark, that John McKnitt Alexander, the Secretary of the Charlotte Convention, Thomas Polk, Waightstill Avery, John Phifer and Robert Irwin, who were conspicuous actors in the proceedings in Mecklenburg, were active and influential members of this Provincial Congress from that county.†

"*Resolved*, That the delegates for this colony in the Continental Congress, be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independency and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony, and of appointing delegates from time to time, (under the direction of a general representation thereof,) to meet the delegates of the other colonies, for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out.

"The Congress taking the same into consideration, unanimously concurred therewith."

This resolution, thus unanimously adopted by the Congress at Halifax, was presented by the delegates of North-Carolina to the Continental Congress, May, 27, 1776—nearly six weeks before the national declaration of July 4th was made.

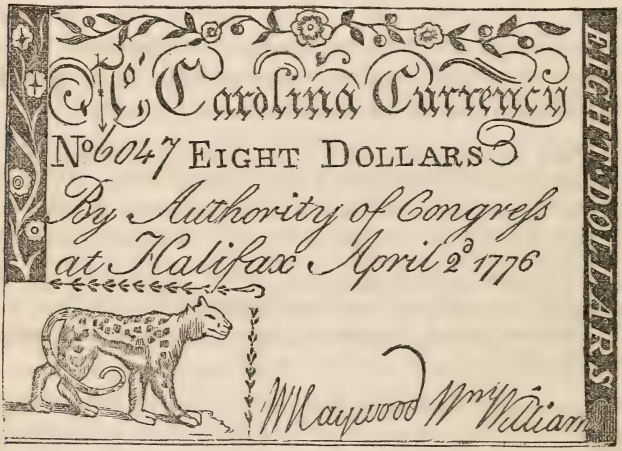
Before the Congress which thus recommended independence, was debated the project of a civil constitution for North-Carolina. The idea of a constitution seemed to follow that of independence; and, accordingly, on the thirteenth a committee was appointed to prepare a temporary civil form of government. The subject, after discussion, was postponed to the next Congress.‡

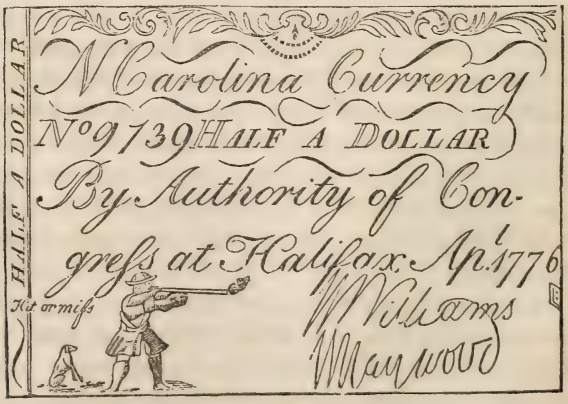
An ordinance was also passed, "empowering the governor to issue a proclamation requiring all persons who have at any time, by taking arms against the liberty of America, adhering to, comforting or abetting the enemies thereof, or by words disrespectful or tending to prejudice the independence of the United States of America, or of this state in

* Jones. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

particular, to come in before a certain day therein mentioned, and take an oath of allegiance and make submission, on pain of being considered as enemies and treated accordingly."

Also an ordinance "for supplying the public treasury with money for the exigencies of this state, and for the support of that part of the continental army stationed therein." The form of two of the Treasury Bills is here given.





These issues of the North-Carolina Treasury for expenses incurred by her patriotic militia in the cause of independence, are still found in great abundance in the scrutoires and chests of the old families and their descendants in Tennessee:

valueless now, but still proud remembrancers of past sacrifices and toils. Of this money, it has been well said, it vindicated our liberties, but fell in the moment of victory.

The device of the volunteer levelling his rifle and the motto chosen for him, are peculiarly appropriate. "Hit or miss" is a homely but significant phrase, and is expressive of the noble sentiment of the patriot Adams, uttered about the same period:—"Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish."

Other ordinances for putting the machinery of the new state into successful motion being passed, the Congress of Halifax adjourned.

We have chosen thus to throw together, in a connected view, the action and sentiment of the several colonies at the dawn of the Revolution, and to give in more detail, and with a less rapid recital, the early participation of our mother state, North-Carolina, in the cause of liberty and of freedom, and in the Declaration of Independence. It is no ordinary achievement thus to have laid the foundation of free and independent government. Every review of these illustrious events increases our admiration of that enlightened love of freedom, that noble spirit of independence, and that self-sacrificing and lofty patriotism, which glowed in the bosoms, animated the councils and nerved the hearts of those who, for the inestimable privileges we enjoy, pledged their mutual co-operation, their lives, fortunes and most sacred honour.*

Returning to the chronological order of events from which we have slightly departed, we find the small community on Watauga still living under the simple government of their own appointment, consisting of five commissioners elected by themselves. Before this tribunal all private controversies were settled. Its sessions were held at stated and regular periods, and as its business increased with the constant enlargement of the settlement, a clerk was found necessary. Felix Walker, Thomas Gomley, William Tatham and John

* See State Pamphlet, published by North-Carolina, page 6: Pitkin, Force's Collections; State Papers; Jones, Foote, Wheeler and Martin's North-Carolina; which have all been referred to and consulted.

Sevier, all served in that office;* Lewis Bowyer was the attorney. A sheriff was also appointed, but who he was is not now known. The laws of Virginia were taken as the standard of decision. Of this court, of its decisions and proceedings, little or nothing is certainly known. The records are, probably, all lost. No research of the writer has been successful in discovering them; he has examined in vain the several offices in Tenneseee, and also the state archives at Richmond and Raleigh. At the latter place, by the courtesy of Gov. Reed, the present Executive of North-Carolina, he was allowed free access to the public papers of that state. No trace of the records of Watauga Court was to be found; but his pains-taking search was richly compensated by the discovery, in an old bundle of papers, lying in an upper shelf, almost out of reach, and probably not seen before for seventy-five years, of a petition and remonstrance from Watauga settlement, praying, among other things, to be *annexed*, whether as a county, district or other division, to North-Carolina. The document appears to be in the handwriting of one of the signers, John Sevier, and is probably his own production. The name of the chairman, John Carter, is written by a palsied hand. It is remarkable that about sixty years afterwards, his grandson, the late Hon. W. B. Carter, from exactly the same Watauga locality, was president of the convention that formed the present constitution of Tennessee. The others are all names since, and at the present time, familiar to Tennesseans.

This document is, throughout, replete with interest; is full of our earliest history; breathes the warmest patriotism, and is inspired with the spirit of justice and of liberty. No apology is needed for presenting it entire in these pages:†

"*To the Hon. the Provincial Council of North-Carolina:*

"The humble petition of the inhabitants of Washington District, including the River Wataugah, Nonachuckie, &c.,

* Mr. Walker was a member of Congress from the Buncombe District, N. C., in 1821.

† The petition is copied literatim et verbatim.

in committee assembled, Humbly Sheweth, that about six years ago, Col. Donelson, (in behalf of the Colony of Virginia,) held a Treaty with the Cherokee Indians, in order to purchase the lands of the Western Frontiers; in consequence of which Treaty, many of your petitioners settled on the lands of the Wataugah, &c., expecting to be within the Virginia line, and consequently hold their lands by their improvements as first settlers; but to their great disappointment, when the line was run they were (contrary to their expectation) left out; finding themselves thus disappointed, and being too inconveniently situated to remove back, and feeling an unwillingness to loose the labour bestowed on their plantations, they applied to the Cherokee Indians, and leased the land for the term of ten years, before the expiration of which term, it appeared that many persons of distinction were actually making purchases forever; thus yielding a precedent, (supposing many of them, who were gentlemen of the law, to be better judges of the constitution than we were,) and considering the bad consequences it must be attended with, should the reversion be purchased out of our hands, we next proceeded to make a purchase of the lands, reserving those in our possession in sufficient tracts for our own use, and resolving to dispose of the remainder for the good of the community. This purchase was made and the lands acknowledged to us and our heirs forever, in an open treaty, in Wataugah Old Fields; a deed being obtained from the chiefs of the said Cherokee nation, for themselves and their whole nation, conveying a fee simple right to the said lands, to us and our heirs forever, which deed was for and in consideration of the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, (paid to them in goods,) for which consideration they acknowledged themselves fully satisfied, contented and paid; and agreed, for themselves, their whole nation, their heirs, &c., forever to resign, warrant and defend the said lands to us, and our heirs, &c., against themselves, their heirs, &c.

"The purchase was no sooner made, than we were alarmed by the reports of the present unhappy differences between Great Britain and America, on which report, (taking the now united colonies for our guide,) we proceeded to choose

a committee, which was done unanimously by consent of the people. This committee (willing to become a party in the present unhappy contest) resolved, (which is now on our records,) to adhere strictly to the rules and orders of the Continental Congress, and in open committee acknowledged themselves indebted to the united colonies their full proportion of the Continental expense.

"Finding ourselves on the Frontiers, and being apprehensive that, for the want of a proper legislature, we might become a shelter for such as endeavoured to defraud their creditors; considering also the necessity of recording Deeds, Wills, and doing other public business; we, by consent of the people, formed a court for the purposes above mentioned, taking (by desire of our constituents) the Virginia laws for our guide, so near as the situation of affairs would admit; this was intended for ourselves, and was done by the consent of every individual; but wherever we had to deal with people out of our district, we have ruled them to bail, to abide by our determinations, (which was, in fact, leaving the matter to reference,) otherways we dismissed their suit, lest we should in any way intrude on the legislature of the colonies. In short, we have endeavoured so strictly to do justice, that we have admitted common proof against ourselves, on accounts, &c., from the colonies, without pretending a right to require the Colony Seal.

"We therefore trust we shall be considered as we deserve, and not as we have (no doubt) been many times represented, as a lawless mob. It is for this very reason we can assure you that we petition; we now again repeat it, that it is for want of proper authority to try and punish felons, we can only mention to you murderers, horse-thieves and robbers, and are sorry to say that some of them have escaped us for want of proper authority. We trust, however, this will not long be the case; and we again and again repeat it, that it is for this reason we petition to this Honourable Assembly.

"Above we have given you an extract of our proceedings, since our settling on Wataugah, Nonachuckie, &c., in regard to our civil affairs. We have shown you the causes of our first settling and the disappointments we have met with, the rea-

son of our lease and of our purchase, the manner in which we purchased, and how we hold of the Indians in fee simple; the causes of our forming a committee, and the legality of its election; the same of our Court and proceedings, and our reasons for petitioning in regard to our legislature.

"We will now proceed to give you some account of our military establishments, which were chosen agreeable to the rules established by convention, and officers appointed by the committee. This being done, we thought it proper to raise a company on the District service, as our proportion, to act in the common cause on the sea shore. A company of fine riflemen were accordingly enlisted, and put under Capt. James Robertson, and were actually embodied, when we received sundry letters and depositions, (copies of which we now enclose you,) you will then readily judge that there was occasion for them in another place, where we daily expected an attack. We therefore thought proper to station them on our Frontiers, in defence of the common cause, at the expense and risque of our own private fortunes, till farther public orders, which we flatter ourselves will give no offence. We have enclosed you sundry proceedings at the station where our men now remain.

"We shall now submit the whole to your candid and impartial judgment. We pray your mature and deliberate consideration in our behalf, that you may annex us to your Province, (whether as county, district, or other division,) in such manner as may enable us to share in the glorious cause of Liberty; enforce our laws under authority, and in every respect become the best members of society; and for ourselves and constituents we hope, we may venture to assure you, that we shall adhere strictly to your determinations, and that nothing will be lacking or any thing neglected, that may add weight (in the civil or military establishments) to the glorious cause in which we are now struggling, or contribute to the welfare of our own or ages yet to come.

"That you may strictly examine every part of this our Petition, and delay no time in annexing us to your Province, in such a manner as your wisdom shall direct, is the hearty

prayer of those who, for themselves and constituents, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

John Carter, Chn.	John Sevier,	John Jones,
Charles Roberdson,	Jas. Smith,	George Rusel,
James Robertson,	Jacob Brown,	Jacob Womack,
Zach. Isbell,	Wm. Been,	Robert Lucas.

The above signers are the Members in Committee assembled.

WM. TATHAM, Clerk, P. T.

Jacob Womack,	John Brown,	Adam Sherrell,
Joseph Dunham,	Jos. Brown,	Samuel Sherrell, junr.
Rice Durroon,	Job Bumper,	Samuel Sherrell, senr.
Edward Hopson,	Isaac Wilson,	Ossa Rose,
Lew. Bowyer, D. Atty,	Richard Norton,	Henry Bates, jun.,
Joseph Buller,	George Hutson,	Jos. Grimes,
Andw. Greer,	Thomas Simpson,	Christopher Cunningham, sen.,
his	Valentine Sevier,	
Joab ⋈ Mitchell,	Jonathan Tipton,	Joshua Barten, sen.,
mark.	Robert Sevier,	Joud. Bostin, sen.,
Gideon Morris,	Drury Goodan,	Henry Bates, jun.,
Shadrack Morris,	Richard Fletcher,	Will'm Dod,
William Crocket,	Ellexander Greear,	Groves Morris,
Thos. Dedmon,	Jos. Greear,	Wm. Bates,
David Hickey,	Andrew Greear, jun.,	Rob't Mosely,
Mark Mitchell,	Teeler Nave,	Ge. Hartt,
Hugh Blair,	Lewis Jones,	Isaac Wilson,
Elias Pebeer,	John I. Cox,	Jno. Waddell,
Jos. Brown,	John Cox, jr.,	Jarret Williams,
John Neave,	Abraham Cox,	Oldham Hightower,
John Robinson,	Emanuel Shote,	Abednago Hix,
Christopher Cunningham,	Tho. Houghton,	Charles McCartney,
	Jos. Luske,	Frederick Vaughn,
Jas. Easeley,	Wm. Reeves,	Jos. McCartney,
Ambrose Hodge,	David Hughes,	Mark Robertson,
Dan'l Morris,	Landon Carter,	Joseph Calvit,
Wm. Cox,	John McCormick,	Joshua Houghton,
James Easley,	David Crocket,	John Chukinbeard,
John Haile,	Edw'd Cox,	James Cooper,
Elijah Robertson,	Tho's Hughes,	William Brokees,
William Clark,	William Roberson,	Julius Robertson,
his	Henry Siler,	John King,
John ⋈ Dunham,	Frederick Calvit,	Michael Hider,
mark.	John Moore,	John Davis,
Wm. Overall,	William Newberry,	John Barley."
Matt. Hawkins,		

This document is without date. The original, now in the state archives at Raleigh, has endorsed upon it, "Received August 22, 1776." It had been probably drawn up in the early part of that year. Nothing has been found after the

most careful examination, to show what action was taken by the Provincial Council in reference to the petition. It is probable, however, that in the exercise of its now omnipotent and unrestricted authority, the Council advised the settlers to send forward their representatives to the Provincial Congress at Halifax, as it is known they did as delegates from "Washington District, Watauga Settlement." The name *Washington* District, being in the petition itself, must have been assumed by the people petitioning, and was probably suggested by John Sevier, who, during his residence at Williamsburg, had doubtless known Col. George Washington, now the commander-in-chief of the American army. It is not known to this writer that the authorities or people of any other province had previously honoured Washington by giving his name to one of its towns or districts—a district, too, of such magnificent dimensions, extending from the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi. A most suitable tribute of respect to the exalted character and enlarged patriotism of the Father of his Country! The pioneers of Tennessee were, probably, the first thus to honour Washington.

The District of Washington being, as is probable, in accordance with the prayer of the petitioners, "annexed" to North-Carolina, was thus authorized to send its representatives to the Provincial Congress at Halifax. That body assembled at that place Nov. 12, 1776, and continued in session till the 18th of December. A Bill of Rights and a State Constitution were adopted.

In the last section of the Declaration of Rights, the limits of the state, on the west, are made to extend "so far as is mentioned in the charter of King Charles the Second, to the late Proprietors of Carolina;" and the hunting grounds are secured to the Indians as far as any former legislature had secured, or any future legislature might secure to them.

Amongst the members of this Congress were Charles Robertson, John Carter, John Haile and John Sevier, from "Washington District, Watauga Settlement."* Her remote and patriotic citizens, on the extreme frontier, thus participated in

* Womack was also elected, but did not attend.

laying the foundation of government for the free, sovereign and independent State of North-Carolina. In that part of the Declaration of Rights adopted by the Congress, specifying the limits of the state, is the proviso, "*that it shall not be so construed as to prevent the establishment of one or more governments westward of this state, by consent of the legislature.*" This was inserted, probably, at the suggestion of the young legislators from Watauga. In their number—the last in the list as here given—was the future Governor of Franklin and of Tennessee. His fortune, as will be shown in the further progress of these annals, was hereafter hewn out by his sword and shaped by his wonderful capacities. Could he have been, at this time, preparing a theatre for their future employment and exhibition?

WATAUGA.

The topography of Watauga has become interesting, and the modern visitant to that early home of the pioneers of Tennessee and the West, lingers around and examines, with intense curiosity and almost with veneration, the places consecrated as their residence or their entombment. The annalist, partaking deeply in this feeling, has used every effort to identify these localities. He has made more than one pilgrimage to these time-honoured and historic places. In all time to come they will be pointed out and recognized as the abode and resting place of enterprise, virtue, hardihood, patriotism—the ancestral monument of real worth and genuine greatness.

"Watauga Old Fields," already mentioned, occupied the site of the present Elizabethton, in Carter county. Tradition says it was once an ancient Indian village, of which, when Mr. Andrew Greer, an early hunter and explorer, first settled it, no trace remained but the cleared land. In confirmation of that tradition it may be remarked, that a short distance above that place, on the south side of Watauga River and immediately upon its bank, an ancient cemetery is seen, in which are deposited quite a number of human skeletons.

"The Watauga Fort" was erected upon the land once owned and occupied by an old settler, Matthew Tolbot. The land is now owned by Mrs. Eva Gillespie. The fort stood upon

a knoll below the present site of Mrs. Gillespie's house, in a bottom, about half a mile north-east of the mouth of Gap Creek. The spot is easily identified by a few graves and the large locust tree standing conspicuously on the right of the road leading to Elizabethton. Let it ever be a sacrilege to cut down that old locust tree—growing, as it does, near the ruins of the Watauga fort which sheltered the pioneer and protected his family—where the soldiery of Watauga fought under Captain Robertson and Lieutenant Sevier, and where the Courts of the Association were held, and even-handed justice was administered under the self-constituted legislature, judiciary and executive of the Watauga settlers.

Besides the fort proper, there were near, and within reach of its guns, a court-house and jail. These were, necessarily, of the plainest structure, being made of round poles. In 1782 the former was converted into a stable.

Higher up the river, and on the north side of it, near the closing in of a ridge, upon a low flat piece of land, stood another fort. The land was then owned by Valentine Sevier, Sen., now by Mr. Hart. On Doe River was a third fort, in the cove of that stream. The Parkinsons forted here. The farm is now owned by Mr. Hampton. Carter Womack had a fort near the head of Watauga; its exact location is not now known. During an outbreak of the Indians, men were sent from this fort to protect settlements lower down the country. Another fort stood near the mouth of Sinking Creek, on land now owned by Bashere, then by Dunjain.

RESIDENCES OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF WATAUGA.

James Robertson lived on the north side of the river, at the upper end of the island, on lands since the property of A. M. Carter, Esq., deceased, late of Elizabethton. Valentine Sevier, Jun., at one time lived where Mr. Hickey now resides, opposite N. G. Taylor's store. Valentine Sevier, Sen., owned the land now occupied by Mr. Hart. Colonel John Carter's residence was about half a mile north of Elizabethton, on the property still owned by his grandson, General James J. Carter. The house of Mr. Andrew Greer was

on Watauga River, about three miles above Elizabethton, near to the place where Henry Nave, Jun., now lives. Mr. Greer was an Indian trader, and at a very early period, perhaps 1766, came with Julius C. Dugger to the West. They are believed to be the first white men that settled south of what was afterwards ascertained to be the Virginia line. After them came the Robertsons, John Carter, Michael Hyder, the Seviers, Dunjains, McNabbs, Matthew Tolbot, the Hortons, McLinns, and Simeon Bundy. The latter of these was the first settler on Gap Creek His house stood near the Big Spring, the head of that stream. Soon after the arrival on the Watauga of the emigrants above named, came the Beans, the Cobbs and the Webbs, and, subsequently, the Tiptons and Taylors. Julius C. Dugger lived and died at a place still owned by his heirs, and known as Dugger's Bridge, fourteen miles up the Watauga from Elizabethton. Mr. Horton lived at the Green Hill, a little south of the Watauga Springs. Joshua, his son, owned the present residence of Samuel Tipton, and another son, Richard, lived at the place now occupied by Mr. Renfro. Charles Robertson lived on Sinking Creek, on the property now owned by John Ellis. Ambrose Hodge lived where Wm. Wheeler now resides, on the road leading to Jonesboro, from Elizabethton. Mr. Honeycut, whose hospitality furnished the first home to James Robertson, lived about Roane's Creek, near the Watauga. Evan Shelby lived and died at the place now known as King's Meadows, in Sullivan county, near the Virginia line, where his grave is still pointed out. Michael Hyder lived on Powder Branch, a mile south of Watauga. His son has built his present residence near the site of the old mansion. James Edens settled near the Big Springs on Gap Creek, the place now occupied by his son.

The first mill erected in all the country, was on Buffalo Creek. It belonged to Baptist McNabb, and stood near where David Pugh since lived. About the same time, another mill was built by Matthew Tolbot on Gap Creek. The property is now owned by the heirs of ——— Love.*

* To one of whom, Mr. John Love, recently deceased at Charleston, S. C., the writer is indebted for many of these details.

In August, 1775, Rev. William Tennent informed the Provincial Congress of South-Carolina, that Cameron was among the Over-hill Cherokees, and would soon join the disaffected with three thousand Cherokee gun-men, who will fight for the king. An Indian *talk* was intercepted, which contained an assurance from the Cherokees that they were ready to attend Cameron, and massacre all the back settlers of Carolina and Georgia, without distinction of age or sex.

In a letter to Lord Dartmouth, under date, Boston, June 12, 1775, Gen. Gage said: "We need not be tender of calling on the savages" * to attack the Americans.

1775 In this year an Indian trader, Andrew Greer, one of the first, if not the very first settler of Watauga, being in the Cherokee towns, suspected, from the conduct of Walker and another trader, that some mischief was intended against him. He returned with his furs, but left the main trading path and came up the Nollichucky Trace. Boyd and Dogget, who had been sent out by Virginia, travelling on the path that Greer left, were met by Indians near a creek, were killed by them and their bodies thrown into the water. The creek is in Sevier county, and has ever since been known as Boyd's Creek. A watch and other articles were afterwards found in the creek—the watch had Boyd's name engraved on the case. He was a Scotchman. This was the commencement of the Cherokee hostility, and was believed to be instigated by the agents of the British government. One of its measures adopted to oppress and subjugate the disaffected American colonies, was to arm the neighbouring tribes and to stimulate them against the feeble settlements on their border. The southern colonies had expressed a decided sympathy with their aggrieved brethren in Massachusetts, and lying adjacent to the warlike Cherokee tribe, it was desired to secure the alliance of these savages against them in the existing war. Early in the year 1776, John Stuart, the Superintendent of Southern Indian Affairs, received his instructions from the British War Department, and immediately dispatched to his deputies, resident among the different tribes, orders to carry into effect the wishes of his government. Alexander Came-

*Am. Archives, vol. ii., folio 968.

ron, a Highland officer, who had fought for America in the French war, was at this time the Agent for the Cherokee nation. Receiving from Stuart his orders, he lost no time in convoking the chiefs and warriors, and making known to them the designs of his government. He informed them of the difficulties between the King and his American subjects, and endeavoured to enlist them in favour of his monarch.

The Indians could scarcely believe that the war was real—a war among savages that speak the same language being unknown. This phenomenon confused them. The Americans, moreover, had friends in the towns, who endeavoured to counteract the intrigues of the Agent, and to gain time to apprise the frontier inhabitants of the danger which threatened them. But by promises of presents in clothing, the plunder of the conquered settlements, and the appropriation to their use of the hunting grounds to be reclaimed from the whites upon the western waters, Cameron succeeded, eventually, in gaining to the British interests a majority of the head men and warriors. "This formidable invasion was rendered much less destructive than was intended, by the address and humanity of another Pocahontas. Nancy Ward, who was nearly allied to some of the principal chiefs, obtained knowledge of their plan of attack, and without delay communicated it to Isaac Thomas, a trader, her friend and a true American. She procured for him the means to set out to the inhabitants of Holston as an express, to warn them of their danger, which he opportunely did, and proceeded, without delay, to the Committee of Safety in Virginia, accompanied by William Fallin, as far as the Holston settlements'*

The westernmost settlement, late in the fall of this year, was in Carter's Valley. Mr. Kincaid, Mr. Long, Mr. Love and Mr. Mulkey, a Baptist preacher, were the pioneers. Their bread-corn was brought from the neighbourhood where Abingdon now stands. During that winter they hunted and killed buffalo, twelve or fifteen miles north-west of their settlement. They also cleared a few acres of land, but after they had planted and worked their corn over once, the rumours of a Cherokee invasion forced them to leave their little farms. In great

* Haywood.

haste and confusion all the families below the north fork of Holston recrossed that stream, and the women and children were conducted back as far as the present Wythe county.

The tide of emigration had, in the meantime, brought large accessions to the three points, Carter's, Watauga and Brown's, and radiating from these centres, the settlers were erecting their cabins and opening their "improvements" at some distance from each, and approximating the boundaries of the parent germ, the whole began to assume the appearance of one compact settlement. The policy pursued in Virginia and the Carolinas, under the direction of County Associations and Committees of Safety, had driven many to the new settlements. A test oath was required of all suspected of disaffection to the American cause. To avoid the oath, and to escape the consequences of a refusal to take it or to subscribe the test, many tories had fled to the extreme frontier. Brown's was the furthest point and the most difficult of access. In this seclusion they hoped to remain concealed: but whig vigilance soon ferreted them out, and a body of men, at the instance of John Carter, came from Virginia, went to Brown's, called the inhabitants together and administered to them an oath to be faithful to the common cause. After this, Brown's and Watauga were considered one united settlement, and appointed their officers as belonging to the same body.

The murder of Boyd by the Indians, and a rumour of the intrigues practiced by Cameron, had put the frontier people upon their guard against meditated mischief. The Cherokees had so long maintained friendly relations with them, that they had been lulled into a state of false security. While they had provided civil institutions adequate to the wants of the settlers, the military organization had been neglected. They proceeded at once to adopt defensive measures, and immediately appointed Carter and Brown colonels, and Womack major over their respective militia. It was deemed advisable, also, to take further precautions for the protection of the settlements against any attack that might be contemplated by the savages, and the more exposed families went at once into forts and stations.

A fort, in these rude military times, consisted of pieces of timber, sharpened at the end and firmly lodged in the ground; rows of these pickets enclosed the desired space, which embraced the cabins of the inhabitants. One block house, or more, of superior care and strength, commanding the sides of the fort, with or without a ditch, completed the fortification or station, as they are most commonly called. Generally the sides of the interior cabins formed the sides of the fort. Slight as was this advance in the art of war, it was more than sufficient against attacks of small arms, in the hands of such desultory warriors, as their irregular supplies of provisions necessarily rendered the Indians.* The place selected for a station was generally the cabin most central to the whole settlement to be protected by it. Often, however, it was otherwise; an elevated position, not surrounded by woods, cliffs or other fastnesses, from which assailants could deliver their fire under cover; contiguity to a spring, a river, or other stream of water, a supply of fuel;—all these had their influence in deciding the place selected for a fort. Sometimes the proximity of a number of adjacent settlers, cultivating the same plantation, or working in the same *clearing*, overbalanced other considerations. A grist mill was often a *sine qua non* in the selection of a site, and especially if, in case of a protracted siege, it could be enclosed by the palisades or commanded by the rifles of a fort.

The boundaries of Brown's settlement, on the west, extended down Nollichucky, below the mouth of Big Limestone Creek, and that neighbourhood being the weakest and first exposed, a fort was built at Gillespie's, near the river, and a garrison was stationed in it. Another one was built at Watauga—another at Heaton's, known as Heaton's Station. It stood in the fork between the north and south branches of Holston, and about six miles from their confluence. Evan Shelby erected one on Beaver Creek, two miles south of the Virginia line. There was one, also, at Womack's, and three or four miles east of it, on Holston, John Shelby also built a station. In Carter's Valley there were several.†

* Butler.

† It is to be regretted that the site of many of the forts and stations in Tennessee

During these preparations for defence, other information reached the Watauga Committee, confirming the previous intelligence of approaching invasion. On the 18th of May they received a copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Stuart, under date May 9th, to the frontier people. The circumstances attending its delivery were exceedingly suspicious, and gave rise to the gravest apprehensions. The letter and the affidavit of Nathan Read, who was present at Mr. Charles Robertson's house at night, when it was delivered, are here given:

"WATTAGA.—This day Nathan Read came before me, one of the Justices of Wattaga, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that a stranger came up to Charles Robertson's gate yesterday evening—who he was he did not know—and delivered a letter of which this is a true copy. Sworn before me the 19th of May, 1776.

JOHN CARTER.

Attest—James Smith."

"GENTLEMEN—Some time ago Mr. Cameron and myself wrote you a letter by Mr. Thomas, and enclosed a talk we had with the Indians respecting the purchase which is reported you lately made of them on the Rivers Wattaga, Nollichuckey, &c. We are sincein formed that you are under great apprehensions of the Indians doing mischief immediately. But it is not the desire of his Majesty to set his friends and allies, the Indians, on his liege subjects: Therefore, whoever you are that are willing to join his Majesty's forces as soon as they arrive at the Cherokee Nation, by repairing to the King's standard, shall find protection for themselves and their families, and be free from all danger whatever; yet, that his Majesty's officers may be certain which of you are willing to take up arms in his Majesty's just right, I have thought fit to recommend it to you and every one that is desirous of preventing inevitable ruin to themselves and families, immediately to subscribe a written paper acknowledging their allegiance to his Majesty, King George, and that they are ready and willing, whenever they are called on, to appear in arms in defence of the British right in America; which paper, as soon as it is signed and sent to me, by safe hand, should any of the inhabitants

can no longer be satisfactorily identified. Convinced as he was of the value and interest these *sites* would have given to this work, the writer has endeavoured, in various ways, to ascertain them, with the view of perpetuating them in a diagram or map, to be inserted in this volume. These endeavours have been fruitless. From some correspondents, in a few counties, he has procured some information on the subject. From others he learns that the early settlers are no longer there to impart the desired knowledge, and from others no reply has been received to his inquiries. Public attention in Tennessee is respectfully invited to this subject.

be desirous of knowing how they are to be free from every kind of insult and danger, inform them, that his Majesty will immediately land an army in West Florida, march them through the Creek to the Chickasaw Nation, where five hundred warriors from each nation are to join them, and then come by Chota, who have promised their assistance, and then to take possession of the frontiers of North-Carolina and Virginia, at the same time that his Majesty's forces make a diversion on the sea coast of those Provinces. If any of the inhabitants have any beef, cattle, flour, pork or horses to spare, they shall have a good price for them by applying to us, as soon as his Majesty's troops are embodied.

I am yours, &c.,

HENRY STUART."

Henry was the brother of John Stuart, and Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and in that capacity had been sent to the Cherokees by Cameron. The letter was doubtless handed by some incognito loyalist from South-Carolina, at the suggestion of Col. Kirkland, to whom such negotiations were familiar. Charles Robertson had emigrated from that Province, and it may have been, was known to some of the disaffected back-settlers there. They mistook their man. They knew the spirit neither of Robertson nor his countrymen. None could have been more prompt nor more vigorous in spurning the bribe and disregarding their threats or resisting the execution of their plans.

Mr. Jarret Williams, on his way to Virginia from the Cherokee villages, came to Watauga and communicated additional confirmation of the hostile intention of the Indians. It will be found in the subjoined affidavit, afterwards published in the "Philadelphia Packet" of Aug. 13, 1776.

"FINCASTLE, ss.—The deposition of Jarret Williams, taken before me, Anthony Bledsoe, a Justice of the Peace for the county aforesaid, being first sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith: That he left the Cherokee Nation on Monday night, the 8th inst. (July); that the part of the Nation called the Over-hills, were then preparing to go to war against the frontiers of Virginia, having purchased to the amount of 1000 skins, or thereabouts, for mockasons. They were also beating flour for a march, and making other warlike preparations. Their number, from calculation made by the Raven Warrior, amounts to about six hundred warriors; and, according to the deponent's idea, he thinks we may expect a general attack every hour. They propose to take away negroes, horses, and to kill all kinds of cattle, sheep, &c., for which purpose they are well stocked with bows and arrows; also, to destroy all corn, burn houses, &c. And he also heard, that the Valley towns were, a part of them, set off; but that they had sent a runner to stop them

till all were ready to start. He further relates, that Alexander Cameron informed them that he had concluded to send Captain Nathaniel Guest, William Faulin, Isaac Williams and the deponent, with the Indians, till they came near to Nonachucky; then the Indians were to stop, and Guest and the other whites, above mentioned, were to go to see if there were any King's men among the inhabitants; and if they found any, they were to take them off to the Indians, or have a white signal in their hands, or otherwise to distinguish them. When this was done, they were to fall on the inhabitants, and kill and drive all they possibly could. That on Saturday, the 6th instant, in the night, he heard two prisoners were brought in about midnight, but the deponent saw only one. That the within Williams saw only one scalp brought by a party of Indians, with a prisoner; but, from accounts, they had five scalps. He also says he heard the prisoner examined by Cameron, though he gave a very imperfect account, being very much cast down. He further says, that the Cherokees had received the war-belt from the Shawnese, Mingo, Taawah and Delaware Nations, to strike the white people. That fifteen of the said nations were in the Cherokee towns, and that few of the Cherokees went in company with the Shawnese, &c. That they all intended to strike the settlers in Kentucky; and that the Cherokees gave the said Shawnese, &c., four scalps of white men, which they carried away with them. The said Shawnese and Mingoes informed the Cherokees that they then were at peace with every other nation; that the French were to supply them with ammunition, and that they wanted the Cherokees to join them to strike the white people on the frontiers, which the Cherokees have agreed to. And the deponent further saith, that before he left the nation, a number of the Cherokees of the Lower towns, were gone to fall on the frontiers of South-Carolina and Georgia; and further saith not.

JARRET WILLIAMS.

Signed before *Anthony Bledsoe.*"

The apprehension of danger excited amongst the remote settlers on Holston, was increased by the report some time after of another trader, Robert Dews. The amount of his statement made on oath was, "that the Indians are determined on war. The Cherokees have received a letter from Cameron, that the Creeks, Chickasaws and Choctaws are to join against Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolina and Virginia; also that Captain Stuart had gone up the Mississippi with goods, ammunition, &c., for the northern nations, to cause them to fall on the people of the frontier."

Nothing could have so aroused, and exasperated, and harmonized public sentiment in Watauga, as the intelligence thus given, that these settlements were to be sacrificed to savage barbarity, incited by British influence. No where

more than among a frontier people, is there a keener sense of justice or a warmer homage for kind treatment and rightful authority. No where, a greater abhorrence of a flagrant injustice or a deeper resentment for wanton wrong and cruelty. Every settler at once became a determined whig. On the great question then agitating the British Colonies, there was but one opinion in the West. The soldiery was armed, organized and prepared for the conflict, which Cameron's disclosures demonstrated was at hand.

John Sevier communicated to the officers of Fincastle county, the following:

"Fort Lee, July 11, 1776.

"Dear Gentlemen: Isaac Thomas, Wm. Falling, Jarot Williams and one more, have this moment come in by making their escape from the Indians, and say six hundred Indians and whites were to start for this fort, and intend to drive the country up to New River before they return. John Sevier."

Fort Lee is believed to be the name of the fort at Watauga. Sevier was at the latter place at the attack upon it, July 21, and probably was there at the date of this laconic epistle.* Thus forewarned, the Watauga Committee lost no time in preparing for the approaching invasion. The forts were strengthened, and every measure adopted that could add to the security of their people. Having done everything that could be effected by their own resources, on the 30th May, the Committee sent an express to Virginia for aid and supplies of lead and powder. To their application Mr. Preston replies, under date June 3rd, 1776.

"Gentlemen: Your letter of the 30th ult. with the deposition of Mr. Bryan, came to hand this evening, by your messenger. The news is really alarming, with regard to the disposition of the Indians, who are doubtless advised to break with the white people, by the enemies to American liberty who reside among them. But I cannot conceive that you have any thing to fear from their pretended invasion by British troops, by the route they mention. This must, in my opinion, be a scheme purposely calculated to intimidate the inhabitants, either to abandon their plantations or turn enemies to their country, neither of which I hope it will be able to effect.

"Our Convention on the 14th of May, ordered 500 lbs. of gunpowder to each of the counties of Fincastle, Botetourt, Augusta and West Augusta. . . . And double that quantity of lead . . . They likewise

* The writer is indebted for this letter and the official report of the battle at the Island Flats, to the research and politeness of L. C. Draper, Esq.

ordered 100 men to be forthwith raised in Fincastle, to be stationed where our Committee directs for the protection of the frontier. * * * I sent the several letters and depositions you furnished me, from which it is reasonable to believe, that when all these shall have been examined vigourous measures will be adopted for our protection.

"I have advertised our Committee to meet at Fort Chiswell on Tuesday, the 11th instant, and have directed the candidates for commissions in the new companies, to exert themselves in engaging the number of men required until then; I much expect we shall have further news from Williamsburg by the time the Committee meets. I have written to Col. Callaway the second time for 200 lbs. of lead, which I hope he will deliver the bearer. This supply I hope will be some relief to your distressed settlement, and as I said before, should more be wanted I am convinced you may be supplied. I am fully convinced that the expense will be repaid you by the Convention of Virginia or North-Carolina, on a fair representation of the case being laid before them, whichsoever of them takes your settlement under protection, as there is not the least reason that any one part of the colony should be at any extraordinary expense in the defence of the whole, and you may be assured you cannot be over stocked with that necessary article; for should it please Providence that the impending storm should blow over, and there would be no occasion to use the ammunition in the general defence, then it might be sold out to individuals, and the expense of the whole reimbursed to those who so generously contributed towards the purchase.

"I am, with the most sincere wishes for the safety of your settlement, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WM. PRESTON."*

Such was the posture of defence assumed by the inhabitants after the receipt of the intelligence brought by Thomas Fallin and Williams. The former had proceeded on his mission to the authorities of Virginia for succour against a threatened invasion. The projected incursion of the Cherokees, as communicated by Nancy Ward to Thomas, was this: Seven hundred warriors were to attack the white settlements. They were to divide themselves into two divisions of three hundred and fifty each, under chosen leaders, one destined to fall upon the Watauga settlements, by a circuitous route along the foot of the mountains. The other division, to be commanded by the Dragging-Canoe in person, was, by a more northwardly route, to fall upon and break up the settlements in the fork of the two branches of the Holston, and thence proceed into Virginia.

* Original letter in this writer's possession.

The alarm produced by this intelligence hastened the completion of the defences and the embodiment of such a force as the western settlements of Virginia and North-Carolina could supply. Five small companies, principally Virginians, immediately assembled under their respective captains, the eldest of whom, in commission, was Captain Thompson. They marched to Heaton's Station, where a fort had been built, by the advice of Captain William Cocke, in advance of the settlements. Here they halted, as well to protect the people in the station as to procure information, by their spies and scouts, of the position of the enemy, of their number, and, if possible, of their designs. In a day or two it was ascertained that the Indians, in a body of three or four hundred, were actually on the march towards the fort. A council was immediately held to determine whether it was most advisable to await in the fort the arrival of the Indians, with the expectation that they would come and attack it, or to march out in search of them and fight them wherever they could be found. It was urged in council by Captain Cocke, that the Indians would not attack them in the station, and enclosed in their block houses, but would pass by them and attack the settlements in small parties; and that for want of protection the greater part of the women and children would be massacred. This argument decided the controversy, and it was determined to march out and meet them. The corps, consisting of one hundred and seventy men, marched from the station and took their course down towards the Long Island, with an advance of about twelve men in front. When they reached what are called the Island Flats, the advance guard discovered a small party of Indians coming along the road meeting them, and immediately fired on them; the Indians fled and the white people pursued for some time, but did not meet the enemy. A halt was then made, and the men were formed in a line. A council was then held by the officers, in which it was concluded that, probably, they would not be able to meet any others of the enemy that day, and, as evening was drawing on, that it was most prudent to return to the fort. But before all the troops had fallen into ranks and left the place

where they had halted, it was announced that the Indians were advancing, in order of battle, in their rear.* Captain Thompson, the senior officer, who was at the head of the left line, ordered the right line to form for battle to the right, and the line which he headed, to the left, and to face the enemy. In attempting to form the line, the head of the right seemed to bear too much along the road leading to the station, and the part of the line further back, perceiving that the Indians were endeavouring to outflank them, was drawn off, by Lieutenant Robert Davis, as quickly as possible, and formed on the right, across the flat to a ridge, and prevented them from getting round the flank. The greater part of the officers, and not a few of the privates, gave heroic examples to cause the men to advance and give battle; of the latter, Robert Edmiston and John Morrison made conspicuous exertions. They advanced some paces towards the enemy and began the battle by shooting down the foremost of them. The battle then became general.

The Indians fought, at first, with great fury; the foremost hallooing, the *Unacas* are running, come on and scalp them. Their first effort was to break through the centre of our line, and to turn the left flank in the same instant. In both they failed of success, by the well directed fire of our riflemen. Several of their chief warriors fell, and, at length, their commander was dangerously wounded. This decided the victory. The enemy immediately betook themselves to flight, leaving twenty-six of their boldest warriors dead on the field. The blood of the wounded could be traced in great profusion, in the direction of the enemy's retreat. Our men pursued in a cautious manner, lest they might be led into an ambuscade, hardly crediting their own senses that so numerous a foe was completely routed. In this miracle of a battle, we had not a man killed and only five wounded, who all recovered. But the wounded of the enemy died till the whole loss in killed amounted to upwards of forty.† The battle lasted not more than ten minutes after the line was completely formed and engaged before the Indians began to retreat; but they continued to fight awhile in that way, to get the wounded off the ground. The firing during the time

* Haywood. † Idem.

of the action, particularly on the side of the white people, was very lively and well directed. This battle was fought on the 20th of July, 1776.

An official report of this well fought battle, will be also 1776 given, less in detail than the preceding, but in most of the essential parts entirely agreeing with it.

"On the 19th our scouts returned, and informed us that they had discovered where a great number of Indians were making into the settlements; upon which alarm, the few men stationed at Eaton's, completed a breast-work sufficiently strong, with the assistance of what men were there, to have repelled a considerable number; sent expresses to the different stations and collected all the forces in one body, and the morning after about one hundred and seventy turned out in search of the enemy. We marched in two divisions, with flankers on each side and scouts before. Our scouts discovered upwards of twenty meeting us, and fired on them. They returned the fire, but our men rushed on them with such violence that they were obliged to make a precipitate retreat. We took ten bundles and a good deal of plunder, and had great reason to think some of them were wounded. This small skirmish happened on ground very disadvantageous for our men to pursue, though it was with the greatest difficulty our officers could restrain their men. A council was held, and it was thought advisable to return, as we imagined there was a large party not far off. We accordingly returned, and had not marched more than a mile when a number, not inferior to ours, attacked us in the rear. Our men sustained the attack with great bravery and intrepidity, immediately forming a line. The Indians endeavoured to surround us, but were prevented by the uncommon fortitude and vigilance of Capt. James Shelby, who took possession of an eminence that prevented their design. Our line of battle extended about a quarter of a mile. We killed about thirteen on the spot, whom we found, and have the greatest reason to believe that we could have found a great many more, had we had time to search for them. There were streams of blood every way; and it was generally thought there was never so much execution done in so short a time on the frontiers. Never did troops fight with greater calmness than ours did. The Indians attacked us with the greatest fury imaginable, and made the most vigorous efforts to surround us. Our spies really deserved the greatest applause. We took a great deal of plunder and many guns, and had only four men greatly wounded. The rest of the troops are in high spirits and eager for another engagement. We have the greatest reason to believe they are pouring in great numbers on us, and beg the assistance of our friends.

James Thompson,	John Campbell,
James Shelby,	William Cocke,
William Buchanan,	Thomas Madison.

To Major Anthony Bledsoe, for him to be immediately sent to Colonel Preston."

A desperate hand-to-hand conflict took place during the battle. The precise spot is still pointed out in a field on the left of the road passing through the grounds where the battle took place. The combatants were Lieutenant Moore, late of Sullivan, and a very large chief or leader of the Cherokees. Moore had shot the chief, wounding him in the knee, but not so badly as to prevent him from standing. Moore advanced towards him, and the Indian threw his tomahawk but missed him. Moore sprung at him with his large butcher knife drawn, which the Indian caught by the blade and attempted to wrest from the hand of his antagonist. Holding on with desperate tenacity to the knife, both clinched with their left hands. A scuffle ensued in which the Indian was thrown to the ground, his right hand being nearly dissevered and bleeding profusely. Moore still holding the handle of his knife in the right hand, succeeded with the other to disengage his own tomahawk from his belt, and ended the strife by sinking it in the skull of the Indian. Until this conflict was ended, the Indians fought with unyielding spirit. After its issue became known, they retreated.

Mr. George Hufacre, late of Knox county, was in this battle, and gives further particulars. He says: While the captains were endeavouring to form line, some confusion ensued, when Isaac Shelby (a volunteer under no command and not in ranks) gave orders for each captain to fall into place, and with his company to march back a few paces and form line. This order was obeyed, and the line was immediately formed a short distance in the rear of four men left upon the eminence to watch the movements of the enemy. Encouraged by the apparent withdrawal of the troops and the small number in sight, the Indians made a rapid forward movement against the four men on the rising ground, and pursued them into the line now completely formed, yelling and brandishing their tomahawks and war clubs. Edmondson being in the centre company, bore the weight of the enemy's assault several minutes, and himself killed six of the most daring of the Indians. John Findley was one of the wounded.

The consequences of this victory were of some importance to the Western inhabitants, otherwise than the destroying a

number of their influential and most vindictive enemies, and lessening the hostile spirit of the Cherokees. It induced a concord and union of principle to resist the tyranny of the British government. It attracted the favour and attention of the new commonwealth; it inspired military ideas and a contempt of danger from our savage enemies. The inquiry, afterwards, when in search of Indians, was not, how many of them are there? but, where are they to be found? This spirit was kept up and often displayed itself on several important occasions during the war. *

Another division of the Cherokees invaded the settlements at another point and from another direction. This was commanded by Old Abraham of Chilhowee. That chieftain was distinguished more for stratagem and cunning, than by valour and enterprise. He led his division along the foot of the mountain by the Nollichucky path, hoping to surprise and massacre the unsuspecting and unprotected inhabitants upon that river. The little garrison at Gillespie's Station, apprised of the impending danger, had prudently broken up their fort and had withdrawn to Watauga, taking with them such of their moveable effects as the emergency allowed, but leaving their cabins, their growing crops and the stock in the range, to the waste and devastation of the invaders. The Indians arriving at the deserted station soon after the garrison departed from it, hoped, by rapid marches, to overtake and destroy them. In the rapidity of the pursuit, the standing corn, stock and improvements of the settlers, remained untouched and uninjured. The garrison reached Watauga in safety. The next morning, at sunrise, the Indians invested that place and attacked the fort, now strengthened by the small reinforcement from Gillespie's. Captain James Robertson commanded the forces at Watauga, amounting in all to but forty men. Lieut. John Sevier and Mr. Andrew Greer were also present. The assault upon the fort was vigorous and sudden. But, by the unerring aim of the riflemen within it, and the determined bravery of men protecting their women and children from capture and massacre, the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. No one in the

* Haywood.

fort was wounded. Mrs. Bean had been taken prisoner by the Indians on their march, the preceding day. The killed and wounded of the Cherokees were carried off in sight of the people in the fort. The number could not be ascertained, as the Indians remained skulking about in the adjacent woods for twenty days. During that time expresses had succeeded in escaping from the besieged fort at Watauga, and in communicating to the station at Heaton's the dangerous condition in which the siege involved them. Col. Russell was requested to send them succour: and five small companies were ordered to proceed to Watauga. These could not be well spared from Heaton's—and some delay occurring, Col. Shelby raised one hundred horsemen and crossed the country to the relief of his besieged countrymen. Before his arrival at Watauga the siege was raised, and the Indians had hastily withdrawn. The attack of the Cherokees under Old Abraham, was on the 21st of July, the next day after the Dragging-Canoe had made his unsuccessful march upon Heaton's Station near Long Island.

Mrs. Bean was captured near Watauga, and was taken by the Indians to their station camp over on Nollichucky. A white man was there also a prisoner. He told her she was to be killed, and a warrior stepped towards and cocked his gun as if intending to shoot her. The white man, at the instance of the chiefs, then began to ask Mrs. Bean some questions: how many forts have the white people? how many soldiers in each? where are the forts? can they be starved out? have they got any powder? She answered these questions so as to leave the impression that the settlements could protect themselves. After conferring among themselves a few minutes, the chiefs told the white man to say to Mrs. Bean that she was not to be killed, but that she had to go with them to their towns and teach their women how to make butter and cheese.

After she was taken into captivity Mrs. Bean was condemned to death. She was bound, taken to the top of one of the mounds, and was about to be burned, when Nancy Ward, then exercising in the nation the functions of the Beloved or Pretty Woman, interfered and pronounced her pardon. Her life was spared. We give further details.

The fort at Watauga, when attacked, had one hundred and fifty settlers within its enclosure. The women from the fort had gone out at daybreak to milk the cows and were fired upon, but made a safe retreat to the fort. A brisk fire was then made upon the garrison, and kept up till eight o'clock, without effect. The assault was repelled with considerable loss to the assailants, as was inferred from the quantity of blood left upon the ground. In a short time after the Indians renewed the attack and continued before the fort six days.

In the meantime, a soldier effected his escape from Watauga and went to Holston express for reinforcements. A detachment of one hundred rangers was instantly forwarded under the command of Col. Wm. Russell. On their way the rangers fell in with a party of forty Cherokees, who were busy skinning a beef at a deserted plantation, fifty miles east of Long Island. Of these Col. Russell's men killed five and took one prisoner, who was mortally wounded, and also made prize of twenty rifles belonging to the Indians.*

During the time the Indians were around the fort, James Cooper and a boy named Samuel Moore, went out after boards to cover a hut. When near the mouth of Gap Creek, they were attacked by Indians; Cooper leaped into the river, and by diving hoped to escape their arrows and bullets, but the water became too shallow and he was killed by them and scalped. The firing by the Indians and the screams of Cooper were heard in the fort, and Lieutenant John Sevier attempted to go to his succour. Captain Robertson saw that the Indians were superior in force to that within the fort, and that it would require all the men he commanded to protect the women and children from massacre. The firing and screaming without, he believed to be a feint on the part of the enemy to draw his men from the fortification, and he recalled Sevier and his party from the attempted rescue. Moore was carried prisoner to the Indian towns, and was tortured to death by burning. A few mornings after the battle a man named Clonse was found in the thicket below the fort, killed and scalped. He had probably chosen the darkness of the

*Maryland Gazette.

night to reach the fort from some of the settlements, and had been intercepted and slain. The intelligence of the defeat at the Island Flats had probably reached the division commanded by Old Abraham, and occasioned the precipitate retreat from Watauga.

Another division of the Cherokees, commanded by *Raven*,* had struck across the country, with the intention of falling upon the frontier people of Carter's Valley. They came up Holston to the lowest station, and finding the inhabitants securely shut up in forts, and hearing of the repulse at Watauga and the bloody defeat at the Flats, they retreated and returned to their towns.

A fourth party of Indians had crossed the country still lower down, and fell in upon the inhabitants scattered along the valley of Clinch. To this body of the enemy no opposing force was presented. They divided themselves into small detachments, and carried fire and devastation and massacre into every settlement, from the remotest cabin on Clinch, to the Seven Mile Ford, in Virginia. One of these detachments made a sudden inroad upon the Wolf Hills Settlement. A station had been built there, near the present town of Abingdon, at the house of Joseph Black. This station was a centre or rallying point for the infant settlements then being extended down the Holston Valley, into what is now Tennessee. As early as 1772, a congregation was organized and two churches built among these primitive people, to whom the Rev. Charles Cummings regularly preached. On this occasion, Mr. Cummings and four others, going to his field, were attacked by the Indians. At the first fire William Creswell, who was driving a wagon, was killed, and during the skirmish two others were wounded. Mr. Cummings and his servant, both of whom were well armed, drove the Indians from their ambush, and with the aid of some men from the fort, who, hearing the firing, came to

* "The *Raven* is one of the Cherokee favourite war names. Carolina and Georgia remember Quorinnah, the *Raven* of Huwhase-town. He was one of the most daring warriors of the whole nation, and by far the most intelligent, and this name or war appellative admirably suited his well-known character." "The name points out an indefatigable, keen, successful warrior."—*Adair*.

their relief, brought in the dead and wounded. Mr. Creswell had been in the battle at Long Island. His numerous descendants reside in Sevier and Blount counties.

From the period that Mr. C. commenced preaching in the Holston settlements, up to the time of this attack, the men never went to church without being armed and taking their families with them. On Sabbath morning, during most of this period, it was the custom of Mr. Cummings to dress himself neatly, put on his shot pouch, shoulder his rifle, mount his horse and ride off to church, where he met his gallant and intelligent congregation—each man with his rifle in his hand. The minister would then enter the church, walk gravely through the crowd, ascend the pulpit, deposit his rifle in a corner of it, lay off his shot pouch and commence the solemn services of the day.*

The several invasions, by as many separate parties of Cherokee warriors, well armed, and carrying with them full supplies of ammunition, were ascribed to the instigation of British officers. The imputation is a serious one, and should not be made without adequate testimony. It is abhorrent to the feelings of civilized man; it is in direct conflict with the kindly sympathies of a christian people, and it is repugnant to all the pleasant charities of life, to incite a blood-thirsty and barbarous nation to perpetrate outrage and cruelty, rapine and murder, havoc and war, indiscriminately upon valiant men, helpless women and innocent children. Not only was this invasion by the Cherokees imputed to British agency, but the details of it were traced to a *concerted plan* of attack, arranged by Gen. Gage and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

John Stuart was sole agent and Superintendent of his Majesty's Indian Affairs for the Southern District. For a long time he had been suspected of endeavouring to influence the Indians against the American cause. In support of these suspicions, a gentleman from North-Carolina had given some particulars to the committee of intelligence, in Charleston, which he had collected from the Catawba Indians. Stuart departed suddenly from Charleston, just before

* Letter of General Campbell, of Abingdon.

the meeting of the Provincial Congress, and went to Savannah. There his official letter-book was seen, by Mr. Habersham, in which a full confirmation was found of the suspicions excited against him, and proving that his intention was, evidently, to arouse the resentment and stimulate the bad passions of the savages in their neighbourhood against Anglo-Americans struggling against oppression, and vindicating the rights of freemen. In the letter-book was found a despatch from Mr. Cameron, saying to Mr. Stuart, "that the traders must, by some means or other, get ammunition among them, or otherwise they may become troublesome to him for the want of it." The ammunition was, doubtless, furnished, and went into the outfit of the several detachments of warriors that soon after invaded the quiet and unoffending pioneers of Tennessee.

Only one of these written disclosures of the murderous policy adopted by England against American citizens, had yet reached the frontier; but there were other sources of information, not less authentic or reliable, from which the machinations of the enemy were soon made known. The traders noticed at first a spirit of suspicion and discontent, and directly after unmistakable evidences of fixed resentment and hostility. This discovery was communicated to the settlers, and along with the friendly interposition of the Cherokee Pocahontas, saved the settlements from a surprise that might otherwise have proved fatal.

Simultaneously with these several invasions of the frontier settlements of Virginia and North-Carolina by the Cherokees, that warlike nation was carrying into execution the murderous policy instigated by British officers against South-Carolina and Georgia. A plan for compelling the colonies to submission, had been concerted between the British commander-in-chief, General Gage, and the Superintendent of Southern Indian Affairs, John Stuart. That plan shall be given in the words of a British historian :*

"British agents were again employed, in engaging the Indians to make a diversion, and to enter the Southern Colonies on their back and defencless parts. Accustomed to their dispositions and habits of mind,

* C. Stedman, History American War, vol. 1.

the agents found but little difficulty in bringing them over to their purpose, by presents and hopes of spoil and plunder. A large body of men was to be sent to West Florida, in order to penetrate through the territories of the Creeks, Chickasaws and Cherokees. The warriors of these nations were to join the body, and the Carolinas and Virginia were immediately to be invaded. At the same time the attention of the colonies was to be diverted, by another formidable naval and military force, which was to make an impression on the sea coast. But this undertaking was not to depend solely on the British army and Indians. It was intended to engage the assistance of such of the white inhabitants of the back settlements, as were known to be well affected to the British cause. Circular letters were accordingly sent to those persons by Mr. Stuart, requiring not only the well affected, but also those who wished to preserve their property from the miseries of a civil war, to repair to the royal standard as soon as it should be erected in the Cherokee country, with all their horses, cattle and provisions, for which they should be liberally paid."

A part only of this complicated plan was executed. Sir Peter Parker appeared with a British squadron in May, off the coast of North-Carolina, and early in June prepared to attack Charleston with a large naval and military force. The Indians were true to their engagement. Being informed that a British fleet with troops had arrived off Charleston, they proceeded to take up the war club, and with the dawn of day on the first day of July, the Cherokees poured down upon the frontiers of South-Carolina, massacring without distinction of age or sex, all persons who fell into their power. Several white men with whom Cameron and Stuart had been intriguing, painted and dressed as Indians, marched with and directed their attacks upon the most defenceless points of the frontier. The news of the gallant defence at Sullivan's Island, and the repulse of Sir Peter Parker, in the harbour of Charleston, on the 28th of June, arrived soon after that glorious victory, and frustrated in part the plan as concerted.

Preparations were immediately made, to march with an imposing force upon the Cherokee nation. The whole frontier, from Georgia to the head of Holston in Virginia, had been invaded at once; and the four southern colonies, now on the point of becoming sovereign and independent states, assumed an offensive position, and determined in their turn to invade and destroy their deluded and savage enemies.

1776 The Cherokee nation at this time occupied, as places of residence or as hunting grounds, all the territory west and north of the upper settlements in Georgia, and west of the Carolinas and South-western Virginia. They were the most warlike and enterprising of the native tribes, and, except the Creeks, were the most numerous. Intercourse with the whites had made them acquainted with the use of small arms and some of the modes of civilized warfare. They had made some advances in agriculture. They lived in towns of various sizes—their government was simple, and in time of war especially, the authority of their chiefs and warriors was supreme. Their country was known by three great geographical divisions: The Lower Towns, the Middle Settlements and Vallies, and the Over-hill Towns.

The number of warriors were, in the

Middle Settlements and Vallies,	878
In Lower Towns,	356
In Over-hill Towns,	757
Total Cherokee men in Towns,	1991

To these may be added such warriors as lived in the less compact settlements, estimated at five hundred. *

To inflict suitable chastisement upon the Cherokees, several expeditions were at once made into their territories. Colonel McBury and Major Jack, from Georgia, entered the Indian settlements on Tugaloo, and defeating the enemy, destroyed all their towns on that river. General Williamson, of South-Carolina, early in July began to embody the militia of that state, and before the end of that month was at the head of an army of eleven hundred and fifty men, marching to meet Cameron, who was, with a large body of Esseneca Indians and disaffected white men, encamped at Oconoree. Encountering and defeating this body of the enemy, he destroyed their town and a large amount of provisions. He burned Sugaw Town, Soconee, Keowee, Ostatoy, Tugaloo and Brass Town. He proceeded against Tomassee, Chehokee and Eustustie, where, observing a recent trail of the enemy, he made pursuit and soon met and vanquished three hundred of their warriors. These towns he afterwards destroyed.

* Drayton.

In the meantime, an army had been raised in North-Carolina, under command of General Rutherford, and a place of joining their respective forces had been agreed upon by that officer and Colonel Williamson, under the supposition that nothing less than their united force was adequate to the reduction of the Middle Settlements and Vallies. Colonel Martin Armstrong, of Surry county, in August raised a small regiment of militia and marched with them to join General Rutherford. Benjamin Cleveland was one of Armstrong's captains. William (afterwards general) Lenoir was Cleveland's first lieutenant, and William Gray his second lieutenant. Armstrong's regiment crossed John's River at McKenney's ford, passed the Quaker Meadows and crossed the Catawba at Greenlee's ford, and at Cathey's Fort joined the army under General Rutherford, consisting of above two thousand men. The Blue Ridge was crossed by this army at the Swannanæ Gap, and the march continued down the river of the same name to its mouth, near to which they crossed the French Broad. From that river the army marched up Hominy Creek, leaving Pisgah on the left and crossing Pigeon a little below the mouth of the East Fork. Thence through the mountain to Richland Creek, above the present Waynesville, and ascending that creek and crossing Tuckaseigee River at an Indian town. They then crossed the Cowee Mountain, where they had an engagement with the enemy, in which but one white man was wounded. The Indians carried off their dead. From thence the army marched to the Middle Towns on Tennessee River, where they expected to form a junction with the South-Carolina troops under General Williamson. Here, after waiting a few days, they left a strong guard and continued the march to the Hiwassee towns. All the Indian villages were found evacuated, the warriors having fled without offering any resistance. Few were killed or wounded on either side, and but few prisoners taken by the whites—but they destroyed all the buildings, crops and stock of the enemy, and left them in a starving condition. This army returned by the same route it had marched. They destroyed thirty or forty Cherokee towns.* The route has since been known as Rutherford's Trace.

* Gen. Lenoir's letter to this writer.

While the troops commanded by McBury, Williamson and Rutherford, were thus desolating the Lower Towns and Middle Settlements of the Cherokees, another army, not less valiant or enterprising, had penetrated to the more secure, because more remote, Over-hill Towns. We have seen that the great chieftains of these interior places, Dragging-Canoe, Old Abram of Chilhowee, and Raven, had, at the head of their several commands, fallen upon Watauga and the other infant settlements, and although signally repulsed, some of them had united with another detachment, under another leader, and were spreading devastation and ruin upon the unprotected settlements near the head of Holston and Clinch, in Virginia. The government of that state, indignant at aggressions so unprovoked and so offensive, soon acted in a manner suitable to her exalted sense of national honour. Orders were immediately given to Col. William Christian to raise an army and to march them at once into the heart of the Cherokee country. The place of rendezvous was the Great Island of Holston. This service was undertaken with the greatest alacrity, and so active were the exertions of the officers and men that by the first of August several companies had assembled at the place appointed. This preparatory movement was itself sufficient to drive off the Indians who still remained lurking around the settlements. Soon after Col. Christian was reinforced by three or four hundred North-Carolina militia, under Col. Joseph Williams, Col. Love and Major Winston. To these were added such gunmen as could be spared from the neighbouring forts and stations. The whole army took up the line of march for the Cherokee towns, nearly two hundred miles distant. Crossing the Holston at the Great Island, they marched eight miles and encamped at the Double Springs, on the head waters of Lick Creek. Here the army remained a few days, till the reinforcement from Watauga should overtake it. The whole force now amounted to eighteen hundred men, including pack-horse men and bullock drivers. All were well armed with rifles, tomahawks and butcher knives. The army was all infantry, except a single company of light horse. While on the march the precaution was taken to send forward

sixteen spies to the crossing place of the French Broad. The Indians had boasted that the white men should never cross that river. Near the mouth of Lick Creek were extensive cane-brakes, which, with a lagoon or swamp of a mile long, obstructed the march. The army succeeded, however, in crossing through this pass. The packs and beeves did not get through till midnight. At the encampment that night, Alexander Harlin came in and informed Col. Christian that a body of three thousand warriors were awaiting his arrival at French Broad, and would certainly there dispute his passage across that stream. He was ordered into camp with the spies. At the bend of Nollichucky the camps of the enemy were found by the spies, deserted, but affording unerring evidence that the Indians were embodied in large numbers. This, with the message of Harlin, put the commander on his guard, and the march was resumed, next day, with every precaution and preparation against a surprise. Harlin was dismissed with a request from Col. Christian that he would inform the Indians of his determination to cross not only the French Broad, but the Tennessee, before he stopped. The route to be pursued was unknown and through a wilderness. Isaac Thomas, a trader among the Cherokees, acted as the pilot. He conducted the army along a narrow but plain war path up Long Creek to its source, and down Dumplin Creek to a point a few miles from its mouth, where the war path struck across to the ford of French Broad, near what has since been known as Buckingham's Island. As they came down Dumplin, and before they reached the river, the army was met by Fallen, a trader, having a white flag in his rifle. Christian directed that he should not be disturbed and that no notice should be taken of his embassy. He departed immediately, and gave to the Indians information that the whites, as numerous as the trees, were marching into their country. Arrived at the river, Col. Christian ordered every mess to kindle a good fire and strike up tent, as though he intended to encamp there several days. During the night a large detachment was sent down the river to an island, near where Brabson's mill now stands, with directions to cross the river at that place, and to come up the

river, on its southern bank, next morning. This order was executed with great difficulty. The ford was deep, and the water so rapid as to require the men to march in platoons of four abreast, so as to brace each other against the impetuous stream. In one place the water reached nearly to the shoulders of the men, but the ammunition and the guns were kept dry.

Next morning the main body crossed the river near the Big Island. They marched in order of battle, expecting an attack from the Indians, who were supposed to be lying about in ambush; but to their surprise no trace was found even of a recent camp. The detachment met no molestation from the enemy, and, joining the main body, a halt was made one day, for the purpose of drying the baggage and provisions which had got wet in crossing the river.

When it was understood in the Cherokee nation that Christian was about to invade their territory, one thousand warriors assembled at the Big Island of French Broad to resist the invaders. The great war path, which led through it, was considered as the gate to the best part of their country; and the island being the key to it, the Indians determined to maintain and defend that point to the last extremity. From that place, a message was sent by Fallen, as already mentioned, addressed to the commanding officer, not to attempt the crossing, as a formidable host of their braves would be there to dispute the passage. After the departure of the messenger, a trader named Starr, who was in the Indian encampment, harangued the warriors in an earnest tone. He said that the Great Spirit had made the one race of white clay and the other of red; that he had intended the former to conquer and subdue the latter, and that the pale faces would not only invade their country, but would overrun and occupy it. He advised, therefore, an immediate abandonment of their purpose of defence, and a retreat to their villages and the fastnesses of their mountains. The trader's counsels prevailed—all defensive measures were abandoned, and, without waiting for the return of their messengers, the warriors dispersed, and the island was found deserted and their encampments broken up and forsaken.

The next morning the army resumed its march. The route led along the valley of Boyd's Creek and down Ellejay to Little River. From there to the Tennessee River not an Indian was seen. Col. Christian supposed that, as the Cherokee settlements and towns were upon the opposite bank, he would meet a formidable resistance in attempting to cross it. When the troops came within a few miles of the ford, he called upon them to follow him in a run till they came to the river. This was done, and, pushing through, they took possession of a town called Tamotlee, above the mouth of Telico. The army, pack horses, &c., were all safely crossed over before night, and the encampment was made in the deserted town. Next morning they marched to the Great Island Town, which was taken without resistance. The fertile lands in the neighbourhood furnished a supply of corn, potatoes and other provisions, and the Indian huts made comfortable bivouacs for the troops. The commander, for these reasons, made this place, temporarily, head-quarters and a centre for future operations. A panic had seized the Cherokee warriors, and not one of them could be found. Small detachments were, therefore, from time to time, sent out to different parts of the nation, and finding no armed enemy to contend against, they adopted, as not a less effectual chastisement of the implacable enemy, the policy of laying waste and burning their fields and towns. In this manner Neowee, Telico, Chilhowee and other villages were destroyed. Occasionally, during these excursions, a few warriors were seen, escaping from one town to a place of greater safety, and were killed. No males were taken prisoners. These devastations were confined to such towns as were known to have advised or consented to hostilities, while such, like the Beloved Town, Chota, as had been disposed to peace, were spared. Col. Christian endeavoured to convince the Cherokees that he warred only with enemies. He sent out three or four men with white flags, and requested a talk with the chiefs. Six or seven immediately came in. In a few days several others, from the more distant towns, came forward also and proposed peace. It was granted, but not to take effect till a treaty should be made by representatives

from the whole tribe, to assemble the succeeding May, at Long Island. A suspension of hostilities was, in the meantime, provided for, with the exception of two towns high up in the mountains, on Tennessee River. These had burnt a prisoner, a youth named Moore, whom they had taken at Watauga. Tuskega and the other excepted town were reduced to ashes.

Colonel Christian finding nothing more to occupy his army longer, broke up his camp at Great Island Town, marched to Chota, recrossed the Tennessee and returned to the settlements. In this campaign of about three months, not one man was killed. A few, from inclement weather and undue fatigue, became sick. No one died. The Rev. Charles Cummings accompanied the expedition as chaplain, and was thus the first christian minister that ever preached in Tennessee. A pioneer of civilization, of learning and of religion—let his memory not be forgotten!

Most of the troops commanded by Christian were disbanded at Long Island, where they had been mustered into service. A portion of them were retained and went into winter quarters. A new fort was erected there, which, in honour of the patriotic Governor of Virginia, was called "Fort Henry." Its ruins are still pointed out on the lands of Colonel Netherland. Supplies of provisions were brought to it from Rock Bridge and Augusta counties, in wagons and on pack-horses.

Captain Thompson, who commanded a company at Long Island in July preceding, was with his company in this campaign, and formed the life-guard of the commanding general.

In the centre of the Cherokee towns, taken by Christian's troops, was found a circular tower, rudely built and covered with dirt, thirty feet in diameter and about twenty feet high. This tower was used as a council house and as a place for celebrating the green corn dance and other national ceremonials. Within it were beds, made of cane, rather tastefully arranged around its circumference. Each tower had a single entrance, a narrow door. There was neither window nor chimney.

The unexpected invasions made by the hitherto peaceable Cherokees upon the infant settlements, retarded for a time

the rapid growth and enlargement by which they had been, for five years, so signally distinguished. But the remarkable success that had followed the unaided efforts of some of the stations, to repulse the assailants and to defend themselves, left little ground of apprehension for the future. Not one emigrant deserted the frontier or crossed the mountain for safety. On the other hand, the campaign that had been carried into the heart of the enemy's country, had done more for the new settlements than the mere security it afforded from present assault or future invasion. The volunteers who composed the command of Christian were, many of them, from the more interior counties of North-Carolina and Virginia. In their marches they had seen and noticed the fertile vallies, the rich uplands, the sparkling fountains, the pellucid streams, the extensive grazing and hunting grounds, and had felt the genial influences of the climate of the best part of East Tennessee. Each soldier, upon his return home, gave a glowing account of the adaptation of the country to all the purposes of agriculture. The story was repeated from one to another, till upon the Roanoke and the Yadkin the people spoke familiarly of the Holston, the Nollichucky, the French Broad, Little River and the Tennessee. Particular places were selected, springs designated and points chosen as centres for future settlements. A flood of emigration followed to strengthen, build up and enlarge the little community already planted across the mountain.

Notwithstanding these accessions to their strength, the frontier people continued their accustomed vigilance. A garrison was still maintained in Fort Henry. The military command of the country was in the hands of Col. Arthur Campbell, of Washington county, Virginia, under the belief that the settlements were included within the limits of that state. Col. Campbell ordered Captain Robertson to keep the Watauga people assembled in *two* places for mutual protection and safety—he designated Patton's and Rice's Mills as the most suitable points, on account of the weakness of the settlement below the fort, and of the danger to which they might soon be exposed.

In addition to these precautionary measures, it was ordered

by the authorities of Virginia that four hundred men, under the command of Col. Evan Shelby and Major Anthony Bledsoe, should be stationed on the south-western frontiers, at such places as would most effectually protect the inhabitants against the Indians. A part of the Cherokees were known to be still hostile—their towns had been destroyed and their country laid waste, but their warriors had survived, and some of them still panted for revenge, and had resolved to repudiate any participation in the contemplated treaty.

A letter is preserved from Col. Charles Robertson, Trustee of the Watauga Association. In it will be found some information never before published. It follows:

WASHINGTON DISTRICT, 27th April, 1777.

His Excellency RICHARD CASWELL,

Captain General of North-Carolina:

SIR: The many hostilities committed by the Cherokee and Creek Indians on this frontier, since the departure of the gentlemen delegates from this county, merit your Excellency's consideration. I will give myself the pleasure to inform you of the particulars of this distressed place, and of our unhappy situation. There have been several murders committed lately, and on the 10th of this instant one Frederick Calvatt was shot and scalped, but is yet living; and on the day following Capt. James Robertson pursued the enemy with nine men, killed one and retook ten horses, and on his return in the evening was attacked by a party of Creeks and Cherokees, who wounded two of his men. Robertson returned the fire very bravely, but was obliged to retreat on account of their superior numbers, still kept the horses and brought them in. On the 27th of March last, Col. Nathaniel Guess brought letters from the Governor of Virginia, which letters were sent by an Indian woman to the Cherokee nation, soliciting them to come in, in eighteen days, to treat for peace; accordingly there came a party of about eighty-five fellows, (but none of the principal warriors that had first begun the war,) and at their arrival the commanding officer at Fort Patrick Henry sent for me to march some troops to that garrison, as a guard during the treaty. Accordingly I went, and on the 20th ult. the talks began, and the articles of the treaty were as follows: first, a copy of the governor's letter was read to them, promising them protection, such as ammunition, provision, and men to build forts, and guard and assist them against any nation, white or red; and in return the Commissioners required the same from them, to which the Indians replied, they could not fight against their Father, King George, but insisted on Col. Christian's promise to them last fall, that if they would make a peace they should lie neutral and no assistance be asked from them by the states. The Commissioners then asked some of them to go to Williamsburgh, not as hos-

tages, but to see their goods delivered, to obviate any suspicion of false reports. A number of about ten agreed to go; the Commissioners then told them that Virginia and South-Carolina gave them peace and protection, and North-Carolina offered it: to which the Indians replied, they heard the talks from South Carolina, and they and the talks from Virginia were very good. The Indians then promised to try and bring in the Dragging Canoe and his party, (a party that lies out, and has refused to come in, but says they will hold fast to Cameron's talks,) and they still made no doubt but they could prevail on him, and said that he had sent his talk with them, and what they agreed to he would abide by. But the Little Carpenter, in private conversation with Capt. Thomas Price, contradicted it, and said that the Canoe and his party were fighting Capt. Robertson a few days before; and the last day of the talks there arrived an express from Clinch River, informing us of two men being killed, to which the Indians replied, to keep a sharp look out, for there were a great many of their men out; and several of their women present declared that the talks was before the time to get guns and ammunition and continue the war as formerly. Accordingly they demanded them, which was the finishing of the talk, and in sixty days they were to come in to treat and confirm the peace, and if they could not bring in the Dragging Canoe, they send word laying the blame of the late murder on the Creeks.

This, sir, is a true state of the whole proceedings of which I have the honour to inform your Excellency, conscious you will take every prudent method for our security.

I am, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

CHARLES ROBERTSON.

N. B. There has been to the number of about twelve persons killed, since the delegates departed.

But the Cherokee nation at large was reduced to great want and suffering. Their national pride being humbled and their martial spirit subdued, they made overtures of peace. Two separate treaties were made. The one at Dewitt's Corner with Commissioners from South-Carolina and Georgia, by which large cessions of country on the Savannah and Saluda Rivers were made. The other was held, according to the agreement made between Col. Christain and several of the chiefs of the Over-hill Towns, at Long-Island. It was conducted by Waightstill Avery, Joseph Winton and Robert Lanier, Commissioners on the part of North-Carolina, and Col Preston, Col. Christian and Col. Evan Shelby on the part of Virginia, and the Head-men and warriors for the Cherokee Indians. By this treaty Brown's line was established as the boundary line between the con-

tracting parties, and the Indians relinquished their lands as low down Holston as the mouth of Cloud's Creek.

During the progress of the negotiation, the Commissioners reproached the Cherokees with a breach of good faith, on account of some massacres that had been perpetrated during the suspension of hostilities. They excused themselves by ascribing these murders to the Chickamaugas, a tribe settled on a creek of that name, whose chieftain, the Dragging Canoe, had refused to accept of peace on the terms offered by Col. Christian.

The whole treaty and the proceedings during the negotiation, are found in Haywood, Appendix, page 488, and onward. It is deemed to be sufficient here to give the boundaries as agreed upon between North-Carolina and the Cherokees, as found in Article V of the treaty.

ARTICLE V.

That the boundary line between the State of North-Carolina and the said Over-hill Cherokees shall forever hereafter be and remain as follows, (to wit:) Beginning at a point in the dividing line which during this treaty hath been agreed upon between the said Over-hill Cherokees and the State of Virginia, where the line between that state and North-Carolina (hereafter to be extended) shall cross or intersect the same, running thence a right line to the north bank of Holston River at the mouth of Cloud's Creek, being the second creek below the Warrior's Ford, at the mouth of Carter's Valley, thence a right line to the highest point of a mountain called the High Rock or Chimney Top, from thence a right line to the mouth of Camp Creek, otherwise called Mc'Nama's Creek, on the south bank of Nolichucky River, about ten miles or thereabouts below the mouth of Great Limestone, be the same more or less, and from the mouth of Camp Creek aforesaid a south-east course into the mountains which divide the hunting grounds of the middle settlements from those of the Over-hill Cherokees.

The Commissioners of North Carolina appointed Captain James Robertson temporary agent for North-Carolina, and in written instructions directed him to repair to Chota in company with the warriors returning from the treaty, there to reside till otherwise ordered by the governor. He was to discover if possible, the disposition of the Dragging Canoe towards this treaty, as also, of Judge Friend, the Lying Fish and others, who did not attend it, and whether there was any danger of a renewal of hostilities by one or more of these chiefs. He was also to find out the conversations between the Cherokees and the southern, western and northern tribes of Indians. He was to search in all the Indian towns for persons disaffected to the American cause, and have them brought before some justice of the peace, to take the oath of fidelity to the United States, and in case of refusal to deal with them as the law directed. Travellers into the Indian nation without passes, such as the

third article of the treaty required, were to be secured. He was immediately to get into possession all the horses, cattle and other property, belonging to the people of North-Carolina, and to cause them to be restored to their respective owners. He was to inform the government of all occurrences worthy of notice, to conduct himself with prudence and to obtain the favour and confidence of the chiefs; and in all matters with respect to which, he was not particularly instructed, he was to exercise his own discretion, always keeping in view the honour and interest of the United States in general, and of North-Carolina in particular. These instructions were dated on the same day the treaty was signed, the 20th of July, 1777. The commissioners addressed a letter to the chiefs and warriors of the Middle, Lower and Valley towns, on the 21st of July, informing them of the treaty of peace which they had just signed, and of the intention of the comimssioners to recommend to the governor the holding of a treaty with them, of which he should give due notice to them of the time and place. They promised protection and safety to the chiefs and warriors who should attend it, and a suspension of hostilities in the meantime, and they requested that the messengers who should be sent from North-Carolina to their towns, might be protected from insult, be permitted to perform their business, and to return in safety.

In April of this year an act was passed by the Legislature
1777 of North-Carolina, for the encouragement of the militia and volunteers in prosecuting the war against that part of the Cherokees who still persisted in hostilities. At the same session an act was passed for the establishment of courts of pleas and quarter sessions, and also for appointing and commissioning justices of the peace and sheriffs for the several courts in the district of Washington, in this state.

No frontier community had ever been better governed than the Watauga settlement. In war and in peace, without legislators or judicial tribunals, except those adopted and provided by themselves, the settlers had lived in uninterrupted harmony—acting justly to all, offering violence and injury to none. But the primitive simplicity of patriarchal life, as exhibited by a small settlement in a secluded wilderness, uncontaminated by contact with the artificial society of older communities, was forced to yield to the stern commands of progress and improvement. The hunter and pastoral stages of society were to be merged into the agricultural and commercial, the civil and political. Hereafter, Watauga, happy, independent, free and self-reliant, the cradle of the Great West, is merged into and becomes a part of North-Carolina!

CHAPTER III.

TENNESSEE—AS PART OF NORTH-CAROLINA, AND THE PARTICIPATION OF HER PIONEERS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The general assembly of North-Carolina in November, seventeen hundred and seventy-seven, formed Washington district into a county of the same name, assigning to it the boundaries of the whole of the present great State of Tennessee.* By an act passed at the same session, establishing Entry Takers' offices in the several counties, "lands which have accrued or shall accrue to the state by treaty or *conquest*," are subject to entry, &c.†

At the same session of the assembly, provision was made for opening a land-office in Washington county, at the rate of forty shillings per hundred acres, with the liberal permission to each head of a family to take up six hundred and forty acres himself, one hundred acres for his wife, and the same quantity for each of his children. The law provided that the Watauga settlers should not be obliged to pay for their occupancies till January of 1779, and then for any surplus entered above the quantity before mentioned, the purchaser was required to pay five pounds per hundred.‡

The facility of taking up the choice lands of the country, induced great numbers of persons, principally those without means, to emigrate to the frontier. A poor man, with seldom more than a single pack-horse on which the wife and infant were carried, with a few clothes and bed-quilts, a skillet and a small sack of meal, was often seen wending his way along the narrow mountain trace, with a rifle upon his shoulder—the elder sons carrying an axe, a hoe, sometimes an auger

* For the boundaries of Washington county, and all counties subsequently erected out of it, see Appendix at end of volume.

† Iredell's Revisal, page 292, chap. i., sec. 3.

‡ Haywood.

and a saw, and the older daughters leading or carrying the smaller children. Without a dollar in his pocket when he arrived at the distant frontier, the emigrant became at once a large land-holder. Such men laid the foundation of society and government in Tennessee. They brought no wealth with them—but what was far better, they had industrious and frugal habits, they had hardihood and enterprise, and fearlessness and self-reliance. With such elements in the character of its pioneers, any community will soon subdue the wilderness to the purposes of agriculture.

Hitherto emigrants had reached the new settlements upon pack-horses and along the old trading paths or narrow traces that had first been *blazed* by hunters. No wagon road had been opened across the mountains of North-Carolina to the West. The legislature of this year appointed commissioners to lay off and mark a road from the court-house of Washington county into the county of Burke. After that road was opened, emigrants of larger property began to reach the country, and some of the settlements assumed the appearance of greater comfort and thrift. The first house covered with shingles was put up this year. It stood a few miles east of the present Jonesboro', near "The Cottage," the residence of J. W. Deaderick, Esq.

Under the provisions of an act passed for encouraging the militia and volunteers to prosecute the war against the Indians, the militia of Washington county was, for the greater part of this year, in the service of the state. This enabled every able-bodied man between eighteen and fifty years of age to secure the lands he wished to own. It had the further effect of keeping the frontier well guarded. Companies of rangers were kept upon the most exposed points to scour the woods and cane-brakes, and to pursue and disperse small parties of ill-disposed Indians who, hovering about the settlements, occasionally killed and plundered the inhabitants. Under the protection of these rangers, the settlements were widened and extended down Nollichucky below the mouth of Big Limestone, and down Holston to the treaty line. Indeed, the frontiers were so well guarded that the Indians considered their incursions as perilous to themselves as they could

be to the white inhabitants, and for a great part of the year forbore to make them.*

1777 John Carter was appointed Colonel of Washington county, and in the execution of his duties as commandant, his authority had been interfered with by men acting under the orders of General Rutherford. Bringing this subject to the notice of Governor Caswell, Col. Carter uses this independent language: "Your Excellency may be assured that I will do everything in my power for regulating the militia, for the defence of our frontier, and for the benefit of the United States, but if my dignity is to be sported with under those circumstances, I have no need of your commission as commanding officer for Washington District.

"N. B. I have just received intelligence of the Little Carpenter being at the Long Island, with twenty-five or thirty young warriors. They declare the greatest friendship, and say they have five hundred young warriors ready to come to the assistance of Virginia and North-Carolina when called for, if to fight the English or any Indians that want war with the white people of these two states."

During the summer of this year the Indians invaded the Kentucky settlements. On the 4th of July two hundred of them appeared before Boonesborough and commenced one of the most memorable sieges in the annals of border warfare. It continued till September, although relieved by a reinforcement of forty riflemen from Holston. During the siege an Indian was killed, and upon his body was found a proclamation by Henry Hamilton, British Lieutenant-Governor and Commandant at Detroit, in which he offered protection to such of the inhabitants as would abandon the cause of the revolted colonies, but denounced vengeance against those who should adhere to them. Captain Logan, with a select party of woodsmen, left the fort by night and set out for Holston to procure further supplies and reinforcements. With a sack of parched corn for their fare, Logan's party, travelling by night, on foot, by unfrequented ways, and concealing themselves in secluded vallies by day, eventually

* Haywood.

succeeded in making the journey of two hundred miles, appealed to the patriotism of the pioneers of Tennessee, and returned to the relief of the beleaguered forts with supplies and one hundred riflemen.*

1778 During this summer two of the spies that were kept out in advance of the settlements, viz, Henry Reynolds and Thomas Morgan, discovered the Warm Springs on French Broad. They had pursued some stolen horses to the point opposite, and leaving their own horses on the north bank, waded across the river. As they reached the southern shore they passed through a little branch, the tepid water of which attracted their attention. The next year the Warm Springs were resorted to by invalids.

The frontier people had been so far relieved from apprehension of Indian hostility, as to dispense during the summer of this year, with a portion of the guards heretofore maintained for their protection. These were disbanded and returned to the quiet pursuits of planting and working their crops. They were lulled into a false security and had neglected to take the usual measures of protection and defence, which the exposed condition of the border settlements demanded. This relaxation of their ordinary watchfulness and care, invited aggression and a renewal of the outrages and massacres which had been before experienced. The settlements being thus thrown off their guard, a portion of the militia discharged and little or no regular armed force being at hand, another source of annoyance and injury presented itself. The tories from the disaffected counties of North-Carolina and other states, had come in great numbers to the frontier, and there combining with thieves and robbers, prowled around the feebler neighbourhoods, and for a time committed depredation and murder with impunity. Their number was considerable, and they boasted that they were able to look down all opposition and to defy all restraint.

In this emergency we have again to mention another instance of self-reliance, so characteristic of the pioneer people. A combination of lawless men had been formed, formidable alike for their number and for their desperate character. The

* Monette.

laws could not reach; them they escaped equally detection and punishment.

The law-abiding and honest people of the country took the affair into their own hands, appointed a committee, invested it with unlimited power, and authorized it to adopt any measure necessary to arrest the growing evil. The names of this committee of safety are not given, but it is known that under its direction and authority two companies of dragoons, numbering about thirty each, were immediately organized and equipped, and were directed to patrol the whole country, capture and punish with death all suspected persons, who refused submission or failed to give good security for their appearance before the committee. Slighter offences were atoned for by the infliction of corporeal punishment; to this was superadded, in cases where the offender was able to pay it, a heavy fine in money. Leaders in crime expiated their guilt by their lives. Several of these were shot; some of them at their execution disclosed the names and hiding places of their accomplices. These were in their turn pursued, arrested and punished, and the country was in less than two months restored to a condition of safety, and the disturbers of its quiet preserved their lives only by secrecy or flight.

Isam Yearley, a loyalist on Nollichucky, was driven out of the country by a company of whigs, of which Captain Wm. Bean, Isaac Lane, Sevier and Robertson, were members. The same company afterwards pursued a party of tories, who under the lead of Mr. Grimes, on Watauga, had killed Millican, a whig, and attempted to kill Mr. Roddy and Mr. Grubbs. The latter they had taken to a high pinnacle on the edge of the river, and threatened to throw him off. He was respited under a promise that they should have all his property. These tories were concealed high up Watauga in the mountain, but Captain Bean and his whig comrades ferretted them out, fired upon and wounded their leader, and forced them to escape across the mountain. Capt. Grimes was hung after King's Mountain battle, in which he was taken prisoner.*

* Others of Bean's company were Joseph Duncan, John Condley, Thomas Hardiman, Wm. Stone, Michael Massingale, John and George Bean, Edmond Bean, Aquilla and Isaac Lane, James Roddy, and Samuel and Robert Tate.

The occasion for this summary mode of preserving order and promoting the welfare of the people, having thus been removed, the committee laid down its functions and ceased to exist. It had accomplished the purposes for which it had been created, and the extraordinary powers with which the sovereign people had invested it, were surrendered, and justice was again administered through the regular channels.

The exercise of these rigorous and sanguinary measures may be, at this day, viewed by some with a degree of disapprobation and regret. This feeling, however, will be qualified by a recollection of the peculiar condition of the new community in which they transpired, and the circumstances of the general country at the period of their adoption. Wicked and unprincipled men had chosen to commit their outrages and depredations upon infant settlements, feeble, immature and just germinating into political life. They had selected, too, a period for perpetrating their crimes, when the whole energies of their patriotic countrymen across the mountain were called into requisition in support of the conflict for Independence; and it is a proud reflection, that in these times of trial and embarrassment, patriotism, enlarged and lofty, was the sentiment of the pioneers of Tennessee. Their courage never quailed, and their energies never faltered amid the gloom that enveloped their Atlantic countrymen. Under these difficulties at home, under such discouragements abroad, did the patriots of Nollichucky and Watauga discharge their high duties to themselves and to their bleeding country. The tories were hunted up and punished or driven from amongst them, while the refugee whigs were cordially welcomed, and found shelter and protection in these distant retreats.

The energetic conduct of the people and the patriotic impulses that engendered it, received also the cordial sanction and concurrence of the legal tribunals of the country. In some instances the action of the county courts may have assumed or encroached upon the legislative prerogative. Some extracts from the Journals of the first courts held in the country, may not be uninteresting to the curious, and are here preserved:

"WASHINGTON COUNTY, Feb. 23.—COURT JOURNALS.—At a court begun and held for the county of Washington, Feb. 23, 1778, Present, John Carter, Chairman, John Sevier, Jacob Womack, Robert Lucas, Andrew Greer, John Shelby, George Russell, Wm. Been, Zachariah Isbell, John McNabb, Thomas Houghton, William Clark, John McMahan, Benjamin Gist, John Chisholm, Joseph Willson, Wm. Cobb, James Stuart, Michael Woods, Richard White, Benjamin Willson, James Robertson and Valentine Sevier, Esqs. On Tuesday, next day, John Sevier was chosen Clerk of the county; Valentine Sevier, Sheriff; James Stuart, Surveyor; John Carter, Entry-Taker; John McMahan, Register,; Jacob Womack, Stray-Master and John McNabb, Coroner.

"Wm. Cocke, by W. Avery, moved to be admitted Clerk of Washington county, which motion was rejected by the Court, knowing that John Sevier is entitled to the office.

"THE STATE *vs.* —— ———, } It is the opinion of the court that the
IN TORYISM. } defendant be imprisoned during the present war with Great Britain, and the Sheriff take the whole of his estate into custody, which must be valued by a jury at the next court—one half of said estate to be kept by said Sheriff for the use of the State, and the other half to be remitted to the family of defendant."

The court thus exhibited a marked instance of judgment and mercy in the same Order—combining patriotism with justice and humanity.

At ——— term of Washington County Court, "On motion of E. Dunlap, State Attorney, that J. H., for his ill practices in harbouring and abetting disorderly persons who are prejudicial and Inimical to the Common Cause of Liberty, and frequently disturbing our Tranquility in General, Be imprisoned for the term and time of one year.

"The Court duly considering the allegations Alledged and objected against the said J. H., are of opinion that for his disorderly practices as aforesaid, from time to time, and to prevent the further and future practice of the same pernicious nature, do order him to be imprisoned for the term of one year, & Is, accordingly, ordered into the custody of the Sheriff." *

The jurisdiction of the court seems to have extended not only to the persons of political offenders but to their property also, whether in possession or expectancy. We extract again from the minutes:

"On motion of E. Dunlap, Esq., that a sum of money of fifteen hundred pounds, current money due from R. C. to said J. H. for two negroes, be retained in the hands of said C., as there is sufficient reason to believe that the said H.'s estate will be confiscated to the use of the State for his misdemeanors, &c.

* Journal of Washington County Court.

"The Court considering the case, are of opinion that the said monies ought to be retained.

"On motion that Commissioners ought to be appointed to take into possession such property as shall be confiscated, &c.

"The Court on taking the same under consideration, do Nominate and Appoint John Sevier, Jesse Walton and Zachariah Isbell, Esqs., for the aforesaid purpose."

1779 Amidst these scenes of civil disorder and violence, the christian ministry began to shed its benign influence. Tidence Lane, a Baptist preacher, organized a congregation this year. A house for public worship was erected on Buffalo Ridge. About the same time, Rev. Samuel Doak was preaching through Washington and Sullivan counties.

The second term of the Washington County Court was held May 25, 1778, at the house of Charles Robertson. Ephraim Dunlap was admitted as Attorney; Valentine Sevier was appointed Sheriff; John Sevier, Jesse Walton and Zachariah Isbell, entered into bond for faithful performance of duties as Commissioners of Confiscated Estates; Spruce McCay was admitted as Attorney.

The first settlers in the Greasy Cove were Webb, Martin and Judd. The large bottoms on the Nollichucky were then dense masses of cane. Webb discovered, in a cane-brake, a company of Indians. They followed him to his house, and intimated to him that they would not permit him to stay there unmolested. He returned to Virginia and brought back to his settlement additional emigrants, and they were allowed to form a considerable neighbourhood without molestation; but higher up, above this, on Indian Creek, Mr. Wm. Lewis, his wife and seven children, were killed by the Indians, and his house was burned. One of the sons escaped, and a daughter was taken prisoner and was afterwards ransomed for a gun. The Indians were pursued by a company of troops commanded by Nathaniel Taylor, but were not overtaken till they, crossing French Broad river, reached the inaccessible retreats beyond it.

To counteract the intrigues of the British agents, and the wicked influence of disaffected Americans who had taken refuge in the Cherokee nation, a Superintendent of Indian

Affairs was directed by Gov. Caswell to repair to their towns and reside among them. Captain Robertson was selected for that station. He carried, from the governor, a *talk* for the Raven of Chota, to be delivered to that chieftain and his nation by the hands of the agent and Col. McDowell. By this embassy the governor acknowledged the receipt of a peace talk from Savanuca, and gave assurances that he was pleased with it and desired further correspondence with him, and promised to use every effort for the preservation of peace and to inflict adequate punishment on all who should violate it. He further added that, if any of the Indians were kept in captivity by the whites, they should be restored. But these conciliatory measures were misunderstood by the deluded savages. Savanuca and some of the more aged chiefs were disposed to peace, but were unable to repress the warlike attitude of the Dragging-Canoe and his hostile tribe, the Chickamaugas. This tribe of the Cherokees, at first, occupied the borders of Chickamauga Creek, but afterwards extended their villages fifty miles below, on both sides of the Tennessee.

The passage of this river through the several ranges of the Cumberland Mountains, forms one of the most remarkable features in American topography. It is unique, romantic and picturesque—presenting views at once variegated, grand, sublime and awful. At the Great Look Out or Chattanooga Mountain, commences a series of rapids, where, in its tortuous windings along the base of several mountain ranges, the Tennessee River, contracted into a narrow channel, hemmed in by projecting cliffs and towering precipices of solid stone, dashes with tumultuous violence from shore to shore, creating, in its rapid descent over immense boulders and masses of rock, a succession of cataracts and vortices. Beautiful and interesting in the extreme to the beholder, these rapids constitute a formidable obstacle to navigation, which, even yet, is not entirely overcome by the agency of steam. Cherokee tradition is prolific of accident and disaster to the navigation of the aborigines. It is fabled that a fleet of Indian canoes, rowed by Uchee warriors, and destined for an invasion of the Shawnees, at the mouth of the Ohio, was

engulphed in the Whirlpool, now known as the Suck. Civilization, skill and experience have diminished these obstacles to commerce and navigation, but three quarters of a century since it was an achievement of no ordinary kind to pass through them, though at high tide. Even now, the voyageur must be fearless and vigilant.

If the channel of the river presented dangerous physical impediments, its environs held those of another character, not less formidable. Along those foaming rapids and on either side of the river, the shores are wild, elevated and bold, in some places, scarcely leaving room for a path separating the stream from the adjacent mountain, with here and there a cove running back from the river into the heights which surround and frown down upon it, in sombre solitude and gloomy silence. In these mountain gorges were fastnesses, dark, forbidding and inaccessible. Their very aspect invited to deeds of violence, murder and crime. No human eye could witness, no vigilance detect, no power punish, no force avenge them. A retreat into these dreary seclusions, stimulated to aggression, as they furnished a perfect immunity from pursuit and punishment.

NIC-A-JACK CAVE.

One of the secret resorts of the free-booters who infested this region, was an immense cavern still known as the Nic-a-jack Cave. It is situated in the side, or end rather, of Cumberland Mountain, at a point near the present depot of the Nashville and Chattanooga Rail Road, and about thirty-six miles below Chattanooga. Its main entrance is on the Tennessee River. The cave has been thus described by another: "At its mouth it is about thirty yards wide, arched over head with pure granite, this being in the centre about fifteen feet high. A beautiful little river, clear as crystal, issues from its mouth. The distance the cave extends into the mountains has not been ascertained. It has been explored only four or five miles. At the mouth the river is wide and shallow, but narrower than the cave. As you proceed further up the stream the cave becomes gradually narrower, until it is contracted to the exact width of the river. It is beyond this

point explored only by water in a small canoe." The aboriginal name of this cavern was Te-calla-see.

Into this vast cavern, for the purposes of concealment and murder, the banditti of the "Narrows" retired with their spoils and their victims. The place now enlivened and enriched by the genius of Fulton, and in view of the Steamer and Locomotive, was then the dismal and gloomy retreat of savage cruelty and barbarian guilt.

These impregnable fortresses of nature were as yet unoccupied by the sons of the forest. The hunter avoided and was deterred from entering them. The Indian, in his canoe, glided swiftly by them, as if apprehending that the evil genius of the place was there to engulph and destroy him. It remained for American enterprise to see and overcome them.

About 1773 or 1774, some families in West Virginia and North-Carolina, attracted by the glowing accounts of West Florida, sought a settlement in that province. They came to the Holston frontier, built their boats, and following the stream, reached Natchez by water. Necessity drove them to employ Indians and Indian traders, as pilots through the dangerous passes of the Tennessee River. Occasionally a boat was either by accident or design shipwrecked, at some point between the Chickamauga Towns and the lower end of the Muscle Shoals. Its crew became easy victims of savage cruelty—its cargo fell a prey to Indian cupidity. As these voyages increased, and the emigrants by water multiplied from year to year, so did the Indian settlements all along the rapids, also extend. The Chickamaugas were the first to settle there, and to become depredators upon the lives and property of emigrants. Conscious of guilt, unwilling to withhold their warriors from robbery and murder, they failed to attend with the rest of their tribe at treaties of peace, and refused to observe treaty stipulations when entered into by their nation. They broke up their old towns on and near Chickamauga, removed lower down on the river, and laid the foundation of several new villages, afterwards known as the Five Lower Towns—Running Water, Nicajack, Long Island Villages, Crow Town, and Look Out, which soon became populous, and the most formidable part of the Cherokee

nation. They were situated near the Great Crossing on Tennessee, where the hunting and war parties, in their excursions from the south to the north, always crossed that stream. To this point congregated, with fearful rapidity, the worst men in all the Indian tribes. Murderers, thieves, pirates, banditti, not of every Indian tribe only, but depraved white men, rendered desperate by crime, hardened by outlawry and remorseless from conscious guilt, fled hither and confederated with barbarian aborigines in a common assault upon humanity and justice, and in defiance of all laws of earth and heaven. These miscreants constituted for a number of years the Barbary Powers of the West—the Algiers of the American interior.

They had become very numerous, composing a banditti of more than one thousand warriors. These had refused the terms of peace proposed by Christian, and had perpetrated the greatest outrages upon the whole frontier. The Chickamauga Towns were the central points from which their detachments were sent out for murder and plunder, and where guns, and ammunition, and other supplies, were received from their allies in Florida. It was determined to invade and destroy these towns. North-Carolina and Virginia, in conjunction, ordered a strong expedition against them, under the command of Colonel Evan Shelby. It consisted of one thousand volunteers from the western settlements of these two states, and a regiment of twelve months' men under the
1779 { command of Col. John Montgomery.* At this period
{ the two governments were much straightened in their resources on account of the existing war of the Revolution, and were unable to make any advances for supplies or trans-

* When General George Rogers Clarke, in 1778, was planning his celebrated expedition to Kaskaskias, Vincennes, etc., in the Illinois country, Major W. B. Smith was despatched to the Holston settlements to recruit men for that service. It was desired by the government of Virginia that the troops should be raised west of the Blue Ridge, so as not to weaken the Atlantic defence. Smith raised four companies on Holston. Montgomery's regiment was intended as a reinforcement to Clarke, and was temporarily diverted from that object, and opportunely was at hand to assist in the reduction of the Chickamaugas. Montgomery had recently returned from Richmond, whither he had gone in charge of M. Rocheblave, the British commandant of Kaskaskias.

portation necessary for this campaign. All these were procured by the indefatigable and patriotic exertions, and on the individual responsibility, of Isaac Shelby.*

The army rendezvoused at the mouth of Big Creek, a few miles above where Rogersville, in Hawkins county, now stands. Perogues and canoes were immediately made from the adjacent forest, and, on the 10th of April, the troops embarked and descended the Holston. So rapid was the descent of this first naval armament down the river, as to take the enemy completely by surprise. They fled in all directions to the hills and mountains, without giving battle. Shelby pursued and hunted them in the woods—killed upwards of forty of their warriors, burnt down their towns, destroyed their corn and every article of provision, and drove away their great flocks of cattle.†

In this sudden invasion Col. Shelby destroyed eleven of their towns, besides twenty thousand bushels of corn. He also captured a supply of stores and goods valued at £20,000, which had been provided by his majesty's agents for distribution, at a general Council of the Northern and Southern Indians, that had been called by Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, to assemble at the mouth of Tennessee.‡

SHELBY'S CHICKAMAUGA EXPEDITION.

Evan Shelby commanded 350 and Col. Montgomery 150 men, on the Chickamauga expedition. Their pilot was named Hudson. The boats turned up the Chickamauga Creek; near the mouth of a branch an Indian was taken prisoner. With him as their guide, the troops waded out through an inundated cane-break, and entered Chickamauga, a town nearly one mile long; Dragging Canoe and Big Fool were its chiefs. The Indians, five hundred in number, astonished at the sudden invasion of their towns by an armament by water, made no resistance and fled into the mountains. The town was burned. John McCrosky, late of Sevier county, took a party and followed the flying Indians across the river, and dispersed a camp of them which he found on Laurel

* Haywood. † Idem. ‡ Monette.

Creek. Another party took Little Owl's Town, and others were in like manner taken and burnt. Besides the other spoils, Shelby took 150 horses, 100 cattle and great quantities of deer skins, owned in part by a trader named McDonald. These were all sold at vendue. Isaac and all the other sons of Col. Evan Shelby, were out on this campaign.

This service performed, the troops destroyed or sunk their little vessels and the supply of provisions that was in them, and returned home on foot. In their march they suffered much for the want of provisions, which could be procured only by hunting and killing game. They returned on the north side of the Tennessee, passed by the place since known as the Post-Oak-Springs, crossed Emery and Clinch a little above their confluence, and Holston some miles above its junction with French Broad. These were the first troops that had seen the richest lands of the present Hamilton, Rhea, Roane, Knox, and the north part of Jefferson counties, and seen as they were in all the beauty and verdure of May, it is not strange that a new and increasing current of emigration was at once turned to this beautiful and inviting country.

About the time of the expedition of Shelby to Chickamauga, Gov. Hamilton was attempting to form a grand coalition between all the northern and southern Indians, to be aided by British regulars, who were to advance and assist them in driving all the settlers from the Western waters. In the prosecution of this object he had advanced from Detriot and re-captured Vincennes, and contemplated an expedition against Kaskaskias, where he expected to be joined by five hundred Cherokees and Chickasaws. Shelby had destroyed the towns and killed the warriors of his allies at Chickamauga, and the coalition of the southern and northern Indians was thus entirely prevented.

Col. Evan Shelby, the commander of this expedition, has been elsewhere mentioned, as an officer at the Kenhawa battle. He had been before in the military service of Virginia, as a captain of rangers under Braddock, and led the advance under General Forbes when Fort DuQuesne was taken by that officer. After the successful expedition to

Chickamauga, Col. Evan Shelby was appointed by Virginia, a general of her militia.

At the close of a useful life he died, and was buried near King's Meadow, in Sullivan county.

1779 The Legislature of North-Carolina, this year, laid off and established Jonesborough as the seat of justice for Washington county. John Wood, Jesse Walton, George Russell, James Stewart and Benjamin Clerk, were appointed commissioners to lay out and direct its buildings. This was the first town in what is now Tennessee. Jonesboro' was so called after Willie Jones, Esq., of Halifax, N. C., a friend to the growth and prosperity of the western counties. He was an active patriot and statesman in the days of the Revolution, as well as before and after. He was an intelligent, useful and honest legislator, exercising great candour and independence.*

Commissioners were appointed this year to run the boundary between Virginia and North-Carolina. This was the more necessary, as lands near the line had not been entered in the proper offices, and many of the settlers did not know to what jurisdiction, civil or military, they belonged. At the October sessions of the North-Carolina Legislature, a new county was laid off. It was called, in honour of a general then commanding in the army of the United States, Sullivan.

Sullivan county Records show that in February, 1780, the county court met at the house of Moses Looney. A commission was presented, appointing as Justices of the Peace Isaac Shelby, David Looney, William Christie, (Christian?) John Dunham, William Wallace, and Samuel Smith; John Rhea was appointed Clerk; Nathaniel Clark, Sheriff till court in course.

Isaac Shelby exhibited his commission from Gov. Caswell, dated Nov. 19, 1779, appointing him Colonel Commandant of the county; D. Looney, one of same date, appointing him Major. Ephraim Dunlap was appointed State Attorney, and John Adair, Entry-Taker.

The next court was to be held at the house of James Hollis.

* Blount papers.

Anthony Bledsoe had lived, in 1769, at Fort Chisel, and, in a short time after, with his brother Isaac and the Shelbys, removed further west, into what is now Sullivan county. His station was not far from Long Island. He was in the battle of the Flats.

After the repulse of Sir Peter Parker from Charleston, the Southern States had a short respite from British attack and invasion. The conquest of the states was thereafter attempted from north to south. But that order was, from this
1779 time, inverted, and his majesty's arms were directed against the most southern of the states. On the 29th Dec., 1778, Savannah, the capital of Georgia, was taken, and soon after British posts were established as far into the interior as Augusta. General Lincoln, who commanded the southern department, sent a detachment of fifteen hundred North-Carolina militia, under command of Gen. Ashe, to oblige the enemy to evacuate the upper part of Georgia. The detachment was surprised by General Provost and entirely defeated. By this victory of the British, their communication with their friends, the tories, in the back country, and with their allies the Cherokees, across the mountains, was restored. The effect of this was soon felt upon the frontier.

Frequent conferences were held with the Cherokees to induce them to further outbreaks upon the western settlements. The Indians invaded the country soon after and attacked Boilston's house, on the frontier, with the loss on the part of the assailants of four warriors killed and a number wounded. During the attack, Williams and Hardin were killed. The enemy was driven off. They were pursued by George Doherty, Joseph Boyd and others, but escaped.

Other mischief was attempted, but the scouts and light-horse companies guarded the frontier so vigilantly, that little injury was sustained by the settlers. The apprehension of danger kept up the military organization of the new country, made the inhabitants familiar with the duties of camp life, inured them to toil and exposure, deprivation and endurance, and kindled into a flame that martial spirit, which in the course of the next year they were called upon to exhibit with such advantage to the country and such honour to themselves.

1775 { Stopping the order of current events, we return to the further exploration and settlement of that part of Tennessee west of the Cumberland Mountain. By the treaty of Watauga, in March 1775, the Cherokees had ceded to Richard Henderson & Company all the lands lying between the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers. Although that treaty had been repudiated by the proclamations of Lord Dunmore and Governor Martin, and settlements upon the ceded territory had been inhibited, the Company, regardless of consequences, proceeded to take possession of their illegal purchase. The spirit of emigration from Virginia and North-Carolina was aroused, and pioneers were anxious to lead the way in effecting settlements.

Boon and Floyd and Callaway opened the way, and Benjamin Logan, who resided some time on Holston, soon followed; and with a host of other valiant and enterprising men erected forts, built stations, repelled, with unsurpassed heroism and self-sacrifice, hostile invasion, and contemporaneously with the pioneers of Tennessee laid the foundations of society and government in Kentucky.

A portion of Henderson's purchase on the Lower Cumberland, was within the supposed boundary of North-Carolina. It was at first reached through the old route by the way of Cumberland Gap, and explorers continued to pass through it on their way to what is now called Middle Tennessee. Amongst others, Mansco * renewed his visit in Nov., 1775, and came to Cumberland River, in company with other hunters of the name of Bryant. They encamped at Mansco's Lick. Most of them became dissatisfied with the country, and returned home. Mansco and three others remained and commenced trapping on Sulphur Fork and Red River.

But finding themselves in the neighbourhood of a party of Blackfish Indians, they deemed it essential to their own safety to ascertain where they were encamped and what was their number. Mansco was selected to make the discovery. He came cautiously upon their camp on the river, and standing behind a tree was endeavouring to count them. He could see but two, and supposed the rest were out of camp, hunting.

* Condensed or copied from Haywood.

At the moment when he was about to retire, one of the Indians took up a tomahawk, crossed the stream and went upon the other side. The other took up his gun, put it upon his shoulder, and came directly towards the place where Mansco stood. He hoped the advancing Indian would go some other way, but he continued to come in a straight line towards the spot where he lay concealed, and had come within fifteen steps of him. There being no alternative but to shoot him, Mansco cocked and presented his gun, and aiming at the most vital part, pulled trigger, and fired. The Indian screamed, threw down his gun and made for the camp; but he passed it and pitched headlong down the bluff dead, into the river. The other Indian ran back to the camp, but Mansco outran him, and picking up an old gun tried to shoot, but he could not get it to fire, and the Indian escaped. Mansco broke the old gun and returned in haste to his comrades. The next day they all came to the Indian camp, found the dead warrior, took away his tomahawk, knife and shot-bag, but could not find his gun. The other Indian had returned, loaded his horses with his furs, and was gone. They pursued him all that day and all night, with torches of dry cane, but could not overtake him. Returning to Mansco's Lick, they soon after began their journey towards the settlements on New-River, but were detained four weeks by snow, which was waist-deep. After that melted, they resumed their journey and arrived safe at home.

Thomas Sharp, Spencer and others, allured by the flattering accounts they had received of the fertility of the soil, and of the abundance of game which the country afforded, determined to visit it. They came, in the year 1776, to Cumberland River, and built a number of cabins. Most of them returned, leaving Spencer and Holliday, who remained in the country till 1779.

Captain De Mumbrune who, as late as 1823, lived in Nashville, hunted in that country as early as 1775. He was a native of France. He fixed his residence, during the summer, at the place since known as Eaton's Station. He saw no Indians, during that season, in the country, but immense numbers of buffalo and other game. In February, 1777, he

arrived, after a trip to New-Orleans, at Deacon's Pond, near where Palmyra now stands, and found there six white men and one white woman, who, in coming to the country, had taken water where Rockcastle River disembogues into the Cumberland, and descended it, hunting occasionally upon its banks. In their excursions they had seen no Indians, but immense herds of buffaloes. One of their companions, William Bowen, had been overran by a gang of these animals, and died from the bruises he received. John Duncan and James Ferguson were of this company. They afterwards went down the river, and were cut off at Natchez, in 1779.

1778 A settlement of less than a dozen families was formed near Bledsoe's Lick, isolated in the heart of the Chickasaw nation, with no other protection than their own courage, and a small stockade inclosure.*

About the same time, a number of French traders advanced up the Cumberland River, as far as "the Bluff," where they erected a trading post and a few log cabins, with the approbation of the Chickasaws.†

The Lower Cumberland continued to be visited and explored further. Richard Hogan, Spencer, Holliday and others, came this year from Kentucky in search of good lands, and with the intention of securing some for themselves as permanent settlements, they planted a small field of corn in the spring of 1778. This first plantation, in Middle Tennessee, was near Bledsoe's Lick. A large hollow tree stood near the Lick. In this Spencer lived. He was pleased with the prospects for further settlement which the situation afforded, and could not be induced to relinquish them and return home, as Holliday in vain persuaded him to do. The former, however, determined to leave the wilderness, but having lost his knife, was unwilling to undertake his long travel without one with which to skin his venison and cut his meat. With back-woods generosity and kindness, Spencer accompanied his comrade to the Barrens of Kentucky, put him on the right path, broke his knife and gave him half of it, and returned to his hollow tree at the Lick, where he passed the winter. Spencer was a man of gigantic stature,

* Flint. † Martin's Louisiana.

and passing one morning the temporary cabin erected at a place since called Eaton's Station, and occupied by one of Captain DeMumbrune's hunters, his huge tracks were left plainly impressed in the rich alluvial. These were seen by the hunter on his return to the camp, who, alarmed at their size, immediately swam across the river, and wandered through the woods until he reached the French settlements on the Wabash.

1779 Nearly ten years had now elapsed since the germ of a civilized community had been planted in Upper East Tennessee. No settlement had yet been permanently fixed on the Lower Cumberland. A hunter's camp, and the lonely habitation of Spencer, were all that relieved the solitude or lightened the gloom of that western wilderness. But the cheerlessness of barbarian night was about to be dissipated by the dawn of civilization and improvement. In the early spring of 1779, a little colony of gallant adventurers, from the parent hive at Watauga, crossed the Cumberland Mountain, penetrated the intervening wilds, and pitched their tents near the French Lick, and planted a field of corn where the city of Nashville now stands. This field was at the spot where Joseph Park since resided, and near the lower ferry. These pioneers were Captain James Robertson, George Freeland, William Neely, Edward Swanson, James Hanly, Mark Robertson, Zachariah White, and William Overhall. A negro fellow also accompanied them. To their number was added, immediately after their arrival at the Lick, a number of others conducted by Mansco, who had ten years before visited, and explored, and hunted in the country. These emigrants also planted corn preparatory to the removal of their families in the succeeding autumn. Captain Robertson, during the summer, went to the Illinois to purchase the cabin rights from General Clarke. After the crop was made, Overhall, White and Swanson, were left to keep the buffaloes out of the unenclosed fields of corn, while the rest of the party returned for their families.

Mansco, Frazier, and other early hunters and explorers, upon their previous return to the older settlements, had diffused an account of the fertility of the Cumberland lands, the

abundance of game and the salubrity of the climate. This account was now confirmed and extended, by the experiment that had been made by the parties under Robertson and Mansco, in planting and raising a crop. Cumberland became the theme of eager conversation in every neighbourhood, and great numbers prepared to emigrate to this land of future plenty and of promise. Under the lead of Mansco, several families removed and settled at Mansco's Lick, Bledsoe's Lick, and other places. John Rains and others, in October of this year, leaving New River, on their way to Kentucky, were persuaded by Captain Robertson to accompany him to the French Lick. Assenting to this proposal, they were soon joined by several other companies of emigrants—the whole amounting to two or three hundred, many of them young men without families—some of them took out cattle and other domestic animals. The route pursued was by Cumberland Gap, and the Kentucky trace to Whitley's Station, on Dick's River; thence to Carpenter's Station, on the waters of Green River; thence to Robertson's Fork, on the north side of that stream; thence down the river to Pitman's Station; thence crossing and descending that river to Little Barren, crossing it at the Elk Lick; thence passing the Blue Spring and the Dripping Spring to Big Barren; thence up Drake's Creek to a bituminous spring; thence to the Maple Swamp; thence to Red River, at Kilgore's Station; thence to Mansco's Creek; and from there to the French Lick.

The inclemency of the season, the great number of the emigrants, the delay inseparable from travelling over a new route, part of it mountainous, all of it through a wilderness, without roads, bridges or ferries, prevented the arrival of the Cumberland colonists at their point of destination till the beginning of the year 1780. The winter had been intensely cold, and has always been remembered and referred to as the *cold winter* by all countries in the northern hemisphere, between the thirty-fifth and seventieth degrees of latitude, and is decisive of the chronology that fixes the arrival of these emigrants in seventeen hundred and eighty.* The Cumber-

* Haywood.

1780 land was found frozen over. Snow had fallen early in November, and it continued to freeze for many weeks after the emigrants reached the bluff. Some of them settled on the north side of the river, at Eaton's Station, where Page afterwards resided. These annals would be imperfect without their names. Some of them are given from Haywood. They are Frederick Stump, Senr., Amos Eaton, Hayden Wells, Isaac Roundsever, William Loggins, and — Winters. The names of others are not recollected. Here they built cabins, cleared ground and planted corn. The cabins were built with stockades from one to the other, with port holes and bastions. But most of the company crossed immediately after their arrival, over the river upon the ice, and settled at the Bluff where Nashville now stands. They were admonished by the existing condition of things in Kentucky on one side, and the hostilities many of them had witnessed from the Cherokees on the other, that their settlement could not long escape the aggression of the savages around them. They prudently erected block-houses in lines—the intervals between which were stockaded—two lines were built parallel to each other, and so were other two lines, the whole forming a square within. Freeland's Station, where McGavock since resided, was at this time also erected. Here were also block-houses and stockades. Mr. Rains settled the place since known as Deaderick's plantation. Among the emigrants that built their cabins at the bluff, were some from South-Carolina. These were John Buchanan, Alexander Buchanan, Daniel Williams, John Mulherrin, James Mulherrin, Sampson Williams, Thomas Thompson, besides others whose names are not given.

While Robertson and his co-emigrants were thus reaching

1779 Cumberland by the circuitous and dangerous trace through the wilderness of Kentucky, others of their countrymen were undergoing greater hardships, enduring greater sufferings, and experiencing greater privations upon another route, not less circuitous and far more perilous, in aiming at the same destination. Soon after the former had left the Holston settlements, on their march by land, several

boats loaded with emigrants and their property left Fort Patrick Henry, near Long Island, on a voyage down the Holston and Tennessee, and up the Ohio and Cumberland. The journal of one of them, "The Adventure," has been preserved.* It was kept by Col. John Donelson, the projector of the enterprise. His grandson, Captain Stockley Donelson, who resides near "the Hermitage," in Davidson county, has the original journal still in possession. The details of so new and remarkable an adventure by water, are full of interest, and the journal is, therefore, given entire.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE, intended by God's permission, in the good boat Adventure, from Fort Patrick Henry on Holston River, to the French Salt Springs on Cumberland River, kept by John Donaldson.

December 22, 1779.—Took our departure from the fort and fell down the river to the mouth of Reedy Creek, where we were stopped by the fall of water, and most excessive hard frost; and after much delay and many difficulties we arrived at the mouth of Cloud's Creek, on Sunday evening, the 20th Febuary, 1780, where we lay by until Sunday, 27th, when we took our departure with sundry other vessels bound for the same voyage, and on the same day struck the Poor Valley Shoal, together with Mr. Boyd and Mr. Rounsifer, on which shoal we lay that afternoon and succeeding night in much distress.

Monday, February 28*th*, 1780.—In the morning the water rising, we got off the shoal, after landing thirty persons to lighten our boat. In attempting to land on an island, received some damage and lost sundry articles, and came to camp on the south shore, where we joined sundry other vessels also bound down.

Tuesday, 29*th*.—Proceeded down the river and camped on the north shore, the afternoon and following day proving rainy.

Wednesday, March 1*st*.—Proceeded on and camped on the south shore, nothing happening that day remarkable.

March 2*d*.—Rain about half the day; passed the mouth of French Broad River, and about 12 o'clock, Mr. Henry's boat being driven on the point of an island† by the force of the current was sunk, the whole cargo much damaged and the crew's lives much endangered, which occasioned the whole fleet to put on shore and go to their assistance, but with much difficulty bailed her, in order to take in her cargo again. The same afternoon Reuben Harrison went out a hunting and did not return that night, though many guns were fired to fetch him in.

Friday, 3*d*.—Early in the morning fired a four-pounder for the lost man, sent out sundry persons to search the woods for him, firing many guns that

* For a copy of it this writer is indebted to the politeness of L. C. Draper, Esq.

† Probably William's Island, two miles above Knoxville.

day and the succeeding night, but all without success, to the great grief of his parents and fellow travellers.

Saturday, 4*th*.—Proceeded on our voyage, leaving old Mr. Harrison with some other vessels to make further search for his lost son; about ten o'clock the same day found him a considerable distance down the river, where Mr. Ben. Belew took him on board his boat. At 3 o'clock, P. M., passed the mouth of Tennessee River, and camped on the south shore about ten miles below the mouth of Tennessee.

Sunday, 5*th*.—Cast off and got under way before sunrise; 12 o'clock passed the mouth of Clinch; at 12 o'clock, M. came up with the Clinch River Company, whom we joined and camped, the evening proving rainy.

Monday, 6*th*.—Got under way before sunrise; the morning proving very foggy, many of the fleet were much bogged—about 10 o'clock lay by for them; when collected, proceeded down. Camped on the north shore, where Capt. Hutching's negro man died, being much frosted in his feet and legs, of which he died.

Tuesday, 7*th*.—Got under way very early, the day proving very windy, a S.S.W., and the river being wide occasioned a high sea, insomuch that some of the smaller crafts were in danger; therefore came to, at the uppermost Chiccamauga Town, which was then evacuated, where we lay by that afternoon and camped that night. The wife of Ephraim Peyton was here delivered of a child. Mr. Peyton has gone through by land with Capt. Robertson.

Wednesday, 8*th*.—Cast off at 10 o'clock, and proceed down to an Indian village, which was inhabited, on the south side of the river; they insisted on us to "come ashore," called us brothers, and showed other signs of friendship, insomuch that Mr. John Caffrey and my son then on board took a canoe which I had in tow, and were crossing over to them, the rest of the fleet having landed on the opposite shore. After they had gone some distance, a half-breed, who called himself Archy Coody, with several other Indians, jumped into a canoe, met them, and advised them to return to the boat, which they did, together with Coody and several canoes which left the shore and followed directly after him. They appeared to be friendly. After distributing some presents among them, with which they seemed much pleased, we observed a number of Indians on the other side embarking in their canoes, armed and painted with red and black. Coody immediately made signs to his companions, ordering them to quit the boat, which they did, himself and another Indian remaining with us and telling us to move off instantly. We had not gone far before we discovered a number of Indians armed and painted proceeding down the river, as it were, to intercept us. Coody, the half-breed, and his companion, sailed with us for some time, and telling us that we had passed all the towns and were out of danger, left us. But we had not gone far until we had come in sight of another town, situated likewise on the south side of the river, nearly opposite a small island. Here they again invited us to come on shore, called us brothers, and observing the boats standing off for the opposite channel, told us that "their side of the river was better for boats to pass." And

here we must regret the unfortunate death of young Mr. Payne, on board Capt. Blackemore's boat, who was mortally wounded by reason of the boat running too near the northern shore opposite the town, where some of the enemy lay concealed, and the more tragical misfortune of poor Stuart, his family and friends to the number of twenty-eight persons. This man had embarked with us for the Western country, but his family being diseased with the small pox, it was agreed upon between him and the company that he should keep at some distance in the rear, for fear of the infection spreading, and he was warned each night when the encampment should take place by the sound of a horn. After we had passed the town, the Indians having now collected to a considerable number, observing his helpless situation, singled off from the rest of the fleet, intercepted him and killed and took prisoners the whole crew, to the great grief of the whole company, uncertain how soon they might share the same fate; their cries were distinctly heard by those boats in the rear.

We still perceived them marching down the river in considerable bodies, keeping pace with us until the Cumberland Mountain withdrew them from our sight, when we were in hopes we had escaped them. We were now arrived at the place called the Whirl or Suck, where the river is compressed within less than half its common width above, by the Cumberland Mountain, which juts in on both sides. In passing through the upper part of these narrows, at a place described by Coody, which he termed the "boiling pot," a trivial accident had nearly ruined the expedition. One of the company, John Cotton, who was moving down in a large canoe, had attached it to Robert Cartwright's boat, into which he and his family had gone for safety. The canoe was here overturned, and the little cargo lost. The company pitying his distress, concluded to halt and assist him in recovering his property. They had landed on the northern shore at a level spot, and were going up to the place, when the Indians, to our astonishment, appeared immediately over us on the opposite cliffs, and commenced firing down upon us, which occasioned a precipitate retreat to the boats. We immediately moved off, the Indians lining the bluffs along continued their fire from the heights on our boats below, without doing any other injury than wounding four slightly. Jennings's boat is missing.

We have now passed through the Whirl. The river widens with a placid and gentle current; and all the company appear to be in safety except the family of Jonathan Jennings, whose boat ran on a large rock, projecting out from the northern shore, and partly immersed in water immediately at the Whirl, where we were compelled to leave them, perhaps to be slaughtered by their merciless enemies. Continued to sail on that day and floated throughout the following night.

Thursday, 9*th.*—Proceeded on our journey, nothing happening worthy attention to-day; floated till about midnight, and encamped on the northern shore.

Friday, 10*th.*—This morning about 4 o'clock we were surprised by the cries of "help poor Jennings," at some distance in the rear. He had discovered us by our fires, and came up in the most wretched condition. He states, that as soon as the Indians discovered his situation they turned

their whole attention to him, and kept up a most galling fire at his boat. He ordered his wife, a son nearly grown, a young man who accompanied them, and his negro man and woman, to throw all his goods into the river, to lighten their boat for the purpose of getting her off, himself returning their fire as well as he could, being a good soldier and an excellent marksman. But before they had accomplished their object, his son, the young man and the negro, jumped out of the boat and left them. He thinks the young man and the negro were wounded before they left the boat.* Mrs. Jennings, however, and the negro woman, succeeded in unloading the boat, but chiefly by the exertions of Mrs. Jennings, who got out of the boat and shoved her off, but was near falling a victim to her own intrepidity on account of the boat starting so suddenly as soon as loosened from the rock. Upon examination, he appears to have made a wonderful escape, for his boat is pierced in numberless places with bullets. It is to be remarked, that Mrs. Peyton, who was the night before delivered of an infant, which was unfortunately killed upon the hurry and confusion consequent upon such a disaster, assisted them, being frequently exposed to wet and cold then and afterwards, and that her health appears to be good at this time, and I think and hope she will do well. Their clothes were very much cut with bullets, especially Mrs. Jennings's.

Saturday, 11*th*.—Got under way after having distributed the family of Mrs. Jennings in the other boats. Rowed on quietly that day, and encamped for the night on the north shore.

Sunday, 12*th*.—Set out, and after a few hour's sailing we heard the crowing of cocks, and soon came within view of the town; here they fired on us again without doing any injury.

After running until about 10 o'clock, came in sight of the Muscle Shoals. Halted on the northern shore at the appearance of the shoals, in order to search for the signs Capt. James Robertson was to make for us at that place. He set out from Holston early in the fall of 1779, was to proceed by the way of Kentucky to the Big Salt Lick on Cumberland River, with several others in company, was to come across from the Big Salt Lick to the upper end of the shoals, there to make such signs that we might know he had been there, and that it was practicable for us to go across by land. But to our great mortification we can find none—from which we conclude that it would not be prudent to make the attempt, and are determined, knowing ourselves to be in such imminent danger, to pursue our journey down the river. After trimming our boats in the best manner possible, we ran through the shoals before night. When we approached them they had a dreadful appearance to those who had never seen them before. The water being high made a terrible roaring,

* The negro was drowned. The son and the young man swam to the north side of the river, where they found and embarked in a canoe and floated down the river. The next day they were met by five canoes full of Indians, who took them prisoners and carried them to Chickamauga, where they killed and burned the young man. They knocked Jennings down and were about to kill him, but were prevented by the friendly mediation of Rogers, an Indian trader, who ransomed him with goods. Rogers had been taken prisoner by Sevier a short time before, and had been released; and that good office he requited by the ransom of Jennings.

which could be heard at some distance among the drift-wood heaped frightfully upon the points of the islands, the current running in every possible direction. Here we did not know how soon we should be dashed to pieces, and all our troubles ended at once. Our boats frequently dragged on the bottom, and appeared constantly in danger of striking. They warped as much as in a rough sea. But by the hand of Providence we are now preserved from this danger also. I know not the length of this wonderful shoal; it had been represented to me to be 25 or 30 miles. If so, we must have descended very rapidly, as indeed we did, for we passed it in about three hours. Came to, and camped on the northern shore, not far below the shoals, for the night.

Monday, 13*th.*—Got under way early in the morning, and made a good run that day.

Tuesday, 14*th.*—Set out early. On this day two boats approaching too near the shore, were fired on by the Indians. Five of the crews were wounded, but not dangerously. Came to camp at night near the mouth of a creek. After kindling fires and preparing for rest, the company were alarmed, on account of the incessant barking our dogs kept up; taking it for granted that the Indians were attempting to surprise us, we retreated precipitately to the boats; fell down the river about a mile and encamped on the other shore. In the morning I prevailed on Mr. Caffrey and my son to cross below in a canoe, and return to the place; which they did, and found an African negro we had left in the hurry, asleep by one of the fires. The voyagers returned and collected their utensils which had been left.

Wednesday, 15*th.*—Got under way and moved on peaceably the five following days, when we arrived at the mouth of the Tennessee on Monday, the 20th, and landed on the lower point immediately on the bank of the Ohio. Our situation here is truly disagreeable. The river is very high, and the current rapid, our boats not constructed for the purpose of stemming a rapid stream, our provision exhausted, the crews almost worn down with hunger and fatigue, and know not what distance we have to go, or what time it will take us to our place of destination. The scene is rendered still more melancholy, as several boats will not attempt to ascend the rapid current. Some intend to descend the Mississippi to Natchez; others are bound for the Illinois—among the rest my son-in-law and daughter. We now part, perhaps to meet no more, for I am determined to pursue my course, happen what will.

Tuesday, 21*st.*—Set out, and on this day laboured very hard and got but a little way; camped on the south bank of the Ohio. Passed the two following days as the former, suffering much from hunger and fatigue.

Friday, 24*th.*—About 3 o'clock came to the mouth of a river which I thought was the Cumberland. Some of the company declared it could not be—it was so much smaller than was expected. But I never heard of any river running in between the Cumberland and Tennessee. It appeared to flow with a gentle current. We determined, however, to make the trial, pushed up some distance and encamped for the night.

Saturday, 25*th.*—To-day we are much encouraged; the river grows wider; the current is very gentle, and we are now convinced it is the

Cumberland. I have derived great assistance from a small square sail which was fixed up on the day we left the mouth of the river; and to prevent any ill-effects from sudden flaws of wind, a man was stationed at each of the lower corners of the sheet with, directions to give way whenever it was necessary.

Sunday, 26*th.*—Got under way early; procured some buffalo-meat; though poor it was palatable.

Monday, 27*th.*—Set out again; killed a swan, which was very delicious.

Tuesday, 28*th.*—Set out very early this morning; killed some buffalo.

Wednesday, 29*th.*—Proceeded up the river; gathered some herbs on the bottoms of Cumberland, which some of the company called Shawnee salad.

Thursday, 30*th.*—Proceeded on our voyage. This day we killed some more buffalo.

Friday, 31*st.*—Set out this day, and after running some distance, met with Col. Richard Henderson, who was running the line between Virginia and North-Carolina. At this meeting we were much rejoiced. He gave us every information we wished, and further informed us that he had purchased a quantity of corn in Kentucky, to be shipped at the Falls of Ohio for the use of the Cumberland settlement. We are now without bread, and are compelled to hunt the buffalo to preserve life. Worn out with fatigue, our progress at present is slow. Camped at night near the mouth of a little river, at which place and below there is a handsome bottom of rich land. Here we found a pair of hand-mill stones set up for grinding, but appeared not to have been used for a great length of time.

Proceeded on quietly until the 12th of April, at which time we came to the mouth of a little river running in on the north side, by Moses Renfoe and his company called Red River, up which they intend to settle. Here they took leave of us. We proceeded up Cumberland, nothing happening material until the 23d, when we reached the first settlement on the north side of the river, one mile and a half below the Big Salt Lick and called Eaton's Station, after a man of that name, who with several other families, came through Kentucky and settled there.

Monday, *April* 24*th.*—This day we arrived at our journey's end at the Big Salt Lick, where we have the pleasure of finding Capt. Robertson and his company. It is a source of satisfaction to us to be enabled to restore to him and others their families and friends, who were entrusted to our care, and who, sometime since, perhaps, despaired of ever meeting again. Though our prospects at present are dreary, we have found a few log cabins which have been built on a cedar bluff above the Lick, by Capt. Robertson and his company.

1780 The distance traversed in this inland voyage, the extreme danger from the navigation of the rapid and unknown rivers, and the hostile attacks from the savages upon their banks, mark the emigration under Col. Donelson as one of the greatest achievements in the settlement of the West.

The names of these adventurous navigators and bold pioneers of the Cumberland country are not, all of them, recollected; some of them follow: Mrs. Robertson, the wife of James Robertson, Col. Donelson, John Donelson, Jun., Robert Cartwright, Benjamin Porter, James Cain, Isaac Neely, John Cotton, Mr. Rounsever, Jonathan Jennings, William Crutchfield, Moses Renfroe, Joseph Renfroe, James Renfroe, Solomon Turpin, —— Johns, Sen., Francis Armstrong, Isaac Lanier, Daniel Dunham, John Boyd, John Montgomery, John Cockrill and John Caffrey, with their respective families; also, Mary Henry, a widow, and her family, Mary Purnell and her family, John Blackmore and John Gibson.

These, with the emigrants already mentioned as having arrived with Robertson by the way of the Kentucky trace, and the few that had remained at the Bluff to take care of the growing crops, constituted the nucleus of the Cumberland community in 1780. Some of them plunged, at once, into the adjoining forests, and built a cabin with its necessary defences. Col. Donelson, himself, with his connexions, was of this number. He went up the Cumberland and settled upon Stone's River, a confluent of that stream, at a place since called Clover Bottom, where he erected a small fort on its south side. The situation was found to be too low, as the water, during a freshet, surrounded the fort, and it was, for that reason, removed to the north side.

Dr. Walker, the Commissioner on the part of Virginia, for running the boundary line between that state and North-Carolina, arrived at the Bluff. He was accompanied by Col. Richard Henderson and his two brothers, Nathaniel and Pleasant. Col. Henderson erected a station also, on Stone's River, and remained there some time, selling lands under the deed made to himself and partners by the Cherokees, at Watauga, in March, 1775, as has been already mentioned. He sold one thousand acres per head at ten dollars per thousand. His certificate entitled the holder, at a future time, to further proceedings in a land office.* The purchase of "Transylvania in America," as made by Henderson and his associates, without any authority from the states of North-

* Haywood.

Carolina and Virginia, was, in itself, null and void, so far as it claimed to vest the title of lands in those individuals. The associates could be recognized only as private citizens, having no right to make treaties with or purchase lands from the Indians. This treaty was, however, considered as an extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands embraced within the boundaries mentioned in it. The legislatures of the two states, for this reason, and as a remuneration for the expenditures previous and subsequent to the treaty of Watauga, allowed, to the Transylvania Company, a grant of two hundred thousand acres from each state.

One of the great sources of Indian invasion and of hostile instigation, had been broken up by the capture of the British posts on the Wabash and in the Illinois country, and the captivity of Colonel Hamilton, who was now a prisoner at Williamsburg. Many of the western tribes had entered into treaties of peace and friendship with Col. Clarke, which presaged a temporary quietude to the frontier people. The repeated chastisements of the Cherokees by the troops under Sevier and Shelby, seemed, for a time, to secure the friendship of that nation. The news of this condition of western affairs gave a new impulse to emigration, and the roads and traces to Kentucky and Cumberland were crowded with hardy adventurers, seeking home and fortune in their distant wilds. This rapid increase of population exhausted the limited supply of food in the country, and a dearth ensued. Corn, and every other article of family consumption, became remarkably scarce. The winter had been long and exceedingly cold. The cattle and hogs designed for the use of the emigrants in their new settlements, had perished from starvation and the inclemency of the season. The game in the woods was, from like causes, poor and sickly, and, though easily found and taken, was unfit for food. This scarcity prevailed throughout the whole frontier line for five hundred miles, and was aggravated by the circumstance that no source of supply was within the reach of the suffering people. In the neighbouring settlements of Kentucky, corn was worth, in March, of 1780, one hundred and sixty-five dollars a bushel, in continental money, which price it main-

tained until the opening spring supplied other means of sustenance.*

Such were the circumstances under which the pioneers of the Lower Cumberland formed the first permanent white settlement in Middle Tennessee. Their position was that of hardship and danger, toil and suffering. As has been well said by another† in reference to Kentucky: they were posted in the heart of the most favourite hunting ground of numerous and hostile tribes of Indians on the north and on the south; a ground endeared to them by its profusion of the finest game, subsisting on the luxuriant vegetation of this great natural park. It was, emphatically, the Eden of the Red Man. Was it then wonderful, that all his fiercest passions and wildest energies, should be aroused in its defence, against an enemy, whose success was the Indian's downfall?

The little band of emigrants at the Bluff were in the centre of a vast wilderness, equi-distant from the most war-like and ferocious tribes on this continent—tribes that had frequently wasted the frontiers of Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania, with the tomahawk and with fire, and that were now aided, in the unnatural alliance of Great Britain, by the arts and treasures furnished by the agents of that government. To attack and invasion from these tribes, the geographical position of the Cumberland settlers gave a peculiar exposure and a special liability. Three hundred miles of wilderness separated them from the nearest fort of their countrymen on Holston. They were, perhaps, double that distance from their seat of government in North-Carolina, while all the energies of the parent state were employed in the tremendous struggle for Independence, in the cause of which she had so early and so heartily engaged. This forlorn situation of the settlement at the Bluff became more perilous, as it was so accessible by water from the distant hostile tribes. Descending navigation could bring, with great rapidity, the fleets of canoes and perogues, from the Ohio and its western tributaries, loaded with the armed warriors of that region; while upon the Tennessee River, with equal celerity, the Cherokee and Creek braves could precipitate themselves to

* Monette. † Butler.

the different landings on that stream, and co-operating with their confederates from the north, unite in one general stroke of devastation and havoc. Had this been done at the period of the first emigration, the Bluff settlement could have been annihilated. Happily, the protracted and inclement winter that inflicted its inhospitable severity and such great hardships upon the first emigrants, protected them from attack, by confining their enemies to their towns and wigwams. Early in January, a small party of Delaware Indians came from the direction of the Cany Fork, and passed by the head of Mill Creek, and encamped on one of its branches, which has since been called Indian Creek. The Indians proceeded to Bear Creek of Tennessee, and continued there during the summer. At this time they offered no molestation to the whites. Before the next irruption of the Indians, time was given for the erection of defences, and Robertson's second colony was planted—consisting, like the first at Watauga, of intrepid men and heroic women—fit elements for the foundation of a great and flourishing state. And here, at the Bluff, with its little garrison and rude stations—in the centre of a wide wilderness, and overshadowed by the huge evergreens and the ancient forest around it—amidst the snows, and ice, and storms of 1780, was fixed the seat of commerce, of learning and the arts—the future abode of refinement and hospitality, and the cradle of empire.

When the first settlers came to the Bluff in 1779–'80, Haywood says the country had the appearance of one which had never before been cultivated. There was no sign of any cleared land, nor other appearance of former cultivation. Nothing was presented to the eye but one large plain of woods and cane, frequented by buffaloes, elk, deer, wolves, foxes, panthers, and other animals suited to the climate. The lands adjacent to the French Lick, which Mansco, in 1769, when he first hunted here, called an old field, was a large open space, frequented and trodden by buffaloes, whose large paths led to it from all parts of the country and there concentred. On these adjacent lands was no under-growth nor cane, as far as the water reached in time of high water. The country as far as to Elk River and beyond it, had not a

single permanent inhabitant, except the wild beasts of the forest; but there were traces, as everywhere else, of having been inhabited many centuries before by a numerous population. At every lasting spring is a large collection of graves, made in a particular way, the whole covered with a stratum of mould and dirt, eight or ten inches deep. At many springs is the appearance of walls enclosing ancient habitations, the foundations of which were visible whenever the earth was cleared and cultivated—to these walls entrenchments were sometimes added. The walls sometimes enclose six, eight, or ten acres of land, and sometimes they are more extensive.

We have thus traced the stream of emigration from the Atlantic to the West. We have seen a few enterprising and adventurous men, clustering together on the banks of the remote and secluded Watauga, felling the forest, erecting the cabin, forming society and laying the foundation of government. We have seen the plain and unpretending emigrant from the Yadkin, and his hunter associates, combining the wisdom and virtue of the pioneer condition, and providing laws and regulations suited to the wants of the new community around them. We have seen the patriotism and chivalry of the extreme western settlement rally at the sound of danger. Leaving their own frontier exposed, they magnanimously returned to the defence of a sister colony, and on the rugged Kenhawa, met and repulsed the savage invader. We have seen Robertson negotiate an enlargement of his border, and effect a peaceable extension of the settlements. We have seen the fortress erected, the station built, and the enemy repulsed. We have seen armaments by land and water boldly penetrate to the centre of the warlike Cherokee nation, and the soldiery of the Watauga bivouac upon the sources of the Coosa. The first settlement in Tennessee planted, defended, secure and prosperous, we have seen its founder and patriarch lead forth a new colony, through another wilderness, to experience upon another theatre, new privations, and undergo new dangers, and perform new achievements upon the remote Cumberland. There, for the present, we shall leave them, and return to the eastern settlements. Here was the cradle of the great State of Tennessee, where

its infancy was spent and its early manhood formed. The vigorous shoots sent out from the parent stem—the colonies that have gone abroad from the old homestead and peopled the great West—have ever been worthy of their ancestry. Their rapid growth and enlargement, their unexampled prosperity and achievement, are noticed with feelings of parental fondness and pride. In no spirit of senile arrogance is the claim upon their filial piety asserted for veneration and regard to their East Tennessee forefathers. Through them our proud state claims to be one of the "Old Thirteen," and to be identified with them in the cause of independence and freedom.

On a preceding page, it has been mentioned that the capital of Georgia was in the possession of the British, and that their posts had been extended up the Savannah River, as high as Augusta. Simultaneously with the arrival of the enemy in Georgia, was that of General Lincoln in South-Carolina, and the war of the Revolution was at once transferred from the Northern to the Southern States.

It was hoped that by the co-operation of our generous ally, France, all that had been lost in the south would be recovered at a single blow; and that by the combined forces of Lincoln and Count D'Estaing, the army under Provost, and then concentrated at Savannah, would be captured. That place was attacked on the 8th of October, but the result blasted all the high hopes of the combined armies; and their failure was the precursor of the loss of Charleston and the reduction of the Southern States. D'Estaing soon after left the coast. The southern army was nearly broken up; sickness had diminished the number of the Carolina regiments, while those from the north were daily becoming weaker, by the expiration of the term of their enlistment. The quiet possession of Georgia by the enemy, brought to their aid many of the Indians, and of the loyalists who had fled from the Carolinas and Georgia and taken refuge among them. These were now emboldened to collect from all quarters, under cover of Provost's army. These either united with it, or joined in formidable bodies to hunt up and destroy the whig inhabitants. Many of these were forced, in

their turn, to forsake their plantations, and transport their families beyond the mountains to the securer retreats of Watauga and Nollichucky. It became evident that all that was wanting to complete British ascendancy in the South, was the possession of Charleston. Should that metropolis, and the army that defended it, be captured, the reduction of the whole state, and probably of North-Carolina also, would ensue. To attain these objects, ten thousand chosen men, with an immense supply of arms and munitions of war, were landed, on the eleventh of February, 1780, on John's Island, the command of which was taken by Sir Henry Clinton. The assembly of South-Carolina was in session; and though the regular troops in the state did not then amount to one thousand men, and the defences of the city were in a dilapidated or unfinished condition, it was resolved with one voice to defend the capital to the last extremity. Governor Rutledge was invested with dictatorial powers, and measures were taken to hasten the arrival of reinforcements from the interior of the state and from North-Carolina. The besieged at no time amounted to four thousand men, and yet had to defend an extent of works that could not be well manned by less than ten thousand. Besides, they were badly furnished, and, before the siege was over, were even suffering for food. Yet the defence was protracted, under every discouragement and disadvantage, from the 29th of March to the 12th of May, when General Lincoln found himself obliged to capitulate. The fall of the metropolis was soon after succeeded by the rapid conquest of the interior country, and, from the seacoast to the mountains, the progress of the enemy was almost wholly an uninterrupted triumph. The inhabitants generally submitted, and were either paroled as prisoners, or took protection as British subjects. A few brave and patriotic men, under gallant and indomitable leaders, remained in arms, but were surprised and cut to pieces by Tarleton and Webster, or, for security from their pursuit, withdrew into North-Carolina. The march of the enemy was continued towards the populous whig settlements, and garrisons were established at prominent points of the country, with the view of pushing

their conquest still further into the interior. South-Carolina was considered a subdued British province, rather than an American state, and Sir Henry Clinton, believing the conquest complete, invested Lord Cornwallis with the chief command, and sailed for New-York.

"But, in the midst of the general submission of the inhabitants, there remained a few unconquerable spirits, whom nothing but death could quell. These were Sumpter, Marion and Williams, in South-Carolina, and Clarke and Twiggs, in Georgia. The three last had never submitted, and were ever in motion, harassing and waylaying the enemy. But their force was seldom considerable. Sumpter and Marion, after the capitulation of Charleston, had retired into North-Carolina, to recruit their commands and gather the means of carrying on that partizan warfare in which they afterwards became so conspicuous." *

1779 When Georgia was overrun by the British, Colonel Clarke, with about one hundred of his valiant but overpowered countrymen, sought safety in the remote settlements on the Watauga and Holston. Here their representations of the atrocities perpetrated by the loyalists induced many of the frontier men to return with Clarke and retaliate the injuries he and his associates had suffered. Clarke thus reinforced, approached the British camp, placed his men near the road that lead to it, and sent forward a small detachment of his men to draw out the enemy into his ambuscade. The stratagem succeeded. On the approach of the British and loyalists, Robert Bean, of Watauga, fired at and killed the commanding officer. Many of his men suffered the same fate. The enemy was repulsed, and in their retreat before Clarke several were killed, while he sustained the loss of but a single Georgian. Here began a lasting friendship between the Georgians and the Western settlers.

The successes of the British army had stimulated into life the hitherto dormant disaffection of some of the inhabitants of North-Carolina. That army was now approaching, in its career of conquest and victory, the southern boundary of that state. Some who had hitherto worn the mask of friendship, became now the avowed enemies of the American cause. In the settlements beyond the mountain a few tories had taken refuge. To watch their motions as well as those of the Indians,

* Johnson.

it was found necessary to embody scouting parties of armed men. One of these killed Bradley, a disaffected citizen from Halifax county, and notorious for his crimes and his frequent and artful escapes from justice. With him was also taken another confederate in guilt, Halley. They were both taken and shot by Robert Sevier's company of horsemen. Another tory named Dykes, was also captured. He and others had concerted a plan to come to the house of Col. Sevier and murder him. The wife of Dykes, who had in time of distress been treated by Sevier with great kindness and humanity, disclosed to him the meditated mischief. Dykes himself was immediately hung. This was done by Jesse Green and John Gibson, two of the Regulators. An act of oblivion was passed for their relief.

Thus the vigilance and efforts of the Western settlers were not confined to the protection and defence of their own secluded homes. They had left parents and kindred and countrymen east of the Alleghanies, and their hearts yet yearned for their safety and welfare. The homes of their youth were pillaged by a foreign soldiery, and the friends they loved were slain or driven into exile. Above all, the great cause of American freedom and independence was in danger, the country was invaded by a powerful foe, and the exigencies of Carolina called aloud for every absent son to return to her rescue and defence. The call was promptly obeyed. And the mountain men—the pioneers of Tennessee—were the first to resist the invaders, and restrained not from the pursuit of the vanquished enemy till they reached the coast of the Atlantic.

After the destination of the large armament under Sir
1780 { Henry Clinton was ascertained to be Charleston, Gen.
{ Rutherford, of North-Carolina, issued a requisition for the militia of that state to embody for the defence of their sister state. That order reached Watauga, and the following proceedings were immediately had in that small but patriotic and gallant community. They are copied from the original manuscript in the possession of this writer. They are almost illegible from the ravages of time and exposure, but even now plainly shew the bold and characteristic chirography of Col. Sevier and the commissioned officers under him. There is

no preamble, no circumlocution —Nothing but action, prompt and decisive action, and the names of the actors:

"At a meeting of sundry of the Militia Officers of Washington County, this 19th day of March, 1780: Present, John Sevier, Colonel, Jonathan Tipton, Major, Joseph Willson, John McNabb, Godfrey Isbell, Wm. Trimble, James Stinson, Robert Sevier, Captains, and Landon Carter, Lieutenant, in the absence of Valentine Sevier, Captain.

"In order to raise one hundred men, agreeable to command of the Hon. Brigadier Rutherford, to send to the aid of South-Carolina.

"It is the opinion of the officers, that each company in this county do furnish eight effective men, well equipt for war, except Samuel Williams's company, which is to furnish four men well equipt as aforesaid.

JOHN SEVIER, JNO. MCNABB,
JOSEPH WILLSON, JONATHAN TIPTON,
WM. TRIMBLE, GODFREY ISBELL."
JAMES STINSON,

On the same page is a list of captains. They are "Captains McKnabb, Sevier, Hoskins, Been, Brown, Isbell, Trimble, Willson, Gist, Stinson, Davis, Patterson, Williams."

A similar requisition was made upon Isaac Shelby, the Colonel of Sullivan county. He was then absent in Kentucky. Fortunately General Rutherford was hurried off with such reinforcements as were near at hand, and the militia of these remote counties were not, with him, placed under the command of General Gates in the ill-advised and badly arranged engagement near Camden. Well was it for the future fame of Sevier and Shelby; well was it for the cause in which, soon afterwards, they acquired distinction for themselves and led their comrades in arms to victory and glory, that they were still left in their mountain recesses to quicken the patriotic impulses, and arouse the martial spirit of their countrymen, and lead them forth against the enemies of their country and of freedom. This duty they were soon called to perform. Col. Charles McDowell, in the absence of General Rutherford, succeeded in command, and immediately forwarded a despatch to Sevier and Shelby, informing these officers of the surrender of Charleston and the main southern army, and that the enemy had overrun South-Carolina and Georgia, and were rapidly approaching the limits of North-Carolina; and requesting them to bring to his aid all the riflemen that could be raised, and in as short time as

possible. Sevier had already enrolled, under the requisition of General Rutherford, one hundred of the militia of Washington county. At his call, another hundred immediately volunteered, and, with these two hundred mounted riflemen, he started, at once, across the mountain for the camp of McDowell. The despatch to Shelby reached him the 16th of June, in Kentucky, where he was locating and surveying lands. He immediately returned home, determined to go to the aid of his bleeding country and sustain the struggle in which she was engaged, till her independence should be secured. His appeal to the chivalry of Sullivan county was met by a hearty response, and early in July he found himself at the head of two hundred mounted riflemen, whom he rapidly led to the camp of McDowell, near the Cherokee ford of Broad River, in South-Carolina. Sevier, with his regiment, had arrived there a few days before.

In the meantime, the British army had advanced to Ninety-Six, Camden and Cheraw, in South-Carolina. At the for-
1780 { mer place Nesbitt Balfour commanded, and, on the
{ 15th July, issued the following proclamation:

"Notwithstanding the extraordinary lenity shown the misled inhabitants of this province, that they may now plainly see their true interest is to unite sincerely with his Majesty's forces to suppress every invader of the public tranquillity, I have certain information that some persons who have been received into his Majesty's protection, forgetting every tie of honour and gratitude, and led by the hope of enriching themselves by plundering the peaceable inhabitants, and are engaged in the work of subverting his Majesty's mild and just government, have † * * * and are now actually in arms, with a body of rebels, assembled against the peace of this province.

"This is, therefore, to give notice that every inhabitant of this province who is not at his own home by the 24th instant, or cannot make it appear that he is absent on lawful business, is hereby declared an outlaw and is to be treated accordingly, and his property, of whatsoever kind, confiscated, and liable to military execution."

Lord Cornwallis meeting with little obstruction in his victorious march, contemplated an extension of his conquest through North-Carolina. He had instructed the loyalists of that state not to rise until his approach to its southern bound-

† The original, from which this is copied, is here illegible. It was taken from a tory officer by Col. Sevier.

ary would favour their concentration with his forces, and at the same time intimidate the whigs. As he approached Camden, Col. Patrick Moore appeared at the head of a large band of disaffected Americans from Tryon (since Lincoln) county, and erecting the royal standard, invited to it all the loyalists in that section of North and South-Carolina lying between the Catawba River and the mountains. The rapid successes of the enemy and his near approach, encouraged the rising of the tories, and Colonel Moore, after an uninterrupted march, took post in a strong fort built by General Williamson, about four years before, during the Cherokee war. It was surrounded by a strong abbatis and was otherwise well provided with defences. It stood upon the waters of Pacolet River.

Soon after the arrival of Sevier and Shelby at the Cherokee ford, Col. McDowell detached them, and Col. Clarke, of Georgia, with about six hundred men, against Moore. His post was more than twenty miles distant. The riflemen took up the line of march at sunset, and at the dawn of day next morning surrounded the fort. Shelby sent in one of his men (William Cocke, Esq.) and made a peremptory demand of the surrender of the fort. Moore replied that he would defend it to the last extremity. The lines of the assailants were immediately drawn in, within musket-shot of the enemy all round, with a determination to make an assault upon the fort. But before proceeding to extremities a second message was sent in. To this Moore replied, that he would surrender on condition that the garrison be paroled not to serve again during the war. The assailants were as humane as they were brave; and to save the effusion of the blood of their deluded countrymen, the terms were agreed to. The fort was surrendered. Ninety-three loyalists and one British sergeant-major were in the garrison, with two hundred and fifty stand of arms, all loaded with ball and buckshot, and so disposed of at the port-holes that double the number of the whigs might have been easily repulsed.

As confirming the accuracy of the account as here given of the surrender of Colonel Moore, the subjoined letter is here for the first time published. It was taken amongst the spoils at King's Mountain, and is now so worn as to be nearly

illegible: the writer's name is no longer upon it. It may be the despatch of Major Ferguson himself to Lord Cornwallis, apologizing for the conduct of some loyalist then under censure. Speaking of the fort and garrison commanded by Col. Moore, the writer says:

"It had an upper line of loop-holes and was surrounded by a very strong abbatis, with only a small wicket to enter by. It had been put in thorough repair at the request of the garrison, which consisted of the neighbouring militia that had come to ———, and was defended by eighty men against two or three hundred banditti without cannon, and each man was of opinion that it was impossible . . . . . The officer next in command and all the others, gave their opinion for defending it, and agree in their account that Patrick Moore, after proposing a surrender, acquiesced in their opinion and offered to go and signify as much to the rebels, but returned, with some rebel officers, whom he put in possession of the gate and place, who were instantly followed by their men, and the fort full of rebels to the surprise of the garrison. He plead cowardice, I understand . . . . . .

"Mr. Gibbs is a very loyal man and has suffered much in this rebellion. . . . . —— Maj. Gibbs's fidelity and zeal for the King's service is undoubted. I have only laid the above circumstances before your Lordship, as a proof of the very bad consequences to the public service . . . . . Lordship, measures that may follow from the mistaken humanity of easy, well-meaning men to the utter subversion of all justice and policy."

This bold incursion of the mountain men, together with the capture of the garrison under Moore, induced Lord Cornwallis to detach from his main army some enterprising officers, with a small command, to penetrate through the country, embody the loyalists and take possession of the strongest posts in the interior. This had become the more necessary as the advance of the American army under De Kalb, and afterwards under Gates, began to inspirit the desponding whigs and at the same time restrained the vigorous co-operation of the tories with the British troops. Measures were, therefore, adopted to embody and discipline the zealous loyalists, and for this purpose Col. Ferguson, an active and intelligent officer, and possessing peculiar qualifications for attaching to him the marksmen of Ninety-Six, was despatched into that district.

"To a corps of one hundred picked regulars, he soon succeeded in attaching twelve or thirteen hundred hardy natives; his camp became

the rendezvous of the desperate, the idle and vindictive, as well as of the youth of the loyalist, whose zeal or ambition prompted them to military service. There was a part of South-Carolina which had not yet been trodden by a hostile foot, and the projected march through this unexplored and as yet undevastated region, drew many to the standard of Ferguson. This was the country which stretches along the foot of the mountain towards the borders of North-Carolina. The progress of the British commander and his unnatural confederates, was marked with blood and lighted up with conflagrations."*

Astonished by the bold and unexpected incursion of the western volunteer riflemen, under Shelby and Sevier, and apprehending that the contagion of their example and their presence might encourage the whigs of Carolina to resume their arms, Ferguson and the loyalists took measures to secure the allegiance of the inhabitants by the following written agreement, entered into and signed by disaffected American militia officers. The original is now before the writer. It was found in the possession of a tory colonel, by Sevier, at King's Mountain.

"As the public safety and the preservation of our freedom and property depends upon our acting together in support of the royal cause, and in defence of our country against any enemy who may attack us; it is the unanimous opinion of the officers and men of Gibbs', Plummer's, Cunningham's, Clairy's, King's and Kirkland's battalions of militia, and also of all the officers and men of Colonel Mills's battalion of North-Caronians, assembled under the command of Major Ferguson at Brannon's Settlement, August 13, 1780: That every man who does not assemble when required, in defence of his country, in order to act with the other good subjects serving in the militia, exposes his comrades to unnecessary danger, abandons the royal cause and acts a treacherous part to the country in which he lives; and it is the unanimous opinion that whoever quits his battalion, or disobeys the order of the officers commanding, is a worse traitor and enemy to his king and country, than those rebels who are again in arms after having taken protection, and deserves to be treated accordingly; and we do, therefore, empower the officers commanding in camp as well as the officers commanding our several battalions of militia, from time to time, to cause the cattle and grain of all such officers and men, as basely fail to assemble and muster as required in times of public danger, or who quit their battalions without leave, to be brought to camp for the use of those who pay their debt to the country by their personal services; and we do also empower the said commanding officers, and do require of them, that they will secure the arms and horses of such delinquents, and put them into the possession of men who are better disposed to use them in defence of their country,

* Johnson.

and that they will bring such traitors to trial, in order that they may be punished as they deserve and turned out of the militia with disgrace. The above resolutions agreed to by every man of the above mentioned regiments, as well as by the men of ——— and Philip's regiment, who were at camp at Edward Moverley's, this 16th day of August, 1780. Zach. Gibbs, Major, John Hamilton, Major, Thos. D. Hill, jun., Adjt., John Philips, L. C., W. T. Turner, L. Colonel, Daniel Plummer, Major.

"It was also this day unanimously, Resolved, by every officer and man now in camp, of all the above mentioned regiments, that whatever man should neglect to assemble and do his duty in the militia, when summoned for public service, shall be made to serve in the regular troops; it being the unanimous opinion of every man present, that it is the duty of all who call themselves subjects, to assist in defence of the country one way or the other."

By such means as these were the whigs dispirited and the ranks of the British and tories hourly enlarged.

As he advanced, Ferguson increased his command till it 1780 { amounted to above two thousand men, in addition to a small squadron of horse. To watch their movements, and, if possible, to cut off their foraging parties, Col. McDowell, not long after the surprise and capture of Moore, detached Cols. Shelby and Clarke, with six hundred mounted riflemen. Several attempts were made by Ferguson to surprise this party, but, in every instance, his designs were baffled. However, on the first of August, his advance of six or seven hundred men came up with the party of Shelby and Clarke, at a place called Cedar Spring, where they had chosen to fight him. A sharp conflict of half an hour ensued, when Ferguson came up with his whole force, and the Americans withdrew, carrying off the field of battle twenty prisoners, with two British officers. The killed of the enemy was not ascertained. The American loss was ten or twelve killed and wounded. Among the latter was Col. Clarke, on the neck, slightly, with a sabre.

McDowell's policy was to change his camp frequently. He now lay at Smith's ford of Broad River. Here he received information that a party of four or five hundred tories were encamped at Musgrove's mill, on the south side of Enoree River, about forty miles distant. He again detached Shelby and Clarke, together with Col. Williams, of South-Carolina, who had joined his command, to surprise and dis-

perse them. Ferguson lay, with his whole force, at that time, exactly between. The detachment amounted to six hundred horsemen. These took up their line of march, just before sundown, on the evening of the eighteenth of August. They went through the woods until dark, and then took a road leaving Ferguson's camp some three or four miles to the left. They rode very hard all night, and at the dawn of day, about half a mile from the enemy's camp, were met by a strong patrol party. A short skirmish followed, when the enemy retreated. At that moment a countryman, living just at hand, came up and informed the party that the enemy had been reinforced the evening before with six hundred regular troops, under Col. Ennes, which were destined to join Ferguson's army. The circumstances of this information were so minute that no doubt could be entertained of its truth. For six hundred men, fatigued by a night ride of forty miles, to march on and attack the enemy, thus reinforced, seemed rash and improper. To attempt an escape by a rapid retreat, broken down as were both men and horses, was equally hopeless, if not impossible. The heroic determination was, therefore, instantly formed to make the best defence they could under the existing circumstances. A rude and hasty breast-work of brush and old logs was immediately constructed. Captain Inman was sent forward with about twenty-five men to meet the enemy and skirmish with them as soon as they crossed the Enoree. The sound of their drums and bugles soon announced their movements, and induced the belief that they had cavalry. Inman was ordered to fire on them, and retreat according to his own discretion. This stratagem, which was the suggestion of the captain himself, drew the enemy forward in disorder, as they believed they had driven the whole party. When they came up within seventy yards, a most destructive fire from the riflemen, who lay concealed behind their breast-work of logs, commenced. It was one whole hour before the enemy could force the Americans from their slender defences, and just as they began to give way in some points, the British commander, Col. Ennes, was wounded. All his subalterns, except one, being previously killed or wounded, and Captain

Hawsey, the leader of the loyalists on the left, being shot down, the whole of the enemy's line began to yield. The riflemen pursued them close, and drove them across the river. In this pursuit the gallant Inman was killed, bravely fighting the enemy hand to hand. In this action Col. Shelby commanded the right, Col. Clarke, the left, and Col. Williams, the centre.

The battle lasted one hour and a half. The Americans lay so closely behind their little breast-work that the enemy entirely over-shot them, killing only six or seven, amongst whom the loss of the brave Captain Inman was particularly regretted. His stratagem of engaging and skirmishing with the enemy until the riflemen had time to throw up a hasty breast-work—his gallant conduct during the action, and his desperate charge upon their retreat—contributed much to the victory. He died at the moment it was won. The number of the enemy killed and wounded was considerable. The tories were the first to escape. Of the British regulars under Col. Ennes, who fought bravely to the last and prolonged the conflict even against hope, above two hundred were taken prisoners.

The Americans returned immediately to their horses, and mounted with a determination to be in Ninety-Six before night. This was a British post less than thirty miles distant, and not far from the residence of Col. Williams, one of the commanders. It was considered best to push their successes into the disaffected regions before time would allow reinforcements to reach them. Besides, by making their next expedition in the direction of Ninety-Six, they would avoid Ferguson's army, near whose encampment they would have necessarily to pass on their return to McDowell's head-quarters, at Smith's Ford. At the moment of starting, an express from McDowell rode up in great haste, with a short letter in his hand from Governor Caswell, dated on the battle ground, apprising McDowell of the defeat of the American grand army under General Gates, on the sixteenth, near Camden, advising him to get out of the way, as the enemy would, no no doubt, endeavour to improve their victory to the greatest advantage, by cutting up all the small corps of the Ameri-

can armies. Fortunately, Col. Shelby was well acquainted with the hand-writing of Governor Caswell, and knew what reliance to place upon the intelligence brought by the express. The men and horses were fatigued by the rapid march of the night, as well as the severe conflict of the morning. They were now encumbered with more than two hundred British prisoners and the spoils of victory. Besides these difficulties that surrounded the American party, there was another that made extrication from them, dangerous if not impossible. A numerous army under an enterprising leader lay in their rear, and there was every reason to believe that Ferguson would have received intelligence of the daring incursion of the riflemen, and of the defeat of his friends at the Enoree. The delay of an hour might have proved disastrous to the victors. The prisoners were immediately distributed among the companies, so as to leave one to every three men, who carried them alternately on horseback. They rode directly towards the mountains, and continued the march all that day and night, and the succeeding day, until late in the evening, without ever stopping to refresh. This long and rapid march—retreat it can scarcely be called, as the retiring troops bore with them the fruits of a well earned victory—saved the Americans. For, as was afterwards ascertained, they were pursued closely until late in the evening of the second day after the action, by Major Dupoister, and a strong body of mounted men from Ferguson's army. These became so broken down by excessive fatigue, in hot weather, that they despaired of overtaking the Americans and abandoned the pursuit.

Shelby having seen the party and its prisoners beyond the reach of danger, retired across the mountains. He left the prisoners with Clarke and Williams, to be carried to some place of safety to the North, for it was not known then that there was even the appearance of a corps of Americans any where south of the Potomac. So great was the panic after the defeat of Gates, and the disaster of Sumpter, that McDowell's whole army broke up. He, with several hundred of his followers, yielding to the cruel necessity of the unfortunate circumstances which involved the country, retired across the

mountains, and scattered themselves among the hospitable settlers in the securer retreats of Watauga and Nollichucky.

At this period a deep gloom hung over the cause of
1780 { American Independence, and the confidence of its most steadfast friends was shaken. The reduction of Savannah, the capitulation of Charleston and the loss of the entire army under General Lincoln, had depressed the hopes of the patriot whigs, and the subsequent career of British conquest and subjugation of Georgia and South-Carolina, excited serious apprehension and alarm for the eventual success of the American cause. At the urgent appeal of the patriotic Governor Rutledge, Virginia had sent forward reinforcements under Col. Buford. His command was defeated and his men butchered by the sabres of Tarleton. At Camden a second southern army, and commanded by General Gates, was dispersed, captured and signally defeated by Cornwallis.

But besides these disasters, there were other circumstances that aggravated the discouraging condition of American affairs. The finances of Congress were low; the paper currency had failed; its depreciation was every where sinking with a rapid proclivity still lower; the treasuries of the states were exhausted and their credit lost; a general distress pervaded the country; subsistence and clothing for the famishing and ill-clad troops, were to be procured only by impressment; and the inability of the government, from the want of means, to carry on the war, was openly admitted. British posts were established, and garrisons kept up at numerous points in the very heart of the country, and detachments from the main army were with profane impudence rioting through the land in an uninterrupted career of outrage, aggression and conquest. Under the protection of these, the loyalists were encouraged to rise against their whig countrymen, to depredate upon their property, insult their families, seek their lives and drive them into exile upon the Western waters. This was the general condition of American affairs in the South, immediately after the defeat near Camden. General Gates endeavouring to collect together the shattered fragments of his routed army, made a short

halt at Charlotte. He afterwards fell back further and made his head-quarters at Hillsboro'.

After the discomfiture of the American army at Camden, and the defeat and dispersion of Sumpter's corps, Lord Cornwallis waited only for supplies from Charleston, before he proceeded to North-Carolina, which he now scarcely considered in any other light than as the road to Virginia. A junction with the royal forces in that state, was expected at so early a day as to give time for prosecuting further operations against Maryland and Pennsylvania. The expectation of some went so far as to count upon a junction with the royal army in New-York, and the subjugation of every state south of the Hudson, before the close of the campaign.* Elated with such delusive prospects of conquest and renown, from achievements so magnificent and romantic, Lord Cornwallis, until provisions for his army arrived, resumed at Camden the consideration of civil affairs, hoping to give quiet and stability to the province he had subdued. Finding that many Americans, after swearing allegiance to the British government, had, on the approach of Gates, revolted, he thought it necessary to prevent further defection by severity towards the most active and forward in violation of their oaths. The estates of such were sequestered. Instant death was denounced against those, who after taking protection, should be found in arms against the king. Other measures were at the same time adopted, to secure the submission of the whigs. Some of the most influential of these, in defiance of the terms of surrender and the faith of treaty, were torn from their families, hurried into transports and conveyed to the fortress of St. Augustine. Among these was General Rutherford, whose offence was that while a prisoner at Camden, he manifested no signs of penitence for his rebellion, nor of submission to his captors. The lives and property of the whigs were subjected to a military despotism.

Having completed these arrangements in South-Carolina, his lordship, on the eighth of September, marched towards North-Carolina; and as he passed through the most hostile and populous districts, he sent Col. Tarleton and Major Fer-

* Ramsay.

guson to scour the country to his right and left. Arrived at Charlotte, and conceiving it to be a favourable situation for further advances, he made preparations for establishing a post at that place. While he was thus engaged, the commanders of his detachments were proceeding in their respective expeditions. The detachment under Ferguson, as has been already seen, had been for several weeks on the left of the main army, watching the movements of McDowell, Sevier, Shelby, Sumpter and Williams, and Clarke and Twiggs. His second in command, Dupoister, had followed in close pursuit the mountain men as they retired, after their victory at Enoree, to their mountain fastnesses. Ferguson himself, with the main body of his army, followed close upon the heels of Dupoister, determined to retake the prisoners or support his second in command, if he should overtake and engage the escaping enemy. Finding that his efforts were fruitless, Ferguson took post at a place then called Gilbert Town, near the present Rutherfordton, in North-Carolina. From this place he sent a most threatening message by Samuel Philips, a paroled prisoner, that if the officers west of the mountains did not lay down their opposition to the British arms, he would march his army over, burn and lay waste their country and hang their leaders.

Patrick Ferguson, who had sent this insolent message, was at the head of a large army. Of the loyalists composing a part of his command, some had previously been across the mountain, and were familiar with the passes by which these heights were penetrated. One of them had been subjected to the indignity of a coat of tar and feathers, inflicted during the past summer, by the light horsemen of Captain Robert Sevier, on Nollichucky. He proposed to act as pilot to the command, which now stood at the foot of the Blue Ridge, ready to carry into execution the threat made by Ferguson. This gentleman had already displayed that combination of intrepid heroism, inventive genius and sound judgment, which constitute the valiant soldier and the able commander. In early youth he entered the British army, and in the German war was distinguished by a courage as cool as it was determined. The boasted skill of the Ameri-

cans in the use of the rifle was an object of terror to the British troops, and the rumors of their fatal aim operated upon and stimulated the genius of Ferguson. His invention produced a new species of that instrument of warfare, which he could load at the breech, without using the rammer or turning the muzzle away from the enemy, and with such quickness of repetition as to fire seven times in a minute.*

After the reduction Charleston, Lord Cornwallis called for the assistance of Ferguson in procuring the submission of South-Carolina. Among the propositions of that commander to secure this object, one scheme was to arm those of the inhabitants who were well-affected to the British cause and embody them for their own defence. Ferguson, now a lieutenant-colonel, was entrusted with the charge of marshalling the militia throughout the upper districts. Under his direction and conduct, a military force, at once numerous and select, was enrolled and disciplined. These he divided into two classes; one, of the young men, who should be ready to join the king's troops to repel any enemy that infested the country; another, of the aged and heads of families, who should unite in the defence of their houses, farms and neighbourhoods.†

"In completing this organization, Ferguson had advanced to Ninety-Six, and, with a large body of troops, was, with his usual vigour and success, acting against small detachments of Americans, who, under all the discouragements that surrounded them, still remained true to the cause of independence, and determined to maintain possession of the country against the overwhelming force of the British and the royal militia. At Ninety-Six Ferguson received intelligence that a corps of Americans, under Col. Clarke, had made an attempt upon the British post at Augusta, and, being repulsed, was retreating by the back settlements to North-Carolina. To this information, the messenger further added that the commandant at Augusta, Col. Brown, intended to hang upon the rear of Clarke, and urged Ferguson to cut across his route and co-operate in intercepting and dispersing his party. This service seemed to be perfectly consistent with the purposes of Ferguson's expedition, as it would give employment to his loyalists, prevent the concentration of whig forces, and prevent their junction with Gen. Gates. Clarke was able, however, to elude his vigilance, and was present, as has been seen, at the battle of Enoree, and assisted in that masterly engagement, and the remarkable retreat by which he and his comrades

* Bissett. † Idem.

escaped from Ferguson. The pursuit of the retiring Americans brought Ferguson so far to the left as to seem to threaten the habitations of the hardy race that occupied and lived beyond the mountains. He was approaching the lair of the lion, for many of the families of the persecuted whigs had been deposited in this asylum."*

The refugee whigs received a hearty welcome from their hospitable but plain countrymen on Watauga and Nollichucky. The door of every cabin was thrown open, and the strangers felt at once assured of kindness, of sympathy and assistance. Among the neighbours of Sevier and Shelby the exiles from the Carolinas and Georgia were at home.

Among the refugees, soon after, came Samuel Philips, the paroled prisoner, by whom Ferguson sent his threatening message as already mentioned. It reached Shelby about the last of August. He immediately rode fifty or sixty miles to see Sevier, for the purpose of concerting with him measures suited to the approaching crisis. He remained with him two days. They came to the determination to raise all the riflemen they could, march hastily through the mountains and endeavour to surprise Ferguson in his camp. They hoped to be able, at least, to cripple him so as to prevent his crossing the mountain in the execution of his threat. The day and the place were appointed for the rendezvous of the men. The time was the twenty-fifth day of September, and the Sycamore Shoals, on Watauga, selected as being the most central point and abounding most in the necessary supplies.

Col. Sevier, with that intense earnestness and persuasive address for which he was so remarkable, began at once to arouse the border-men for the projected enterprise. In this he encountered no difficulty. A spirit of congenial heroism brought to his standard, in a few days, more men than it was thought either prudent or safe to withdraw from the settlements: the whole military force of which was estimated at considerably less than a thousand men. Fully one half of that number was necessary to man the forts and stations, and keep up scouting parties on the extreme frontier. The remainder were immediately enrolled for the distant service. A difficulty arose from another source. Many of the volunteers

* Johnson.

were unable to furnish suitable horses and equipments. The iron hand of poverty checked the rising ambition of many a valorous youth, who

> ——————"had heard of battle,
> And who longed to follow to the field some warlike chief."

"Here," said Mrs. S., pointing to her son, not yet sixteen years old; "Here, Mr. Sevier, is another of our boys that wants to go with his father and brother to the war—but we have no horse for him, and, poor fellow, it is a great distance to walk." Colonel Sevier tried to borrow money on his own responsibility, to fit out and furnish the expedition. But every inhabitant had expended the last dollar in taking up his land, and all the money of the country was thus in the hands of the Entry-taker. Sevier waited upon that officer and represented to him that the want of means was likely to retard, and in some measure to frustrate, his exertions, to carry out the expedition, and suggested to him the use of the public money in his hands. John Adair, Esq., late of Knox county, was the Entry-taker, and his reply was worthy of the times and worthy of the man. "Col. Sevier, I have no authority by law to make that disposition of this money. It belongs to the impoverished treasury of North-Carolina, and I dare not appropriate a cent of it to any purpose. But, if the country is overrun by the British, liberty is gone. Let the money go too. Take it. If the enemy, by its use, is driven from the country, I can trust that country to justify and vindicate my conduct. Take it."

The money was taken and expended in the purchase of ammunition and the necessary equipments. Shelby and Sevier pledged themselves to see it refunded, or the act of the Entry-taker legalized by the North-Carolina legislature. That was scrupulously attended to at the earliest practicable moment. The evidence of it is before this writer, in the original receipt now in his possession:

"Rec'd., Jan'y. 31st, 1782, of Mr. John Adair, Entry-taker in the county of Sullivan, twelve thousand seven hundred and thirty-five dollars, which is placed to his credit on the Treasury Books.

12,735 Dollars. } Per ROBERT LANIER, Treas'r.
Salisbury Dist."

Sevier also undertook to bring Col. McDowell and other field officers who with their followers were then in a state of expatriation amongst the western settlers, into the measure. In this he succeeded at once. All of them had been driven from their homes, which were now deserted and exposed to the depredations of the disorderly and licentious loyalists who had joined the foreign enemy. Most of them had friends and kindred, on whom Ferguson and his tories were even then wreaking their vengeance. These homes and these friends, they longed to rescue and protect from further violence and desecration.

To Shelby was assigned the duty of securing the co-operation of the riflemen of Western Virginia. These had, in many a past campaign, with the pioneers of Tennessee, bivouaced and fought and triumphed together over a savage foe, and it was now deemed essential to the preservation of liberty and independence to obtain the aid of these gallant men in resisting the invasion of the common country. Shelby accordingly hastened home, wrote a letter to William Campbell, colonel commandant of Washington county, Virginia, and sent it by his brother, Moses Shelby, to the house of Campbell, a distance of forty miles. In this letter Col. Shelby stated what had been determined on by Sevier and himself, and urged Campbell to join them with his regiment. That gallant officer, true to the general cause, but most loyal to Virginia, replied, by the same messenger, that he did not approve of the measures that had been adopted, and that he should pursue his original intention and march his men down by way of the Flower Gap, and get on the southern borders of Virginia, ready to meet and oppose Lord Cornwallis when he approached that state. With this answer Shelby was much disappointed. He was unwilling that the whole military force of Sullivan and Washington counties should be taken upon the contemplated expedition, and thus leave the frontier exposed to attacks from the Cherokees, from whom they were threatened with, and had good reason to expect, an immediate invasion. He, therefore, wrote a second letter and sent it by the same messenger, immediately back to Col. Campbell, giving additional reasons in favour of the projected

campaign. To this letter Campbell replied that he would co-operate with his whole force.

Col. Campbell commanded four hundred men from Virginia, Col. Sevier two hundred and forty from Washington, and Col. Shelby two hundred and forty from Sullivan county, in North-Carolina. The refugee whigs mustered under Col. McDowell. All were well mounted, and nearly all armed with a Deckhard * rifle.

The camp on Watauga, on the twenty-fifth of September, presented an animated spectacle. With the exception of the few colonists on the distant Cumberland, the entire military force of what is now Tennessee was assembled at the Sycamore Shoals. Scarce a single gunman remained, that day, at his own house. The young, ardent and energetic had generally enrolled themselves for the campaign against Ferguson. The less vigorous and more aged, were left, with the inferior guns, in the settlements for their protection against the Indians; but all had attended the rendezvous. The old men were there to counsel, encourage and stimulate the youthful soldier, and to receive, from the colonels, instructions for the defence of the stations during their absence. Others were there to bring, in rich profusion, the products of their farms, which were cheerfully furnished gratuitously and without stint, to complete the outfit of the expedition. Gold and silver they had not, but subsistence and clothing, and equipment and the fiery charger—anything the frontierman owned, in the cabin, the field or the range, was offered, unostentatiously, upon the altar of his country. The wife and the sister were there, and, with a suppressed sigh, witnessed the departure of the husband and the brother. And there, too, were the heroic mothers, with a mournful but noble pride, to take a fond farewell of their gallant sons.

The sparse settlements of this frontier had never before seen assembled together a concourse of people so immense and so evidently agitated by great excitement. The large

* This rifle was remarkable for the precision and distance of its shot. It was generally three feet six inches long, weighed about seven pounds, and ran about seventy bullets to the pound of lead. It was so called from Deckhard, the maker, in Lancaster, Pa. One of them is now in the possession of the writer.

mass of the assembly were volunteer riflemen, clad in the home-spun of their wives and sisters, and wearing the hunting shirt so characteristic of the back-woods soldiery, and not a few of them the moccasins of their own manufacture. A few of the officers were better dressed, but all in citizens' clothing. The mien of Campbell was stern, authoritative and dignified. Shelby was grave, taciturn and determined. Sevier, vivacious, ardent, impulsive and energetic. McDowell, moving about with the ease and dignity of a colonial magistrate, inspiring veneration for his virtues and an indignant sympathy for the wrongs of himself and his co-exiles. All were completely wrapt in the absorbing subject of the revolutionary struggle, then approaching its acme, and threatening the homes and families of the mountaineers themselves. Never did mountain recess contain within it, a loftier or a more enlarged patriotism—never a cooler or more determined courage.

In the seclusion of their homes in the West, many of the volunteers had only heard of war at a distance, and had been in undisputed possession of that independence for which their Atlantic countrymen were now struggling. The near approach of Ferguson had awakened them from their security, and indignant at the violence and depredations of his followers, they were now embodied to chastise and avenge them. This they had done at the suggestion and upon the motion of their own leaders, without any requisition from the governments of America or the officers of the continental army. Indeed, at this moment, the American army in the South was almost annihilated, and the friends of the American cause were discouraged and despondent. The British were everywhere triumphant, and the loyalists, under the pretence of promoting the service of his Britannic Majesty, were in many sections perpetrating the greatest outrage and cruelty upon the whigs. The attitude of these volunteer detachments was as forlorn as it was gallant. At the time of their embodiment, and for several days after they had marched against the enemy, flushed with recent victories and confident of further conquest, it was not known to them that a single armed corps of Americans was marshalled for

their assistance or relief. The crisis was, indeed, dark and gloomy. But indomitable patriots were present, prepared and willing to meet it. The *personnel* of no army could have been better. There was strength, enterprise, courage and enthusiasm. The ardour and impetuosity and rashness of youth were there, to project and execute, with the wisdom of mature age, to temper and direct them; the caution of the father and the irrepressible daring of the son.

Without delay, early on the morning of the next day after its rendezvous at Watauga, the little army was on the march. Before the troops left the camp, the officers requested that they should assemble for the purpose of commending the army to Divine protection and guidance. They promptly complied with the request. Prayer, solemn and appropriate, was offered by a clergyman present, and the riflemen mounted their horses and started on the distant campaign.

After leaving the rendezvous at the Sycamore Shoals, the troops took up the line of march; passing along the valley
1780 { of Gap Creek, they encamped the first night at the mill of Mr. Matthew Tolbot. They pursued Bright's trace across the Yellow Mountain. The staff was incomplete; rather, there was no staff; no quarter-master, no commissary, no surgeon, no chaplain. As in all their Indian campaigns, being mounted and unencumbered with baggage, their motions were rapid. Each man, each officer, set out with his trusty Deckhard on his shoulder. "A shot pouch, a tomahawk, a knife, a knapsack and a blanket, completed the outfit. At night, the earth afforded him a bed and the heavens a covering; the mountain stream quenched his thirst; while his provision was procured from supplies acquired on the march by his gun." Some beeves were driven in the rear, to furnish subsistence while in the settlements, but they impeded the rapidity of the march, and, after the first day, were abandoned. After passing the mountain, the troops, sparing the property of the whigs, quartered and subsisted upon the tories.

On the second day, two of the men were missed. They had deserted, and would doubtless escape to the enemy, and apprise them of the approach of the mountain men, and the

route by which the march would be conducted. Owing to this apprehension, which was subsequently ascertained to be well founded, the troops, after passing the top of the Alleghany, left the frequented trace, and turned to the left, descending by a worse path than was ever before travelled by an army of horsemen. Reaching the foot of the mountain, they fell in with Colonel Cleveland, of Wilkes county, and Colonel Winston, of Surry county, North-Carolina, with three or four hundred men, who were creeping along through the woods, desiring to fall in with and join any party that might be going to oppose the enemy.

After reaching the settled country east of the mountain, additions were constantly made to their numbers—of officers with men, and of officers without men, and of men without officers; some few on horses—most of them on foot—but all eager to find and fight the enemy.

The junction of the party from Wilkes and Surry took place about the first of October. The second day following was so wet that the army could not move. The delay was improved by the commanding officers, meeting, as if by instinct, in the evening and holding a council. At this meeting it was determined to send to head-quarters, wherever it might be, for a general officer to take the command of the several corps; and that in the meantime they would meet in council every day to determine on the measures to be pursued. Col. Shelby was not well satisfied with these regulations; and in support of his objections, observed to the council that they were then in striking distance of the enemy, who lay at that time at Gilbert Town, sixteen or eighteen miles distant—that Ferguson would either attack or avoid them until he gathered together such a force that they dared not approach. He therefore advised that they should act with promptness and decision, and proposed that they would appoint one of their own number to command and march the next day and attack the enemy at Gilbert Town. He further proposed that Colonel Campbell was known to him as a gentleman of good sense and warmly attached to the cause of the country—was the only officer from Virginia and commanded the largest regiment in the army,—and that he would accordingly nomi-

nate him as their chief. Shelby made this proposition for the purpose of quieting the expectations of some that Colonel McDowell should assume the command. He was the senior officer present, the army was then in his military district, and he had commanded during the past summer against the same enemy—was, moreover, a brave man and a decided friend to the American cause. But he was considered too far advanced in life and too inactive a man to take charge of such an enterprise, against such an antagonist as was immediately before them. McDowell proposed that he would be the messenger to go for a general officer. He started immediately, and his brother, Joseph McDowell, took command of his men. On his way, about eight miles from camp, he fell in with Colonel James Williams, of South-Carolina, and a number of other field officers from that state, with near four hundred men. The intelligence of this opportune reinforcement McDowell communicated by express.

KING'S MOUNTAIN.

Gilbert Town is distinguished as the extreme point of British invasion in the direction of the home of the mountain men. To that place Ferguson, in the execution of his vain threat to invade and burn up their villages, had advanced and there erected his majesty's standard, with the double purpose of securing the co-operation of the loyalists and of preventing the rising and concentration of the whigs. At that place he received intelligence of the avalanche of indignant patriotism accumulating along the mountain, and ready to precipitate itself upon and overwhelm his army. From that place, enterprising as he was, he found it necessary to fall back and seek safety by a junction with the main army of Cornwallis, at Charlotte. Every movement of Ferguson, from the time he left his camp at Gilbert Town, indicated his apprehension of the impending danger. He commanded the loyalist militia, he importuned them, he held out the language of promise and of threatening, to stimulate their allegiance and their courage. He called in vain. A cloud was gathering upon the mountain, and his loyal militia knew that it portended a storm and a disastrous overthrow. Ferguson changed his

language and appealed to them in the words of bitter reproach and contemptuous ridicule. On his retreat he issued a circular letter to the tory leaders, informing them of an "inundation of barbarians"—calls the patriotic riflemen "the dregs of mankind," and importunes his loyalists thus: "If you wish to live and bear the name of men, grasp your arms in a moment and run into camp. The backwater men have crossed the mountain, McDowell, Hampton, Shelby and Cleveland are at their head—so that you know what you will have to depend upon. If you choose to be degraded for ever and ever by a set of mongrels, say so at once, and let your women turn their backs upon you and look out for real men to protect them."

Ferguson, after breaking up his camp at Gilbert Town, had despatched Abram Collins and ——— Quinn, to Lord Cornwallis, informing him of his critical situation and begging a reinforcement. After despatching his letter, Ferguson marched, on the fourth, over Main Broad River to the Cow Pens. On the fifth he continued his march to Tate's, since Dear's Ferry, where he again crossed and encamped about a mile above. On the sixth, he marched about fourteen miles and formed his camp on an eminence, where he waited for the expected reinforcements, of loyalists in the neighbourhood, and of regulars from the royal army. The loyalty of the former quailed at the approach of the riflemen, and in this hour of need their assistance was withheld; they remained out of Ferguson's camp.

On Wednesday, the fourth of October, the riflemen advanced to Gilbert Town. But Ferguson had decamped, having permitted many of the loyalists to visit their families, under engagement to join him on the shortest notice. In the meantime, he took a circuitous march through the neighbourhoods, in which the tories principally resided, to gain time and avoid the riflemen until his forces could be collected and had joined him. This retrograde movement betrayed his apprehensions, and pointed out the necessity of a vigorous effort to overtake him. Having gained a knowledge of his designs, the principal officers determined, in council, to pursue him with all possible despatch. Accord-

ingly, two nights before the action, the officers were engaged all night in selecting the best men, the best horses and the best rifles, and at the dawn of day took Ferguson's trail, and pursued him with nine hundred and ten* expert marksmen, while those on foot and with weak horses were ordered to follow on more leisurely.

On the pursuit, the Americans passed near where several large parties of tories were collecting. At the Cow Pens sixty men under Col. Hambright and Major Chronicle, of Tryon county, and Col. Williams, with the South-Carolina troops, joined them. Here they were informed that a body of six hundred tories were assembled at Major Gibbs's, four miles to their right, and would join Ferguson the next day. These they did not take time to molest. The riflemen from the mountains had turned out to catch Ferguson. He was their object; and for the last thirty-six hours of the pursuit, they never alighted from their horses but once to refresh for an hour at the Cow Pens, although, the day of the battle was so extremely wet that the men could only keep their guns dry, by wrapping their sacks, blankets and hunting shirts around the locks, thus exposing their bodies to a heavy and incessant rain. The trail every hour became more fresh, and the Americans hurried with eagerness after the prey, which they determined should not escape their grasp. The advance met some unarmed men, who were fresh from Ferguson's camp, a short halt was made, and these men were closely examined. From them it was ascertained that the enemy was encamped three miles before them, and were to march next morning to Lord Cornwallis's head-quarters; his position was accurately described, and the route to the camp minutely given. Col. Williams and some of his men were well acquainted with the shape of the ground and the approaches to it.

It was now after twelve o'clock; the rain had ceased, the clouds were passing off, the sun shone brightly, and nature seemed to smile upon the enterprise at hand. It was deter-

* I quote from the Shelby papers in my possession, and from which many of the details of this expedition have been derived. Haywood has extracted from them also.

mined to march at once upon the camp, and decide the conflict without further rest or refreshment. Each man was ordered to "tie up his over-coat and blanket, throw the priming out of his pan, pick his touch-hole, prime anew, examine his bullets, and see that every thing was in readiness for battle." While this was being done the officers agreed upon the general plan of attack, which was to surround the eminence and make a simultaneous assault upon every part of the camp. The men were soon in their saddles and upon their march. When within a mile of the battle ground an express from Ferguson was arrested, on whom was found a despatch to Lord Cornwallis, urging him to send immediate reinforcements and stating the number under his command; and that he was securely encamped upon a hill, which, in in honour of his majesty, he had named King's Mountain, and that if all the rebels out of h—ll should attack him, they would not drive him from it. The contents of the despatch were, with the exception of the number of the enemy, communicated to the riflemen, the march was resumed, their pace quickened and they rode in a gallop within view of the camp of Ferguson.

A closer examination of the ground and the position of the enemy, demonstrated the feasibility of the plan of attack already concerted by the officers. More minute arrangements were immediately made and carried into execution. It was decided that the troops commanded by Winston, McDowell, Sevier, Shelby and Campbell, being something more than half of the whole number of the assailants, after tying their horses should file to the right, and pass the mountain nearly out of reach of the enemy's guns, and continue around it till they should meet the rest of the troops encircling the mountain on its other side, and led by Hambright and Chronicle, and followed by Cleveland and Williams; after which each command was to face to the front, raise the Indian war whoop, and advance upon the enemy. Accordingly the troops moved forward, and passing up a ravine between two rocky knolls, came in full view of the enemy's camp above them, and about one hundred poles in front. Here they dismounted, and having tied their horses, left a

small guard with them. The right wing or column was led by Winston and Sevier, the left by Cleveland and Williams; the centre was composed of Campbell's men on the right, and Shelby's on the left. In this order each officer having formed his ranks, led off at the same time to the position assigned him, under pilots selected from Col. Williams's men, who were familiar with the ground. On its march around the mountain, the right column discovered that there were two gaps in the ridge at the enemy's left flank—one about twenty poles from it, the other fifty. It was decided to pass through the latter. About the time they entered it, the enemy began to fire upon them. The fire at first did not attract attention, until some of Shelby's men being wounded, that officer and McDowell determined to return the fire, and before they had crossed the ridge, broke off towards the enemy, through the gap nearest to his camp, and discharged their rifles with great effect. The rest of the column under Campbell ascended the mountain, and poured in a deadly fire upon the enemy posted upon its summit. The firing became so heavy as to attract the attention of Ferguson, who immediately brought up a part of his regulars from the other end of his line, and a brisk charge was made upon the American right by the British regulars and some of the tories. This charge pushed McDowell, Shelby and Campbell, down the mountain. At this moment, the left column under Hambright, Chronicle, Cleveland and Williams, had driven in the enemy's picquets at the other extremity of the encampment, and advancing up the mountain, poured in a well directed fire on the enemy protected here by their wagons and some slight defences, and commanded by Ferguson himself. Dupoister, his second in command, was immediately recalled, ordered into line on the top of the ridge, and directed to make a charge with all the regulars upon the Americans at that end of the encampment. On his passage to the relief of Ferguson, Dupoister received a galling fire from the South-Carolinians under Williams. The regulars were soon rallied, made a desperate charge, and drove the riflemen to the foot of the hill. Here Major Chronicle fell.

In the meantime, the recall of Dupoister from the charge

at the other extremity of the mountain, gave the appearance there of a retreat on the part of the enemy, and the men under Shelby, McDowell and Campbell, having recovered from the slight disorganization produced by the first charge, rallied to the pursuit. The cry was raised—"huzza, boys, they are retreating; come on!" They advanced with great firmness up the hill, almost to the lines of the encampment, and for some time maintained a deadly conflict with the tory riflemen. Ferguson, as before, decided to resort again to the bayonet. But the marksmen had so thinned the ranks of the regulars, that the expedient was adopted of trimming the handles of the butcher knives, and adapting them to the muzzles of the tory rifles, and of thus using them in the charge. With the number of his bayonets thus enlarged, Dupoister returned to his first position, and made another charge. It was short and feebly executed, and the regulars returned within their lines.

About this time the front of the two American columns had met, and the army of Ferguson was surrounded by the riflemen. Their firing became incessant and general in all quarters, but especially at the two ends of the enemy's line. Sevier pressed against its centre, and was charged upon by the regulars. The conflict here became stubborn, and drew to it much of the enemy's force. This enabled Shelby and Campbell to reach and hold the crest of the mountain.

On all sides, now, the fire was brisk and deadly, and the charges with the bayonet, though less vigorous, were frequent. In all cases where the enemy charged the Americans on one side of the hill, those on the other thought he was retreating, and advanced near to the summit. But in all these movements, the left of Ferguson's line was gradually receding, and the Americans were plying their rifles with terrible effect. Ferguson was still in the heat of battle; with characteristic coolness and daring, he ordered Captain Dupoister to reinforce a position about one hundred yards distant, with his regulars; but before they reached it, they were thinned too much by the American rifles, to render any effectual support. He then ordered his cavalry to mount, with a view of making a desperate onset at their

head. But these only presented a better mark for the rifle, and fell as fast as they could mount their horses. He rode from one end of his line to the other, encouraging his men to prolong the conflict. With desperate courage, he passed from one exposed point to another of equal danger. He carried in his wounded hand, a shrill sounding silver whistle, whose signal was universally known through the ranks, was of immense service throughout the battle, and gave a kind of ubiquity to his movements.*

But the Americans having reached the top of the mountain, were gradually compressing the enemy, and the line of Ferguson's encampment was sensibly contracted. A flag was raised by the tories in token of surrender. Ferguson rode up to it, and pulled it down. A second flag was raised at the other end of the line. He rode there too, and cut it down with his sword. He was frequently admonished by Dupoister to surrender; but his proud spirit could not deign to give up to raw and undisciplined militia. When the second flag was cut down, Dupoister renewed his admonition. To this he replied by declaring, he would never surrender to such a damned set of banditti as the mountain men. These men, while they admired the unyielding spirit of Ferguson, had noticed, that whenever his voice or whistle was heard, the enemy were inspirited to another rally. They believed that while he survived, his desperate courage would not permit a surrender. He fell soon after, and immediately expired.

The forward movement of all the American columns brought them to a level with the enemy's guns, which heretofore, in most instances, had overshot their heads. The horizontal fire of the regulars was now considerably fatal; but the rapid advance of the riflemen soon surrounded both them and the tories, who being crowded close together, and cooped up into a narrow space by the surrounding pressure of the American troops, and fatally galled by their incessant fire, lost all hope from further resistance. Dupoister, who succeeded Ferguson in command, perceiving that farther struggle was in vain, raised the white flag, and exclaimed for quarters. A general cessation of the American fire followed; but this cessation was not complete. Some of the

*Foster.

young men did not understand the meaning of a white flag; others who did, knew that other flags had been raised before, and were quickly taken down. Shelby halloed out to them to throw down their guns, as all would understand that as a surrender. This was immediately done. The arms were now lying in front of the prisoners, without any orders how to dispose of them. Col. Shelby, seeing the facility with which the enemy could resume their guns, exclaimed: "Good God! what can we do in this confusion?" "We can order the prisoners from their arms," said Sawyers. "Yes," said Shelby, "that can be done." The prisoners were accordly marched to another place, and there surrounded by a double guard.

The battle of King's Mountain lasted about an hour. The loss of the enemy was two hundred and twenty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, seven hundred prisoners, fifteen hundred stand of arms, and a great many horses and wagons loaded with supplies, and booty of every kind, taken by the plundering tories from the wealthy whigs.

General Bernard, an officer under Napoleon, and afterwards in the United States Engineer Service, on examining the battle ground of King's Mountain, said: "The Americans, by their victory in that engagement, erected a monument to perpetuate the memory of the brave men who had fallen there; and the shape of the hill itself, would be an eternal monument of the military genius and skill of Col. Ferguson, in selecting a position so well adapted for defence; and that no other plan of assault but that pursued by the mountain men, could have succeeded against him."*

The loss of the Americans was thirty killed, and about twice that number wounded. Of the former, was Col. Williams of South-Carolina. He fell a victim to the true Palmetto spirit, and intemperate eagerness for battle. Towards the close of the engagement, he espied Ferguson riding

*The account of the battle at King's Mountain, as given, has been taken from the Shelby papers, the written statements of Generals Graham and Lenoir, Mr. Foster's Essay, and manuscript narratives of several of the riflemen, who participated in it. The official report has been seen for the first time, by this writer, in "Wheeler's North-Carolina," just out of press. It is given at page 243.

near the line, and dashed towards him with the gallant determination of a personal encounter. "I will kill Ferguson, or die in the attempt!" exclaimed Williams, and spurring his horse in the direction of the enemy, received a bullet as he crossed their line. He survived till he heard that his antagonist was killed, and his camp surrendered; and amidst the shouts of victory by his triumphant countrymen, said: "I die contented," and with a smile upon his countenance, expired.

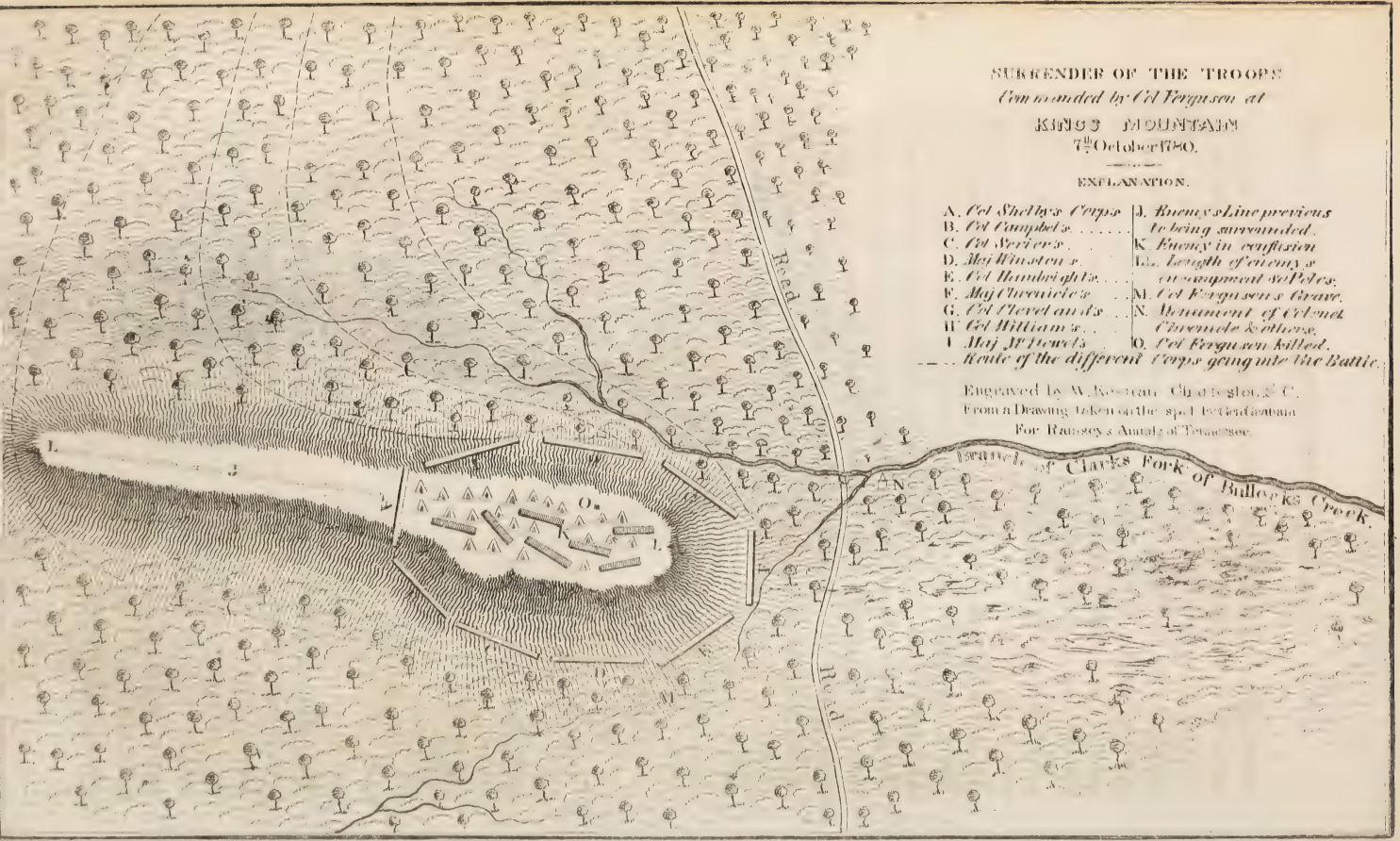
Major Chronicle, who, with Col. Hambright, led the left wing, was, in passing round the end of the mountain, much exposed to the fire of the enemy above them, and little more than one hundred yards distant. He fell early in the engagement, at the foot of the hill, near the junction of the two streams, while gallantly repulsing the British charge. A plain monument attests the grateful remembrance of his countrymen It bears this inscription:

SACRED
To the memory of
MAJOR WILLIAM CHRONICLE,
CAPT JOHN MATTOCKS,
WILLIAM ROBB,
AND
JOHN BOYD,
Who were killed at this place, on the seventh day of October, 1780, fighting in defence of America.

On the other side of the monument, facing the battle ground, is inscribed:

COL. FERGUSON,
An officer of his Britannic Majesty,
Was defeated and killed
At this place,
On the 7th day of
October, 1780.

Of Col. Campbell's regiment, Lieutenant Edmondson, two others of the same name and family, and ten of their associates in arms, were killed. The names of the Virginia officers are Captains Dysart, Colville, Edmonston, Beattie and Craig; Lieutenants Edmonston, Bowen; Ensign Robert Campbell, who killed the British Adjutant McGinnis at the head of a charging party. Captain Robert Edmonston said to one of his men, John McCrosky, that he did not like his


SURRENDER OF THE TROOPS
Commanded by Col Ferguson at
KINGS MOUNTAIN
7th October 1780.
EXPLANATION.
A. Col Shelby's Corps
B. Col Campbel's
C. Col Sevier's
D. Maj Winston's
E. Col Hambright's
F. Maj Chronicle's
G. Col Cleveland's
H. Col William's
I. Maj McDowel's
J. Enemy's Line previous to being surrounded.
K. Enemy in confusion
L. Length of enemy's encampment 80 Poles.
M. Col Ferguson's Grave.
N. Monument of Colonel Chronicle & others.
O. Col Ferguson killed.
Route of the different Corps going into the Battle.
Engraved by W. Kennan Charleston S.C.
From a Drawing taken on the spot by Gen Graham
For Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee.
Branch of Clarks Fork of Bullocks Creek.
Road
Road

place, and broke forward to the hottest part of the battle, and there received the charge of Dupoister's regulars, discharged his rifle, clubbed his gun, knocked the musket out of the hands of one of the soldiers, and seizing him by the neck, made him his prisoner, and brought him to the foot of the hill. Returning again to the British line, he received a mortal wound in the breast. After the surrender, McCrosky went in search of his captain, and told him the battle was over, and the tories were defeated. Edmonston nodded satisfaction, and died.

Of the wounded in Col. Shelby's regiment, was his brother, Moses Shelby, who, in a bold attempt to storm the enemy's camp, leaped upon one of the wagons out of which the breast-work was formed, and was wounded. Fagan and some others, suffered in the same way. Col. Snodgrass, late of Sullivan county, belonged to Col. Shelby's regiment. His captains were Elliot, Maxwell and Webb; Lieutenant Sawy

Of the regiment from Washington county, and commanded by Col. Sevier, the captains were his two brothers, Valentine Sevier, Robert Sevier, Joel Callahan, George Doherty and George Russell; Lieutenant Isaac Lane. Capt. Robert Sevier was wounded in the abdomen, and died the second or third day after, and was buried at Bright's.

Among the privates, were four others of the Sevier family, viz: Abraham Sevier, Joseph Sevier, and two of Col. Sevier's sons, Joseph and James; the latter in his sixteenth year.

William Lenoir (since General Lenoir) was a captain under Winston. He was encouraging the men who had received Dupoister's second charge, to load well, and make a bold push against their assailants, when he received a slight wound in his left arm, and another in his side, while a bullet passed through his hair, just below the tie, without touching the skin.

In Ferguson's possession was found, after his defeat, the following letter to him from Lieut. Col. Cruger, commanding at Ninety-Six. The original is mutilated, and a few words or cyphers are illegible.

"96, Tuesday Morning, Oct. 3.

"Sir—The night before last I returned from the Ceded Lands, having done that business pretty effectually. Your several letters I am now in possession of. This instant I received what you wrote the 30th September. I shall repeat . . . . . for the militia to turn out their six months' men;—clear . . . . . that if you get as many as will defend the . . . . . from so considerable force as you understand is coming from the mountains, is as many, in my opinion, as in reason we have a right to expect, Qr. will join you. Our force of soldiers here does not exceed in number what in your last letter is mentioned . . . . . to march . . . I don't see how you can possibly . . . . . the country and its neighbourhood that you . . . now in. The game from the mountains is just what I expected. Am glad to find you so capitally supported by the friends to government in North-Carolina. I flattered myself they would have been equal to the mountain lads, and that no further call for the *defensive* would have been on this part of the Province. I begin to think our views for the present rather large. We have been led to this, probably, in expecting too much from the militia—as, for instance, you call for . . . . . regiments. They are but just ½ that number; . . . . . .

"Farewell——believe me, very sincerely and with much regard, ... Dr. Sir,

"Yr. Very humb'e Ser'vt.,
Cruger, Lieut. Col. Com'g. 96.

Addressed, "On his Majesty's Service,
Colonel Ferguson,
Commanding Detachment
Of his Majesty's Troop, &c."

The victory at King's Mountain was complete. Not one of the enemy escaped during the battle: from its commencement they were surrounded and could not escape. The army encamped upon the battle ground the night of the seventh. They had more prisoners than whigs with whom to guard them. They were in the neighbourhood of several parties of tories, and had reason to expect that Tarleton or some reinforcements from Lord Cornwallis, would attempt either to pursue or intercept them. The next day was the Sabbath. Its dawn was solemnized by the burial of the dead. This mournful duty performed, the enemy's wagons were drawn by the men across their camp fires, and after they were consumed the return march was commenced.

As there was no other method of transporting the arms that had been captured, the strong and healthy prisoners were required to carry them. The flints were taken from the locks,

and the most vigilant espionage kept over the prisoners by the troops, who marched the whole day at a present. No escape or rescue was attempted. At sundown they met the men they had left on foot on their hurried march to the battle. The march was continued pretty close to the mountain till the fourteenth, when a court-martial was held at Bickerstaff's Old Field, in Rutherford county, over some of the prisoners. A few for desertion, others for greater crimes and enormities, were convicted and sentenced to be hung. The number brought under the gallows was thirty. Nine of these only were executed. Among these were Col. Mills, a tory leader, and Captain Grimes, a refugee tory from Watauga. The rest were respited.

Apprehending pursuit by Lord Cornwallis, whose head-quarters were close at hand across the Catawba, in Mecklenburg county, and determined to escape with the eight hundred prisoners and fifteen hundred stand of arms taken at King's Mountain, the colonels led off their victorious troops, with their valuable spoils, to some place of safety in the direction of Virginia. Sevier and his comrades from the West recrossed the mountain, and remained in arms upon their own frontier. Campbell, Shelby and Cleveland, continued the march, with the prisoners, in search of some position of greater security. Passing through Hillsboro', where General Gates then had his head-quarters, these officers made out to that unfortunate commander—

"A STATEMENT of the proceedings of the Western Army, from the 25th of September, 1780, to the reduction of Major Ferguson, and the army under his command.

"On receiving intelligence that Major Ferguson had advanced as high up as Gilbert Town, in Rutherford county, and threatened to cross the mountains to the Western waters, Col. William Campbell, with four hundred men from Washington county, of Virginia; Col. Isaac Shelby, with two hundred and forty men from Sullivan county, North-Carolina, and Lieutenant-Col. John Sevier, with two hundred and forty men from Washington county, North-Carolina, assembled at Watauga on the 25th of September, where they were joined by Col. Charles McDowell, with one hundred and sixty men from the counties of Burke and Rutherford, who had fled before the enemy to the Western waters.

"We began our march on the 26th, and on the 30th, we were joined by Col. Cleveland, on the Catawba River, with three hundred and fifty men from the counties of Wilkes and Surry. No one officer having

properly a right to the command-in-chief, on the 1st of October we despatched an express to Major General Gates, informing him of our situation, and requested him to send a general officer to take command of the whole. In the meantime Col. Campbell was chosen to act as commandant till such general officer should arrive.

"We reached the Cow Pens, on the Broad River, in South-Carolina, where we were joined by Col. James Williams, on the evening of the 6th October, who informed us that the enemy lay encamped somewhere near the Cherokee Ford of Broad River, about thirty miles distant from us. By a council of the principal officers, it was then thought advisable to pursue the enemy that night with nine hundred of the best horsemen, and leave the weak horses and footmen to follow as fast as possible. We began our march with nine hundred of the best men about eight o'clock the same evening, marched all night, and came up with the enemy about three o'clock, P. M. of the 7th, who lay encamped on the top of King's Mountain, twelve miles north of the Cherokee Ford, in the confidence they could not be forced from so advantageous a post. Previous to the attack, in our march the following disposition was made :

"Col. Shelby's regiment formed a column in the centre on the left ; Col. Campbell's another on the right; part of Col. Cleveland's regiment, headed by Major Winston and Col. Sevier's, formed a large column on the right wing ; the other part of Col. Cleveland's regiment composed the left wing. In this order we advanced, and got within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before we were discovered. Col. Shelby's and Col. Campbell's regiments began the attack, and kept up a fire on the enemy while the right and left wings were advancing forward to surround them. The engagement lasted an hour and five minutes, the greatest part of which time a heavy and incessant fire was kept up on both sides. Our men in some parts where the regulars fought, were obliged to give way a small distance two or three times, but rallied and returned with additional ardour to the attack. The troops upon the right having gained the summit of the eminence, obliged the enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge where Col. Cleveland commanded, and were there stopped by his brave men. A flag was immediately hoisted by Captain Dupoister, the commanding officer, (Major Ferguson having been killed a little before,) for a surrender. Our fire immediately ceased, and the enemy laid down their arms—the greater part of them loaded—and surrendered themselves to us prisoners at discretion. It appears from their own provision returns for that day, found in their camp, that their whole force consisted of eleven hundred and twenty-five men, out of which they sustained the following loss :—Of the regulars, one major, one captain, two lieutenants and fifteen privates killed, thirty-five privates wounded. Left on the ground, not able to march, two captains, four lieutenants, three ensigns, one surgeon, five sergeants ; three corporals, one drummer and fifty-nine privates taken prisoners.

"Loss of the tories, two colonels, three captains, and two hundred and one privates killed ; one major and one hundred and twenty-seven privates wounded and left on the ground not able to march ; one colonel, twelve captains, eleven lieutenants, two ensigns, one quarter-master, one adjutant, two commissaries, eighteen sergeants and six hundred pri-

vates taken prisoners. Total loss of the enemy, eleven hundred and five men at King's Mountain.

"Given under our hands at camp. WILLIAM CAMPBELL,
ISAAC SHELBY,
BENJAMIN CLEVELAND.

"The loss on our side—

Killed—		Wounded—	
	1 colonel,		1 major,
	1 major,		3 captains,
	1 captain,		3 lieutenants,
	2 lieutenants,		53 privates.
	4 ensigns,		—
	19 privates.		
	—		60 total wounded.
	28 total killed."		

On the 10th, Cornwallis ordered Tarleton to march with the light infantry, the British Legion and a three-pounder to assist Ferguson, no certain intelligence having arrived of his defeat. Tarleton's instructions directed him to reinforce Ferguson wherever he could find him, and to draw his corps to the Catawba, if after the junction advantage could not be obtained over the mountaineers; or upon the certainty of his defeat, at all events, to oppose the entrance of the victorious Americans into South-Carolina. Intelligence of Ferguson's defeat reached Cornwallis, and he formed a sudden determination to retreat from Charlotte. Tarleton was recalled, and North-Carolina was for the present evacuated.

The expedition against Ferguson was chivalric in the extreme. It was undertaken against a distinguished and skilful leader, at the head of a large force which could easily have been doubled. It was composed of raw and undisciplined troops, hastily drawn together, against fearful odds and under the most appalling discouragements.

The expedition was also eminently patriotic. When it was projected, disaster and defeat had shrouded the South with an impenetrable cloud of despondence and gloom. Ruined expectations and blasted hopes, hung like a pall over the paralyzed energies of the friends of America.

The expedition was, moreover, entirely successful. The first object of it, Ferguson, was killed and his whole army either captured or destroyed. This gave new spirit to the desponding Americans, and frustrated the well concerted

scheme of strengthening the British army by the tories in its neighbourhood.

The whole enterprise reflects the highest honour upon the patriotism that conceived and the courage that executed it. Nothing can surpass the skill and gallantry of the officers, nothing the valour of the men who achieved the victory. The whole history of the campaign demonstrates that the men who undertook it, were not actuated by any apprehension that Ferguson would attempt the execution of his idle threat against themselves. For, to these mountaineers, nothing than such a scheme would make prettier game for their rifles; nothing more desirable than to entice such an enemy from his pleasant roads, rich plantations, and gentle climate, with his ponderous baggage, valuable armory, and the booty and spoils of his loyalists, into the very centre of their own fastnesses, to hang upon his flank, to pick up his stragglers, to cut off his foragers, to make short and desperate sallies upon his camp, and finally, to make him a certain prey without a struggle and without a loss.

Nor was it the authority or influence of the state, that led to this hazardous service. Many of them knew not whether to any or to what state they belonged. Insulated by mountain barriers, and in consequent seclusion from their Eastern friends, they were living in the enjoyment of primitive independence, where British taxation and aggression had not reached. It was a gratuitous patriotism that incited the back-woodsmen. In those days, to know that American liberty was invaded, and that the only apparent alternative in the case was American independence or subjugation, was enough to nerve their hearts to the boldest pulsations of freedom, and ripen their purposes to the fullest determination of putting down the aggressor.*

From the colonels to the privates, all of the mountain men were attired in hunting shirts. Speaking of this costume, Mr. Custis says:

"The hunting shirt, the emblem of the Revolution, is now banished from the national military, but still lingers among the hunters and pioneers of the Far West. This national costume was adopted in the out-

* Foster's Essay.

set of the Revolution, and was recommended, by Washington, to the army in the most eventful period of the war of Independence. It was a favourite garb with many of the officers of the line. The British beheld these sons of the mountain and the forest, thus attired, with wonder and admiration. Their hardy looks, their tall athletic forms, their marching in Indian file with the light and noiseless step peculiar to their pursuit of woodland game, but above all, to European eyes, their singular and picturesque costume, the hunting shirt, with its fringes, wampum belts, leggins and moccasins, the tomahawk and knife; these, with the well known death-dealing aim of these matchless marksmen, created, in the European military, a degree of awe and respect for the hunting shirt which lasted with the war of the Revolution. And should not Americans feel proud of the garb, and hail it as national, in which their fathers endured such toil and privation in the mighty struggle for independence—the march across the wilderness—the triumphs of Saratoga and King's Mountain? But a little while, and, of a truth, the hunting shirt, the venerable emblem of the Revolution, will have disappeared from among the Americans, and will be found only in museums, like ancient armour, exposed to the gaze of the curious."

In Tennessee, the hunting shirt is still worn by the volunteer, and occasionally forms *the costume* of the *elite* corps of a battalion or regiment. It once constituted, very commonly, a part of the citizen's dress. It is now seldom seen in private life, though admirably adapted to the comeliness, convenience and comfort of the farmer, hunter and pedestrian. In all the early campaigns in the West, and in the war of 1812, the soldiery uniformly wore it. Many of them did so in the war with Mexico, but the volunteer's hunting shirt is evidently going out of use.

Important results followed the defeat of Ferguson. Emissaries* had been despatched to the loyalists on Deep and Haw Rivers, in advance of Lord Cornwallis, with instructions to hold themselves in readiness to act in concert with the British army. His lordship had boasted that Georgia and South-Carolina were subdued, and that North-Carolina was but the stepping block to the conquest of Virginia. There was no army south of the Delaware to oppose him. In the realization of this boast, he had passed Charlotte and was advancing to Salisbury, where he had directed Ferguson to join him with the three or four thousand loyalists in his train. On his route, Cornwallis received the intelligence of

* Steadman.

the catastrophe at King's Mountain. Rumour had magnified the number of the riflemen, and converted their return with the prisoners, into a march upon himself with a force three thousand strong. Abandoning, for the present, his progress northward, he ordered an immediate retreat, marched all night in the utmost confusion, crossed the Catawba, and retrograded as far as Winnsboro', eighty or one hundred miles in his rear.* There, for the present, he confined his operations to the protection of the country between Camden and Ninety-Six, nor did he attempt to advance until reinforced by General Leslie, three months afterwards, with two thousand men from the Chesapeake. In the meantime, the whigs of North-Carolina, under General W. L. Davidson and Captain W. R. Davie, assembled in considerable force at New Providence and the Waxaw. General Smallwood, with Morgan's light corps, and the Maryland line, advanced to the same point. General Gates, with the shattered remains of his army collected at Hillsboro', also came up, and one thousand new levies from Virginia, under General Stephens, also came forward. Of these, early in December, General Greene assumed the command. The cloud that had, till the fall of Ferguson, hung over the whole South and enveloped the country in gloom, was dispelled, and from that moment the American cause began to wear a more promising aspect.

Referring to the signal victory obtained at King's Mountain, Mr. Jefferson says: "It was the joyful enunciation of that turn in the tide of success, that terminated the revolutionary war with the seal of our independence."

The General Assembly of North-Carolina, at its first session after the defeat of Ferguson, held at Halifax, January 18, 1781, passed a resolution that a sword and pistols should be presented to both Shelby and Sevier, as a testimony of the great services they had rendered to their country on the day of this memorable defeat The finely finished sword, thus presented by the State of North-Carolina to Colonel John Sevier, was inherited by his son, the late Colonel

* It was upon this retreat of the enemy that Andrew Jackson, then a boy of fifteen, received and resented so manfully, the insult of a British officer.

George Washington Sevier, of Davidson county, and by him given to the State of Tennessee. It is now in the office of Colonel Ramsey, Secretary of State. On one side of the handle is engraven—

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA
TO
COLONEL JOHN SEVIER.

And upon the other side—

KING'S MOUNTAIN,
7TH OCTOBER, 1780.

On the third of February, of the same year, Governor Nash signed a commission, appointing John Sevier colonel commandant of Washington county. Theretofore, he had acted as colonel at the spontaneous desire of the troops he commanded.

Though adopted in 1781, the resolve of North-Carolina was not carried into execution till 1813, when Governor Hawkins wrote to General Sevier, under date,

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, NORTH-CAROLINA,
Raleigh, 17th July, 1813.

Sir:—In compliance with a resolution of the General Assembly of this state, passed at their last session, I have the honour of tendering you the sword, which this letter accompanies, as a testimonial of the distinguished claim you have upon the gratitude of the state for your gallantry in achieving, with your brothers in arms, the glorious victory over the British forces, commanded by Colonel Ferguson, at the battle of King's Mountain, on the memorable 7th of October, 1780. This tribute of respect, though bestowed at a protracted period, will not be considered the less honourable on that account, when you are informed that it is in unison with a resolution of the General Assembly, passed in the year 1781, which, from some cause not well ascertained, it is to be regretted, was not complied with.

Permit me, sir, to make you an expression of the high gratification felt by me, at being the favoured instrument to present to you, in the name of the State of North-Carolina, this testimonial of gratitude, this meed of valour, and to remark, that contending as we are at the present time, with the same foe for our just rights, the pleasing hope may be entertained, that the valorous deeds of the heroes of our Revolution will animate the soldier of the existing war, and nerve his arm, in laudable emulation, to like achievements.

I beg you to accept an assurance of the just consideration and respect, with which I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

GENERAL JOHN SEVIER.

Gen. Sevier was at that time a member of Congress from the Knoxville district, and replied to Governor Hawkins from Washington, acknowledging the honour conferred on him and his brothers in arms, and specially the compliment to himself, implied by the presentation of the elegant sword that had been handed to him:

"With that memorable day," alluding to the 7th Oct., 1780, "began to shine and beam forth the glorious prospects of our American struggle. . . . . In those trying days I was governed by love and regard for my common country, and particularly for the state I then had the honour of serving, and in whose welfare and prosperity I shall never cease to feel an interest. I was then ready to hazard everything dear to man to secure our Independence. I am now as willing to risk all to retain it. . . . . It is to be lamented that the heroes and fathers of our Revolution have fallen into the arms of old age and death, and that so few of them remain to benefit the country by their advice or their services in the field. . . . Our countrymen must become acquainted with the arts of active warfare, and then I am proud in thinking they will become better soldiers than those of any other nation on the globe, and we will soon be able to meet the enemy at every point."

We shall not stop to dwell upon Morgan's spirited affair at the Cow Pens, nor Greene's masterly retreat through North-Carolina to Virginia, nor the marches and counter-marches of that prudent commander and his skilful antagonist, Cornwallis. It is sufficient for the purposes of these annals to say, that the authorities of North-Carolina had placed a suitable estimate upon the services of the Western riflemen, and now, when ther own state was overrun, called for their aid to rescue it from foreign invasion and domestic outrage. The Assembly, while in session at Halifax, turned their eyes to Shelby and Sevier, and rested their hopes upon them. On the 13th of February, it was

1781

"*Resolved*, That Colonel Isaac Shelby, of Sullivan county, and John Sevier, Esq., of Washington county, be informed by this resolve, which shall be communicated to them, that the General Assembly of this State are feelingly impressed with the very generous and patriotic services rendered by the inhabitants of the said counties, to which their influence has in a great degree contributed. And it is earnestly urged that they would press a continuance of the same active exertion; that the state of the country is such as to call forth its utmost powers immediately, in order to preserve its freedom and independence."

By the same resolutions, Sevier and Shelby were requested

to procure again the military co-operation of Cols. Campbell and Preston, and their gallant riflemen, from Virginia.

Governor Caswell, in communicating this resolution, took the opportunity of depicting to Shelby the melancholy circumstances in which North-Carolina was involved. The tories were in motion all over the state—their footsteps were marked with blood, and their path was indicated by devastation and outrage. The British army was advancing, under Cornwallis, through the most populous and fertile district of the state, and detachments from it, under different leaders, were committing ravages upon the lives and property of the inhabitants. Under this condition of things, the governor conjured Shelby to return to the relief of his distressed country. Gen. Greene also addressed to the Western leaders who had signalized their zeal at King's Mountain, the most earnest and flattering letters, reminding them of the glory already acquired and calling upon them to come forward once more to repulse the invaders.

Col. Sevier was at this time, with most of the militia of Watauga and Nollichucky, engaged in protecting their own frontier and chastising the Cherokees, as will be elsewhere narrated. Neither of the Western commanders could, therefore, go to the assistance of General Greene. A few of the pioneers of Tennessee, however, were under his command as volunteers at the hardly contested battle of the fifteenth of March, at Guilford Court House, and are said to have behaved well.

Could the safety of the frontier allowed the entire commands of Shelby and Sevier to have joined the army of Greene, the catastrophe that afterwards overtook Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, might have overwhelmed him at Guilford Court House; as it can scarcely be doubted that the battle of the fifteenth of March, with the joint assistance of the riflemen from Watauga and Nollichucky, would have resulted in the complete overthrow and capture of the British army. Their additional numbers would have made the affair hard by the field of Alamance—the first blood shed in defence of American rights—the last great scene in the drama of the Revolution; and North-Carolina, so early in her

declaration of independence, would have contained the field on which that great achievement was consummated.

After the battle at Guilford Court House, Lord Cornwallis, with his crippled army, retired to Wilmington, and after refreshing his troops there, marched by way of Halifax, into Virginia. His precipitate retreat from Deep River, to which place General Greene had followed and offered him battle, induced that commander to carry the war immediately into South-Carolina.

By this movement he hoped the enemy would be obliged to follow him or give up the posts he held in that state. In the prosecution of this plan he broke up his camp on the 7th of April, and on the nineteenth, made his appearance before Camden. Lord Cornwallis declined to follow him, and directing the march of his army towards the Chesapeake, little expectation could be entertained of a reinforcement from that direction, to support Greene in his descent upon South-Carolina. He was, of course, compelled to depend upon the militia of the three Southern States and the volunteers from the mountain. Active measures were promptly adopted to concentrate these forces for future operations. The expedition that had been carried on a short time previous by the frontier militia, having liberated them from the danger that threatened their firesides with Cherokee invasion and massacre, Shelby and Sevier were enabled to promise the assistance of the riflemen. Greene appointed the latter end of August, and Fort Granby, as the time and place of rendezvous. The volunteers promptly obeyed the call of their leaders, and collected in a large force for the purpose of rescuing South-Carolina from the enemy. They had actually advanced far on their way to Greene's camp, when intelligence reached them that Cornwallis had left North-Carolina, and that the American commander, by cutting off the supplies between Camden and Charleston, had compelled Lord Rawdon to evacuate the former place ; that the post at Orangeburg, Fort Motte, another post at Nelson's Ferry, Fort Granby and Georgetown, had in like manner been captured or evacuated in rapid succession ; and that Col. Hampton had, with a party of dragoons, charged within

five miles of Charleston. They learned, furthermore, that Fort Cornwallis at Augusta, had surrendered to Pickens and Lee, assisted by the brave riflemen of Georgia under Clarke, and that the British had retreated from their stronghold at Ninety-Six, and had contracted their operations almost entirely within that small extent of country which is enclosed by the Santee, the Congaree and Edisto; and to all this was added, that the enemy were driven into Charleston. This information so changed the complexion of affairs in South-Carolina, as to admit the return of the mountain men to their homes, and Sevier* accordingly wrote to General Greene, that as his recent successes had rendered the services of the Western riflemen unnecessary, they had returned and disbanded. It was on account of these considerations, that the troops from the mountains of Tennessee had not the good fortune to participate in the battle of Eutaw Springs, which occurred not long after they were disbanded.

In the meantime Greene received information, through General La Fayette, that Lord Cornwallis's movements indicated an intention of retreating from the pursuit of the allied army on the Chesapeake southwardly. This intention was supported by the simultaneous rising of all the royalists in the different sections of the South. They began immediately to assemble and renew their ravages, and to harass the whigs in every quarter. At this crisis, and on the sixteenth of September, General Greene wrote to Col. Sevier, informing him of the posture of affairs near Yorktown, and of the suspicions which were entertained that Lord Cornwallis would endeavour to escape by marching back through North-Carolina to Charleston; to prevent which, General Greene begged that the colonel would bring as large a body of riflemen as he could, and with as much expedition as was possible, and march them to Charlotte. Sevier immediately raised two hundred mounted riflemen in Washington county, and marched with them across the mountain. The well affected in South-Carolina were suffering extremely by the cruelties which the tories were inflicting upon them. Sevier joined his forces to those of General Marion, on the

* Johnson.

Santee, at Davis's Ferry, and contributed much to keep up resistance to the enemy; to raise the spirits of those who were friendly to the American cause, and to afford protection to those who were in danger from the infuriated royalists.

Lord Cornwallis being now besieged in Yorktown, and his retreat through North-Carolina being no longer apprehended, General Greene, with a view of stopping the depredations of the enemy, who were now committing their ravages in St. Stephen's Parish, endeavoured to collect a force sufficient to drive them into Charleston, and only awaited for the arrival of the mountain men before he began his operations.

Col. Shelby had also been called upon by Greene, to bring his regiment to his relief in intercepting Cornwallis, should he effect his escape from the blockade by the French fleet in the Chesapeake bay, and attempt a retreat through the Carolinas. His lordship's surrender took place on the nineteenth of October, and the riflemen of Shelby were also attached to Gen. Marion's command below on the Santee. To this both Shelby and Sevier consented with some reluctance. Their men were called out upon a pressing emergency, which no longer existed. They had been, moreover, enrolled only for sixty days. Much of that time had already expired, and the contemplated service under Marion would take them still further from their distant homes. Besides, Shelby was a member of the General Assembly of North-Carolina, from Sullivan county, and its session at Salem took place early in December. Notwithstanding these considerations, they promptly joined Marion early in November, with five hundred mounted riflemen. With these were associated, under the command of the same distinguished leader, the forces of Col. Mayhem and Col. Horry. Together they formed a most efficient corps of cavalry, mounted infantry and riflemen.

The enemy, at that time under General Stewart, lay at a place called Ferguson's Swamp, on the great road leading to Charleston. General Marion, some weeks after the arrival of the mountain men at his camp, received information that several hundred Hessians, at a British post near Monk's Corner, eight or ten miles below the enemy's main army,

were in a state of mutiny, and would surrender the post to any considerable American force that might appear before it, and he soon determined to send a detachment to surprise it. Sevier and Shelby solicited a command in the detachment. Marion moved down eight or ten miles, and crossed over to the south side of the Santee River, from whence he sent a detachment of five or six hundred men to surprise the post, the command of which was given to Col. Mayhem, of the South-Carolina dragoons. The detachment consisted of parts of the regiments of Sevier and Shelby, one hundred and eighty of Mayhem's dragoons, and twenty or thirty lowland militia. The line of march was taken up early in the morning, and the detachment marched fastly through the woods, crossing the main Charleston road, leaving the enemy's main army three or four miles to the left; and on the evening of the second day, struck the road again leading to Charleston, about two miles below the post which it was intended to surprise. The men lay all night upon their arms across the road, so as to intercept the Hessians in case the enemy had got notice of the approach of the Americans, and had ordered them to Charleston before morning. In the course of the night, an orderly sergeant from the main British army rode in among the riflemen and was taken prisoner. No material paper was found upon him that night (which was very dark) before he made his escape, except some returns, which contained the strength of the enemy's main army, and their number on the sick list, which was very great. As soon as daylight appeared, the detachment advanced to the British post. Col. Mayhem sent in a confidential individual to demand an immediate surrender of the garrison, who returned in a few minutes, and reported that the officer commanding would defend the post to the last extremity. Col. Shelby immediately proposed to Mayhem that he would go in himself and make another effort to obtain a surrender. This was readily assented to. On his approach to the garrison, Shelby declared to the commander that if he was so mad as to suffer the post to be stormed, he might rest assured that every soul within should be put to the sword, for there were several hundred mountain men at hand, who

would soon be in with their tomahawks upon them. The officer then inquired of Shelby whether they had any artillery. To which he replied, "we have guns that will blow you to atoms in a minute." Upon which the British officer said, "I suppose I must surrender," and immediately threw open the gate, which Mayhem saw and advanced up quickly with the detachment. It was not until this moment, that another strong British post was seen, five or six hundred yards east of the one which had surrendered. It had been built to cover a landing on Cooper River. It was a strong brick house, erected at a very early period, and known to have been calculated for defence as well as comfort. This had been enclosed by a strong abbatis, and being on the route from Charleston to Monk's Corner, had been used by the enemy as a stage for their troops and convoys, in passing from post to post. It was sufficiently capacious to cover a party of considerable magnitude, and was unassailable by cavalry, the only force from which sudden incursions could be apprehended.* The garrison consisted of about one hundred soldiers and forty or fifty dragoons. These immediately marched out as if intending a charge upon the riflemen. These, however, stood firm and prepared to meet them. A party of the horsemen were ordered to dismount, and approaching the abbatis, appear and act as infantry, while the residue of that corps, headed by the cavalry, advanced boldly into the field and demanded a surrender. The idea of resistance was abandoned, and the place surrendered at discretion. One hundred and fifty prisoners were taken, all of whom were able to have fought from the windows of the large brick building and from the abbatis. Three hundred stand of arms were also captured, besides many stores of great value. Ninety of the prisoners were carried off on horseback behind the mounted men—the officers and such of the garrison as were unable to march to Marion's camp, sixty miles off, were paroled. The house, with its contents and the abbatis, were consumed.

General Stewart, who commanded the enemy's main army, eight or ten miles above, made great efforts to intercept the

* Johnson.

Americans and rescue their prisoners. But they arrived at Marion's camp about three o'clock the morning following. Before sunrise, it was announced in camp that the whole British army was in the old field, three miles off, at the outer end of the causeway, which led into the camp. Sevier and Shelby were immediately ordered out, with their regiments, to attack the enemy if he approached the swamp, and to retreat at their own discretion. But, receiving information that Marion was reinforced with a large body of riflemen from the West, the enemy retreated, in great disorder, nearly to the gates of Charleston.*

About the 28th of November, Col. Shelby obtained leave of absence from the army, for the purpose of attending the approaching session of the Legislature of North-Carolina, of which he was a member. It met early in December, at Salem, nearly four hundred miles from the then seat of war. He had remained in camp to the last minute that would permit his arrival at the seat of government at the commencement of the session. Laying down the sword, and relinquishing the duties of a commander, he left the camp of Marion to enter another field of service and assume the functions of a legislator.

Col. Sevier remained with the mountain men. Little more remained to be done to bring the war to a close.

"John's and James's Island, with the city of Charleston and the Neck, were now the only footholds left to the British of all their conquests in South-Carolina. A detachment of mounted infantry had been left at Monk's Corner to watch the motions of the enemy, who, by means of Cooper River, had free access, in their boats and gallies, to that neighbourhood. To destroy this detachment, in the absence of Marion, a force of three hundred and fifty men were transported, by water, from Charleston. The unexpected return of Marion enabled him, partly, to defeat their enterprise. His force did not equal that which was arrayed against him, but he, nevertheless, resolved upon attacking it. In order to detain the enemy, he despatched Colonels Richardson and Sevier† and a part of Mayhem's horse, with orders to throw themselves in front of the British and engage them until he should come up with the main body. The order was gallantly executed. The British advance was

* The details of this campaign of the riflemen to South-Carolina, are taken from Shelby's Narrative, now before me. They are also found in Haywood.

† This was probably Col. Valentine Sevier. There is reason to believe that Col. John Sevier was, at this time, on the frontier or in the Cherokee nation.

charged and driven near St. Thomas's Muster House, by Captain Smith, of Mayhem's cavalry, and their leader, Captain Campbell, with several others, fell in the flight."*

In the meantime, elections were held and Governor Rutledge convened the legislature of the state at Jacksonborough, a small village about thirty-five miles from Charleston. This event, which once more restored the forms of civil government to South-Carolina, after an interregnum of nearly two years, took place in January, 1782.† It was not, however, till December 14th that Charleston was evacuated. But that interim furnished little opportunity for military adventure or achievement. The emergency that had called the pioneers of Tennessee from their mountain recesses, had ceased to exist, as soon as the common enemy was driven to the environs of Charleston, and civil government established in South-Carolina. This being accomplished, the riflemen returned to their distant homes and were disbanded. They felt a proud consciousness of having performed a patriotic duty, and of having rendered the country some service. They had rendezvoused at the western base of the Apalachian Range—they had ascended its summit, and, precipitating themselves upon the plains below, had pursued the enemy to the coast of the Atlantic. They had suffered from the mountain snow storm and the miasmata of the low grounds of the Santee and Edisto. Toils and marches and watches, by night and by day, were cheerfully endured, and wherever the enemy could be found, his post assaulted or his abbatis stormed, the backwoodsman was there, ready, with his spirited charger, his war whoop and his rifle, to execute the purpose of his mission.

A large number of negroes and a vast amount of other property, were taken from Georgia and South-Carolina, and carried away. But to the honour of the troops under Sevier and Shelby, no such captives or property came with them into the country of their residence; their integrity was as little impeached as their valour.‡ They came home enriched by no spoils, stained with no dishonour; enriched only by an imperishable fame, an undying renown and an unquestionable

* Simms. † Idem. ‡ Haywood.

claim to the admiration and gratitude of their countrymen and of posterity. This has been accorded to them by a consent almost unanimous. The authorities of the states in whose service they were employed, conceded it to them. The officers who commanded them, asserted it for them. The commander-in-chief of the southern department, attests its validity by inviting them to a second campaign under his standard. The very impatience of Gen. Greene at their delay in reaching his camp at the hour of a perilous conflict, vouches for the value he placed upon their conduct and courage; and the regret expressed by that officer at the retirement of Shelby, is itself an admission that he considered the co-operation of that leader and his regiment, as an essential element in his further success. In the expression of that regret no censure is even implied. Though the conduct of the riflemen from their rendezvous at Watauga to their return to the frontier, has generally received unqualified eulogy and approbation, by one historian a single part of it has been censured and a term of reproach used, which shall not stain these pages, by an idle and profane and distasteful repetition of it. The writer holds the memory of these patriot heroes in too grateful veneration, not to repel an imputation upon their high-souled honour, the constancy of their patriotism, and the majesty and steadfastness of their public virtue. The imputation belongs not to Tennessee; it contradicts all her past history; it does violence to her very instincts;—she repudiates, disclaims and disavows it.

The substance of the censure alluded to is, that Shelby and his men returned home before the object of the campaign was accomplished. An injustice, no doubt unintentional, has been thus inflicted. These pages already contain an ample vindication of the mountain men from the imputation. Rude, some of them may have been,—illiterate, many of them doubtless were; but nothing unpatriotic, nothing unmilitary, nothing unsoldiery, can be imputed to them or their gallant leader. An honest fame belonged to them through life. Let not their graves be desecrated by a posthumous reproach.

Commenting upon the return of the mountain men from

their campaign under Marion, on the Santee, the historian from whom we quote, says:

"This ..... was, with some probability, attributed to the departure of their colonel, Shelby, who had obtained leave of absence. Something, too, has been said of the service not being sufficiently active for their habits: but reasons such as these, furnish a poor apology for soldiers who, in the cause of their country's liberty, should be well pleased to encounter any sort of service which it may be the policy of their commander to impose. Marion had endeavoured to find them sufficient employment. He had approached and defied the enemy, but could neither tempt nor provoke him to leave his encampment. With numbers decidedly inferior, the brave partizan was chagrined to find it impossible to bring his enemy into the field."*

And so it continued to be afterwards. The enemy never did again enter into the field. Small foraging parties and plundering detachments occasionally presented themselves. But this was not the entertainment to which the mountain men had been invited. Something worthier of their mettle had brought them from their homes. Enterprise, adventure, heroism, was their sentiment—achievement their purpose. Nothing less than to intercept Lord Cornwallis and to capture his army, was at first the object of their expedition. A "poor apology," this disappointment, produced by the surrender at Yorktown,—but yet involving in it nothing little or inglorious.

It will be recollected, too, that the time of their enrolment was for sixty days. More than that period had expired before their return. The southern enemy had been driven from the interior and was retiring within the lines of Charleston and Savannah, from which the commander did not expect to drive him without the co-operation of a naval force. This co-operation was impossible. Civil government, too, was reinstated, and Marion and Mayhem, and other leaders, like Shelby, obtained leave of absence from the camp to assume their legislative functions. Reinforcements, too, from the army at Yorktown, were on their way to the support of Greene. The crisis was safely passed—the tug of the war was over, and the aid of the Western riflemen could be no longer needed in the South. One half of the guns and of the

* Simms.

men had been withdrawn from the exposed frontier, across the mountain. These were now restored to it where their services were wanted. No further help was afterwards required from abroad. The safety of South-Carolina was left in the keeping of its own citizens. To defame the mountain men for their leaving it, is to insult the *native* valour of the South, then and afterwards, as it still is, adequate to the achievement of everything but an impossibility.

1782 The results of the campaigns of seventeen hundred and eighty and eighty-one, sensibly affected the measures of the British ministry, and rendered the American war unpopular in Great Britain.

1783 On the nineteenth of April, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, Peace was proclaimed in the American army, by the commander-in-chief, George Washington, precisely eight years from the first day of the effusion of blood at Lexington. For more than that length of time the pioneers of Tennessee had been engaged in incessant war. On the tenth of October, seventeen hundred and seventy-four, their youthful heroes, Shelby and Sevier, flushed their maiden swords at the battle of Kenhawa, and with little intermission thereafter, were constantly engaged in guarding the settlements or attacking and invading the savage enemy. The gallant and patriotic participation of the mountain men in the revolutionary struggle, under the same men, now become leaders, has been just related. To preserve the chain of these transactions unbroken, it has been found necessary to depart from the chronological order of events, which has been generally pursued in these annals. To that order we again return.

1780 On the return march of the army from King's Mountain, Sevier, apprehending an outbreak from the Cherokees in the absence from the frontier of so many men and guns, detached Capt. Russell home, as soon as the riflemen with the prisoners had safely crossed the Catawba. Russell returned by a rapid march, and found that Sevier's apprehensions were well founded. Two traders, Thomas and Harlin, brought information from the Cherokee towns that a large body of Indians were on the march to assail the frontier.

The men composing Capt. Russell's command continued their organization. Col. Sevier soon after, with his victorious companions in arms, reached their homes in good time to repel the savage invaders. Without a day's rest he set on foot another expedition.

SEVIER'S CHEROKEE EXPEDITION.

Whilst the volunteers were being enrolled and equipped in sufficient numbers for the magnitude of the campaign he contemplated, Sevier put himself at the head of about one hundred men, principally of Captain Russell's and Captain Guess's companies, with whom he set out in advance of the other troops. The second night this party camped upon Long Creek. Captain Guess was here sent forward with a small body of men to make discovery. On ascending a slight hill, they found themselves within forty yards of a large Indian force, before they discovered it. They fired from their horses and retreated to Sevier's camp. The Indians also fired, but without effect. Sevier prepared his command to receive a night attack. Before day, Captain Pruett reinforced him after a rapid march, with about seventy men. Thus reinforced, Sevier next morning pursued his march, expecting every minute to meet the enemy. When they came to the point at which the spies had met and fired upon the Indians, they found traces of a large body of them. They had, in their hasty retreat, left one warrior who had been killed the evening before by the spies. The pursuit was continued vigorously by the troops, who crossed French Broad at the Big Island and encamped on Boyd's Creek. The next day, early in the morning, the advance guard under the command of Captain Stinson, continued the march, and at the distance of three miles found the encampment of the enemy and their fires still burning. A reinforcement was immediately ordered to the front, and the guard was directed if it came up with the Indians, to fire upon them and retreat, and thus draw them on. Three-quarters of a mile from their camp, the enemy fired upon the advance from an ambuscade. It returned the fire and retreated, and, as had been anticipated, was pursued by the enemy till it joined the main

body. This was formed into three divisions: the centre commanded by Col. John Sevier, the right wing by Major Jesse Walton, and the left by Major Jonathan Tipton. Orders were given that as soon as the enemy should approach the front, the right wing should wheel to the left, and the left wing to the right, and thus enclose them. In this order were the troops arranged when they met the Indians at the Cedar Spring, who rushed forward after the guard with great rapidity, till checked by the opposition of the main body. Major Walton with the right wing wheeled briskly to the left, and performed the order which he was to execute with precise accuracy. But the left wing moved to the right with less celerity, and when the centre fired upon the Indians, doing immense execution, the latter retreated through the unoccupied space left open between the extremities of the right and left wings, and running into a swamp, escaped the destruction which otherwise seemed ready to involve them. The victory was decisive. The loss of the enemy amounted to twenty-eight killed on the ground, and very many wounded, who got off without being taken. On the side of Sevier's troops not a man was even wounded. The victorious little army then returned to the Big Island—afterwards called Sevier's Island—and waited there the arrival of reinforcements that promised to follow.

This prompt collection of troops, and rapid expedition of Sevier, saved the frontier from a bloody invasion. Had he been more tardy, the Indians would have reached the settlements, scattered themselves along the extended border, driven them into stations, or perhaps massacred them in their cabins and fields. Their force was understood to be large and to be well armed.

Another narrative of this engagement gives further details: The Indians had formed in a half-moon, and lay concealed in the grass. Had their stratagem not been discovered, their position, and the shape of the ground, would have enabled them to enclose and overcome the horsemen. Lieutenant Lane and John Ward had dismounted for the fight, when Sevier, having noticed the semi-circular position of the Indians, ordered a halt, with the purpose of engaging the two

extremes of the Indian line, and keeping up the action until the other part of his troops could come up. Lane and his comrade, Ward, remounted and fell back upon Sevier without being hurt, though fired at by several warriors near them. A brisk fire was, for a short time, kept up by Sevier's party and the nearest Indians. The troops behind, hearing the first fire, had quickened their pace and were coming in sight. James Roddy, with about twenty men, quickly came up, and soon after the main body of the troops. The Indians noticed this reinforcement and closed their lines. Sevier immediately ordered the charge, which would have been still more fatal, but that the pursuit led through a swampy branch, which impeded the progress of the horsemen. In the charge, Sevier was in close pursuit of a warrior, who, finding that he would be overtaken, turned and fired at him. The bullet cut the hair of his temple without doing further injury. Sevier then spurred his horse forward and attempted to kill the Indian with his sword, having emptied his pistols in the first moment of the charge. The warrior parried the licks from the sword with his empty gun. The conflict was becoming doubtful between the two combatants thus engaged, when one of the soldiers, rather ungallantly, came up, shot the warrior, and decided the combat in favour of his commander. The horse of Adam Sherrill threw his rider, and, in the fall, some of his ribs were broken. An Indian sprang upon him with his tomahawk drawn. When in the act of striking, a ball from a comrade's rifle brought him to the ground, and Sherrill escaped. After a short pursuit, the Indians dispersed into the adjoining highlands and knolls, where the cavalry could not pursue them. Of the whites not one was killed, and but three seriously wounded.

1780 This battle of Boyd's Creek has always been considered as one of the best fought battles in the border war of Tennessee. Major Tipton was severely wounded. Besides the officers and men already mentioned as having participated in it, there were Capt. Landon Carter, James Sevier, the son, and Abraham Sevier, the brother, of John Sevier, Thomas Gist, Abel Pearson, James Hubbard, Major Benj. Sharp, Captain Saml. Handly, Col. Jacob Brown, Jere-

miah Jack, Esq., Nathan Gaun, Isaac Taylor and George Doherty.

Sevier remained but a few days at his encampment on French Broad, till he was joined by Colonel Arthur Campbell, with his regiment from Virginia, and Major Martin, with his troops from Sullivan county. The army consisted of seven hundred mounted men. They crossed Little Tennessee, three miles below Chota, since the residence of David Russell. The main body of the Indians, having notice of their approach, lay in wait for them at the principal ford, a mile below Chota. The imposing array of the cavalry, and the fact of their crossing at the lower ford, so disconcerted the Indians, that no attack was made by them, nor any attempt made to hinder the crossing. Ascending the opposite bank, the horsemen saw a large party of Indians on a neighbouring eminence, watching their movements. These, on the approach of the troops, retreated hastily, and escaped. They then pushed up to Chota. A detachment of sixty men, under command of Robert Campbell, immediately set off to reduce Chilhowee, eight miles above, on the same river. It was found deserted. They burned it. The Indians were seen on the opposite shore, but beyond the reach of their rifles. They returned, without loss, to the army. Every town between Tennessee and Hiwassee was reduced to ashes, the Indians flying before the troops. Near to Hiwassee, after it was burned, an Indian warrior was surprised and captured. By him a message was sent to the Cherokees, proposing terms of peace. But one white man was killed on this expedition—Captain Elliott, of Sullivan. He was buried in an Indian hut at Tellico, which was burned over his grave, to prevent the Indians from finding and violating it.

At Tellico, the army was met by Watts and Noon Day, who proposed terms of peace, which were accepted as to the villages contiguous. Tellico was then a small town of thirty or forty houses, built on forks and poles and covered with bark. They did not destroy it. Watts and Noon Day accompanied and piloted the army. The Indians made no hostile demonstration till the army had crossed Hiwassee,

when it became necessary to place out sentinels around their camps. Hiwassee town was found evacuated, and the troops saw but a single Indian warrior, who was placed upon the summit of an adjoining ridge, there to beat a drum and give other signals to the Indians secreted in hearing of him. The spies stole upon and shot him. The troops then continued their march southwardly till they came near the Chickamauga or Look Out Towns, when they encamped and next day marched into the towns. The warriors had deserted them. The only persons found there were a Captain Rogers, four negroes, and some Indian women and children. These were taken prisoners. The warriors were dispirited by the vigorous defence of Sevier at the commencement of the campaign, and never ventured again to meet him, but secreted themselves in the fastnesses around Chickamauga. The troops killed all the cattle and hogs which could be found; burnt many of the towns and villages, and spread over the face of the country a general devastation, from which the Indians could not recover for several years.*

The march was continued so low down Coosa as to reach the region of the long-leafed pine and cypress swamps. Here they began an indiscriminate destruction of towns, houses, grain and stock. The Indians fled precipitately. A few of them were killed and captured. In one of the villages a well dressed white man was found, with papers in his possession showing that he was a British agent. Attempting to escape, he was shot and left unburied. The army here turned to the left, scouted among the hills, and turned their faces homeward, killing and capturing several Indians, and devastating their country. Returning as far as Chota, the commanders here held a council with a large body of the Cherokees, which lasted two days. Hanging Maw made a free exchange of prisoners, whom he had brought with him to the council. Among others, Jane and —— Ireland, who had been captured on Roane's Creek, were exchanged. They were nearly naked, and other ways looked like Indians. They had been well treated, though closely watched during their captivity. They were frantic with joy at their restoration.

* Haywood.

A peace was agreed upon, and the army crossing near the mouth of Nine Mile, returned home. They found that settlers had followed the route pursued by the army as low as French Broad, and at every spring had begun to erect their cabins.

Col. Arthur Campbell communicated to Governor Jefferson a further account of this expedition, and of the treaty of peace. "On the 25th, Major Martin went with a detachment to discover the route by which the enemy were flying off. He surprised a party of the enemy, took one scalp and seventeen horses loaded with clothing, skins and household furniture. He discovered that most of the fugitives were making towards Tellico and the Hiwassee. On the 26th, Major Tipton was detached with one hundred and fifty mounted infantry, with orders to cross the river, dislodge the enemy on that side, and destroy the town of Telassee. At the same time Major Gilbert Christian, with a like number of foot, were to patrol the hills south of Chilhowee, and burn the remaining part of that town. This was effected, three Indians being killed and nine taken prisoners."

After completing the expedition, the leaders of it sent the following message to the

"CHIEFS AND WARRIORS—We came into your country to fight your young men. We have killed many of them and destroyed your towns. You know you begun the war by listening to the bad counsels of the King of England, and the falsehoods told you by his agents. We are now satisfied with what is done, as it may convince your nation that we can distress you much at any time, when you are so foolish as to engage in war against us. If you desire peace, as we understand you do, we, out of pity to your women and children, are disposed to treat with you on that subject.

"We therefore send you this by one of your young men, who is our prisoner, to tell you, if you are disposed to make peace, six of your head men must come to our agent, Major Martin, at the Great Island, within two moons, so as to give him time to meet them with a flag-guard, on Holston River, at the boundary line. To the wives and children of those men of your nation who protested against the war, if they are willing to take refuge at the Great Island until peace is restored, we will give a supply of provisions to keep them alive.

"Warriors, listen attentively!—If we receive no answer to this message, until the time already mentioned expires, we shall then conclude that you intend to continue to be our enemies. We will then be compelled to send another strong force into your country, that will come prepared to

remain in it, to take possession of it as a conquered country, without making you any compensation for it.

"Signed at Kai-a-tee, the 4th Jan'y., 1781, by

ARTHUR CAMPBELL, Colonel.
JOHN SEVIER, Colonel.
JOSEPH MARTIN, Agent and Major of Militia."

It was not till the ensuing year that a treaty could be concluded under a Commission appointed by General Greene, as commander of the southern department, Notwithstanding the overtures of the Indians sent by Col. Campbell, of a disposition to treat and the prompt measures adopted by General Greene to negotiate with them, and the severe punishment that had been so recently inflicted upon the Cherokees, the deep passion for war and glory which constantly agitates the bosom of the savage, continued to excite to further aggression and hostility. The emissaries of England, in the persons of refugee tories, were in the Indian villages, and stimulated to its highest point their natural thirst for blood. It was the policy of the British commander, then upon the sources of the Yadkin, to instigate the Cherokees to renewed warfare upon the western frontier, so as to prevent the hardy inhabitants from crossing the mountain again and forcing him to a second retreat. This policy succeeded but too well, and occasioned the necessity of collecting troops and establishing garrisons on the frontier.

But stationed troops were a most inadequate defence. The
1781 Indians still prowled around the more remote settlements, and in an unguarded moment committed murder and theft. Col. Sevier suspected that the perpetrators of this mischief came from some hostile towns in the mountain gorges, where his troops had never yet penetrated. He collected together, in March of this year, one hundred and thirty men in the Greasy Cove, and with them he marched against the Middle settlements of the Cherokees. He entered and took by surprise the town of Tuckasejah, on the head waters of the Little Tennessee. Fifty warriors were slain and fifty women and children taken prisoners. In that vicinity the troops under Sevier burnt fifteen or twenty towns and all the granaries of corn they could find. It was a hard and disagreeable necessity that led to the adoption of these apparently cruel measures.

Still, nothing less would keep the savages in their towns, or prevent more cruel massacres of the whites upon the frontier. Sevier had but one man killed at Tuckasejah, and but one wounded, and he recovered. Ten of the prisoners resided with Colonel Sevier three years, and were treated with humanity and kindness. They were afterwards delivered to Col. Martin, and by him restored to their own nation.

David McNabb was one of the captains in this expedition. The command went up Cane Creek, and crossed Ivy and Swannanoa. Isaac Thomas, an old Indian trader, was their pilot. The mountains were so steep that the men had to dismount and lead their horses. Before an exchange of prisoners was effected, some of the Cherokee women and children made their escape. This campaign lasted twenty-nine days, and was carried on over a mountainous section of country never before travelled by any of the settlers, and scarcely ever passed through, even by traders and hunters. The Indians of the Middle towns were surprised at this unexpected invasion of Sevier—were panic stricken and made little resistance.

April 24.—Under this date, Joseph Martin writes from Long
1781 { Island to Col. Sevier that he had returned lately with his command of sixty-five men from an expedition on Clinch: that he saw evidences of Indians all through his route: had pursued them, but had not had any engagement. On his return he turned south and went across Clinch, within thirty miles of Chota, then turned up Holston and returned home. He went out with the hope of finding the camp or town of the Hanging Maw, but made no discovery that led to it.

During the summer of this year, a party of Cherokees invaded the settlements then forming on Indian Creek. Colonel Sevier again raised troops to drive them off. With about one hundred men he marched from Washington county, crossed Nollichucky, and proceeded south of that river to what has since been known as the War Ford, near the present town of New Port. Crossing French Broad at that place, and also Big Pigeon at the War Ford, he fell unexpectedly upon the trail of the Indians, surrounded their camp, and by a sudden fire killed seventeen of them. The rest fled and escaped.

This affair was upon Indian Creek, in what is now Jefferson county.

Scarcely were these troops disbanded when a letter was received by Col. Sevier from Gen. Greene, dated Sept. 16th, but not received till several weeks after, urging him to come to his standard with his riflemen, for the purpose of intercepting Lord Cornwallis, should he attempt a retreat through the Carolinas to Charleston. That enterprising officer had been since June, of 1780, constantly in the field with his regiment, in various expeditions against the British, the loyalists and the Indians, and their services were still needed at home to give protection to the feeble settlements; but he promptly complied with the request of the southern commander, and as has been elsewhere narrated, repaired to his camp about the last of October, and remained with Marion on the Santee till the enemy were driven to the lines of Charleston; and the period for which his riflemen were enrolled having expired, he returned to Watauga and there disbanded his regiment. This was early in January of 1782.

Immigrants followed close upon the rear of the army, and began to form settlements along the route pursued by it south of French Broad. The Cherokees complained of this intrusion, which brought from Governor Martin the following:

"DANBURY, Feb. 11, 1782.

Gov. ALEXANDER MARTIN, to Col. JOHN SEVIER:

"*Sir:* I am distressed with the repeated complaints of the Indians respecting the daily intrusions of our people on their lands beyond the French Broad River. I beg you, sir, to prevent the injuries these savages justly complain of, who are constantly imploring the protection of the state and appealing to its justice in vain. By interposing your influence on these, our unruly citizens, I think will have sufficient weight, without going into extremities disgraceful to them and disagreeable to the state. You will, therefore, please to warn these intruders off the lands reserved for the Indians by the late act of the Assembly, that they remove immediately, at least by the middle of March, otherwise they will be drove off. If you find them still refractory at the above time, you will draw forth a body of your militia on horseback, and pull down their cabins, and drive them off, laying aside every consideration of their entreaties to the contrary. You will please to give me the earliest information of your proceedings. The Indian goods are not yet arrived from Philadelphia, through the inclemency of the late season; as soon as

they will be in the State, I shall send them to the Great Island and hold a treaty with the Cherokees.

The Cherokees of the Upper Towns continued to complain and remonstrate.

"A Talk to Colonel Joseph Martin, by the Old Tassel, in Chota, the 25th of September, 1782, in favour of the whole nation. For His Excellency, the Governor of North-Carolina. Present, all the chiefs of the friendly towns and a number of young men.

Brother: I am now going to speak to you. I hope you will listen to me. A string. I intended to come this fall and see you, but there was such confusion in our country, I thought it best for me to stay at home and send my Talks by our friend Colonel Martin, who promises to deliver them safe to you. We are a poor distressed people, that is, in great trouble, and we hope our elder brother will take pity on us and do us justice. Your people from Nollichucky are daily pushing us out of our lands. We have no place to hunt on. Your people have built houses within one day's walk of our towns. We don't want to quarrel with our elder brother; we, therefore, hope our elder brother will not take our lands from us, that the Great Man above gave us. He made you and he made us; we are all his children, and we hope our elder brother will take pity on us, and not take our lands from us that our father gave us, because he is stronger than we are. We are the first people that ever lived on this land; it is ours, and why will our elder brother take it from us? It is true, some time past, the people over the great water persuaded some of our young men to do some mischief to our elder brother, which our principal men were sorry for. But you our elder brothers come to our towns and took satisfaction, and then sent for us to come and treat with you, which we did. Then our elder brother promised to have the line run between us agreeable to the first treaty, and all that should be found over the line should be moved off. But it is not done yet. We have done nothing to offend our elder brother since the last treaty, and why should our elder brother want to quarrel with us? We have sent to the Governor of Virginia on the same subject. We hope that between you both, you will take pity on your younger brother, and send Colonel Sevier, who is a good man, to have all your people moved off our land. I should say a great deal more, but our friend, Colonel Martin, knows all our grievances, and he can inform you. A string."

1782 The old Tassel of Chota did not represent the feelings of the great body of the Cherokees, who still retained their deep-seated animosities against the whites, and in September, of this year, were hurried, by a revengeful spirit, against the frontiers. The Chickamauga Indians were the least placable of the Cherokee nation, and, imparting their hostile feelings to some of the Lower Towns, and also

to some of the Creeks, they united together and again began their work of murder and depredation upon the more exposed neighbourhoods. Some white men were killed and much property stolen. Colonel Sevier immediately summoned to his standard a hundred men from Washington county, and was joined by Colonel Anderson, with nearly as many volunteers, from Sullivan. These troops rendezvoused at the Big Island, on French Broad, and from that place marched towards the towns of the enemy. The officers in this expedition were Jonathan Tipton and James Hubbard, majors; and Mr. Green and others, captains. The night after they left the Big Island, they camped upon Elijah* Creek, at a place now known as McTeer's Mills. They crossed Little River the second day, and camped upon Nine-Mile Creek. The third day they crossed the Tennessee River at Citico, and there held a council with the friendly Indians, at which was present the Hanging Maw. They engaged to continue the existing peace. Here, also, John Watts, who afterwards became a distinguished chief in his tribe, was engaged to accompany the expedition, to effect, by friendly negotiation, an arrangement for peace with the entire nation. On the fifth day they crossed the Tellico, on the Hiwassee trace. On the sixth day they encamped on the Hiwassee River, above what is now called "The former Agency." Crossing that stream, on the seventh day, they encamped at an Indian town upon the opposite bank. There they entered upon the territory of the hostile Indians. Thence they marched, immediately, against Vann's Towns, and reduced them to ashes. Thence to Bull Town, on the head of Chickamauga Creek. The troops destroyed the town, and marched, thirty miles, to Coosa River. Near a village, on that stream, they killed a white man, who called himself Clements. In his possession were found papers which showed that he had been a British sergeant; he was then living with an Indian woman, Nancy Coody, and, it was believed, had instigated the warriors of her town to maintain their hostile attitude. Bean, one of the soldiers, shot him dead. The troops then marched to Spring Frog Town,

* Elijah—Anglice, Owl Creek.

thence up Coosa to Estanaula, which they destroyed. After killing all the warriors they could find, and burning their villages, the troops returned, by the Old Hiwassee Towns, to Chota, on the Tennessee River. Here another council was held with the friendly Indians, and the troops returned home by the same route they had gone.*

During the infancy of the settlements on Nollichucky, corn had become scarce, and availing themselves of a short suspension of hostilities, Jeremiah Jack and William Rankin, of Greene county, descended the river in a canoe, for the purpose of bartering with the Indians for corn. They reached Coiatee without interruption. The warriors of that place refused to exchange or sell the corn, and manifested other signs of suspicion, if not of open enmity. They entered the canoe and lifted up some wearing apparel lying in it, and which covered their rifles. This discovery increased the unwillingness of the Indians to trade, and they began to show a disposition to offer violence to their white visitants. The beloved woman, Nancy Ward, was happily present, and was able by her commanding influence to appease their wrath, and to bring about friendly feelings between the parties. The little Indians were soon clad in the home made vestments brought by the traders—the canoe was filled with corn, and the white men started on their return voyage well pleased with the exchange they had made, and especially with the kind offices of the beloved woman.

On their return, the white men landed and camped one night, a mile above the mouth of French Broad, on the north bank of the little sluice of that river. Mr. Jack was so well pleased with the place, that he afterwards selected it as his future residence, and actually settled and improved it on his emigration to the present Knox county, in 1787.

The district of Salisbury, by Act of Assembly, was divided, and the counties of Berke, Wilkes, Rutherford, Lincoln, Washington and Sullivan, erected into the district of Morgan.

A Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, was provided to be held by one of the Judges, at Jones-

* Haywood.

boro', for Washington and Sullivan counties. This was done on account of "the extensive mountains that lie desolate between the inhabited parts of Washington, and the inhabited parts of Berke counties."

"At a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, for the counties of Washington and Sullivan, begun and held on the 15th of August, 1782. Present, the Hon. Spruce McCay, Esq. Waightstill Avery, Esq., was appointed Attorney for the State, and John Sevier, Clerk."

"1782, February Term. William Cocke was admitted to practice Law. 1783, November Court, F. A. Ramsey qualified as Surveyor."*

The peace procured by the several campaigns already mentioned, was momentarily interrupted by the conduct of James Hubbard, and a comrade no less wicked and reckless. They were shooting at a mark with two Indians. During the shooting one of the warriors was killed—the other escaped and fled to the nation. It was believed that Hubbard had killed the Indian designedly, and that a border war would be the consequence. The settlers assembled together at Henry's, near the mouth of Dumplin, and there built a station. A half breed passing through the neighbourhood, was requested to procure a friendly conference between his exasperated countrymen and the settlers. The conference was held at Gist's, now Underwood's. Six or eight Cherokees attended there, having crossed the river at Henry's. Soon after their arrival, Hubbard and a gang of mischievous associates came in. They had been way-laying the Indians on the other side of French Broad, and having missed them, followed on to Gist's. For fear of further mischief, the Indians were kept in the centre of the white men in attendance. Hubbard, desirous of another outbreak, slipped up to one of the Indians and whispered to him to run, as the whites intended to kill them. Captain James White told him to remain and they would protect them. Thus reassured, the Indians remained—the conference was held—the difficulty was satisfactorily adjusted and peace prolonged.

The acquisition of territory, made from time to time, by

* Court Records.

leases, purchases and treaties, from the Cherokees, had uniformly been small. The wisdom of this policy was seen in every step in the growth and enlargement of the frontier settlements. The lease to Robertson, of the Watauga colony, confined that infant settlement to a limited area, which took at first, and retained for some time afterwards, a compact form, that favoured defence and gave an easier protection from Indian aggression. The same may be said of other leases and purchases. Had relinquishments of larger extent of territory been obtained, the adventurous disposition of the settlers would have led them so far into the wilderness, and spread them over so large a section of country, as to have deprived them of mutual protection in times of war and danger. The first ten years of its existence, the young community west of the mountain maintained a compact form, and could assume a defensive attitude upon any sudden alarm. Its gradual expansion served also to quiet Indian jealousy of encroachment from the whites. But, almost imperceptibly, the seed of civilization had been planted, was firmly fixed in the soil, was germinating under successful culture, was producing its fruits of permanent society and established government. Its eradication was impossible. Still, it was found necessary to restrain the too rapid expansion of the frontier. The General Assembly of North-Carolina deemed it inexpedient to continue the Land Office open, and, accordingly, in June, of 1781, closed it. It was not opened again, till after the end of the revolutionary war. In May, of 1783, the Assembly opened an office for the sale of western lands, for the purpose of paying the arrears then due the officers and soldiers of that part of the continental line which was raised in North-Carolina, and of extinguishing her part of the national debt. Without any previous consultation with the Indians, the Assembly enlarged the western boundary—

"Beginning on the line which divided that state from Virginia, at a point due north of the mouth of Cloud's Creek; running thence west to the Mississippi; thence down the Mississippi to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence due east, until it strikes the Apalachian Mountains; thence with the Apalachian Mountains to the ridge that divides the waters of French Broad River and the waters of Nollichucky River,

and with that ridge, until it strikes the line described in the act of 1778, commonly called Brown's Line, and with that line and those several water courses to the beginning."

But a tract of country was reserved for the Cherokee hunting grounds—

"Beginning at the Tennessee, where the southern boundary of North-Carolina intersects the same, nearest to the Chickamauga Towns; thence up the middle of the Tennessee and Holston to the middle of French Broad River, which lines are not to include any island or islands in said river, to the mouth of Big Pigeon River; thence up the same to the head thereof; thence along the dividing ridge between the waters of Pigeon River and Tuckasejah River, to the southern boundary of this state."

The Assembly of North-Carolina took into consideration the claim set up by Henderson and company, under the Transylvania purchase. It was considered that the company was entitled to a handsome remuneration for their expenses in holding the treaty and buying the territory, and an Act was accordingly passed granting to Richard Henderson and his associates two hundred thousand acres of land, to be laid off in one survey, and with the following boundaries. "Beginning at the Old Indian Tower, in Powell's Valley, running down Powell's River, not less than four miles in width, on one or both sides thereof to the junction of Powell's and Clinch Rivers; then down Clinch River, on one or both sides, not less than twelve miles in width, for the complement of two hundred thousand acres." Thenceforward all doubts were removed as to the right of the state to grant the other lands on the western waters, which were contained within the bounds specified in the Indian deeds to the company.

At the same session, an Act was passed authorizing the governor to hold a treaty with the Chickamauga and Overhill Cherokees, and also with those of the Middle and Valley settlement, at the Long Island. Joseph Martin is appointed by the same Act, agent. It is made his duty to visit the Indian country once in six months, deliver the governor's messages and receive the talks of the Indians, record them in his journal, etc.

In order that all dealing and intercourse with the Cherokees should be carried on in the most friendly and upright manner, it was further provided that no one but "men of the

most upright, unexceptionable, honest characters," should be licensed to trade with them.

1783 During the same session of the Assembly, the county of Washington was again divided, and a new county erected, which was called Greene, in honour of Gen. Nathaniel Greene, under whose general command many of the western riflemen had acted their part in the Revolution, and whose valour and skill had done so much in establishing the Independence of the United States.

"On the third Monday in August, the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, for Greene county, met at the house of Mr. Robert Carr. Present, Joseph Hardin, John Newman, George Doherty, James Houston, Amos Bird, and Asahel Rawlings, Esqs.; Daniel Kennedy was elected Clerk, and James Wilson, Sheriff; William Cocke, Esq., Attorney for the State; Joseph Hardin, Junr., Entry-Taker; Isaac Taylor, Surveyor; Richard Wood, Register."*

Jefferson county, as known at present, received its first settlers in this year. These were Robert McFarland, Alexander Outlaw, Thomas Jarnagin, James Hill, Wesley White James Randolph, Joseph Copeland, Robert Gentry and James Hubbard. The first of these made a crop in 1782, at the bend of Chucky, and the next year moved his family to that place. Capt Jarnagin settled four miles above the mouth of Chucky, on the north side; James Hill, a mile lower down; Wesley White, immediately opposite Taylor's Bend; Robert Gentry, four miles above Dandridge; Joseph Copeland settled this year south of the French Broad, seven miles above Dandridge.

1784 The settlements had reached as far as Long Creek, in the present Jefferson county, as at this session of the court, "Thomas Jarnagin hath leave to build a mill on Long Creek."

"A tax was laid, at the same time, of one shilling in specie for each one hundred pounds value of taxable property, for the purpose of erecting public buildings. An appropriation of eight pounds was also made to Mr. Carr, for the use of his house in which the court met. At August Term, a road was laid out from the mouth of Bent Creek to the mouth of

* County Records.

Dumplin (now Sevier). Also from the county line south of Chucky, and where the War Path crosses the same, the nearest and best way to the War Ford, on Pigeon (now Cocke county).

"Ordered, that a Bench Warrant issue to Captain John Newman, to take suspected persons.

"At November Sessions, leave was granted to Thomas Stockton to build a mill on French Broad, at Christian's Ford" (now Sevier county).*

1783 In August, of this year, the late General James White, Col. Robert Love and Col. F. A. Ramsey and others, for the purpose of locating land warrants, explored the country as low as the confluence of the Holston and Tennessee. They crossed the French Broad at the War Ford. There were but few inhabitants then south of Chucky. At the mouth of Pigeon, Mr. Gilliland had corn growing, but no cabin had then been erected there. A few miles below his clearing, the remains of three or four Indians were found; they had been killed several days before. The explorers continued on the south side of the river as low down as the mouth of Dumplin Creek, near which they recrossed French Broad and fell down between that and Holston, passing the Swan Pond and crossing Holston a few miles above, where Knoxville now stands. Their route was continued through the Grassy Valley to the mouth of Holston. It was upon this tour that General White and Col. Ramsey saw the lands, which they afterwards entered and eventually occupied in the present Knox county.

The Indians, late in this year, commenced hostilities, by stealing horses and cattle, and retreating across the Pigeon Mountains, in what is now Cocke county. Major Peter Fine raised a few men and pursued them. After killing one Indian and wounding another, and regaining the stolen property, they began their return and encamped. They were fired upon in the night by the savages, who had followed their tracks. Vinet Fine, a brother of the major, was killed, and Thomas Holland and Mr. Bingham were wounded. After the departure of the Indians, who hung around the camp till morning, the white men broke a hole

* County Records.

in the ice and put the body of V. Fine in the creek, which has ever since been called Fine's Creek. The wounded men were brought in, in safety, and recovered.

It continued to be necessary for two years, to keep out scouts between Pigeon and French Broad. In this time Nehemiah and Simeon Odell were killed, scalped and their guns taken. A boy ten years old, named Nelson, was killed and his horse taken seven miles up Pigeon. McCoy's Fort was built on French Broad, three miles above New Port Whitson's, on Pigeon, ten miles above New Port, where McNabb since lived; Wood's, five miles below. These were all guarded several years.

The General Assembly laid off a district for the exclusive satisfaction of the officers and soldiers of the late continental line, which was raised in North-Carolina. The claims to be satisfied, were founded upon certain promises held out to them by the legislature, in May, 1780. Shortly afterwards it was provided, that in case of a deficiency of good land in this district, to satisfy these claims, the same might be entered upon any vacant land in the state, which should be appropriated for their satisfaction, by grant.*

On the 20th of October, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, John Armstrong's office was opened, at Hillsborough, for the sale of the western lands not included in these reservations, nor in the counties of Washington and Sullivan, at the rate of ten pounds, specie certificates, per hundred. These certificates had been issued by Boards of Auditors, appointed by public authority, for services performed and articles impressed or furnished in the time of the revolutionary war, and were made payable in specie. The lands were to be entered in tracts of five thousand acres or less, at the option of the enterer. By the 25th of May, 1784, vast quantities of land were entered, and certificates, to a very large amount, had been paid into the public offices.†

By a subsequent law of the next session, the surveyor of Greene county was allowed to survey all lands for which warrants might be granted by John Armstrong, lying westward of the Apalachian Mountains, and including all the

* Haywood. † Idem.

lands on the waters of Holston, from the mouth of French Broad River, upwards to the bounds of Washington and Sullivan counties, exclusive of the entries made by the entry-taker of Greene county.

By the eighth article of the treaty of 1783, it was provided that *the navigation of the Mississippi River, from its source to the ocean, shall, forever, remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.*

In conformity with the ninth article of confederation, Congress issued a proclamation, prohibiting all persons from making setlements on lands inhabited or claimed by Indians, without the limits or jurisdiction of any particular state, and from purchasing or receiving any gift or cession of such lands without the express authority and directions of the United States in Congress assembled.

The state of peace brought with it new motives for exertion in all the industrial pursuits of life, and new incentives to patriotism. The country had secured to itself independence; each citizen became proud of his connexion with it, and felt that, as he had had an agency in giving to the government form, vitality and vigour, he was also responsible for its success, prosperity and enlargement. The tendency westward was greatly increased, and multitudes of emigrants from the Middle and Southern States turned their eyes upon the new lands in the West. Holston, Cumberland and Kentucky, each received its share of enterprising and resolute men, willing to undergo the hardships and brave the perils of the wilderness. The facility of procuring cheap and fertile lands induced a new and large emigration to what is now Upper East Tennessee. The settlements upon the French Broad and its tributaries extended rapidly. This induced a renewal of hostilities on the border settlements, and Major Fine and Col. Lillard raised a company of thirty men, and penetrated through the mountains to the Over-hill Town of Cowee, and burned it. From this town the aggressions against the Pigeon settlements had been principally made. These were afterwards less frequent.

In seventeen hundred and eighty-four, the frontier inhabitants were clearing their fields and building their cabins as low down as the Big Island, and along the banks of the

Big and Little Pigeon. A few adventurers were also on
1784 { Boyd's Creek, south of French Broad. North of Hol-
ston they were extending their improvements, within a few miles of the present Rogersville. Heretofore, none but men of little or no fortune had crossed the mountain. A pack-horse carried all the effects of an emigrating family. The country could now be reached, not as at first, only by a trace, but by wagon roads. This invited men of larger property, and society began to put on the aspect of permanence and respectability. Forts and stations had served as places for private and public instruction in learning and religion, as well as for the administration of justice. Now, in the oldest part of the settlements, might occasionally be seen the back-wood's school-house, without floors or windows, and at still greater intervals an equally unpretending building set apart for public worship. At Jonesboro', in Washington county, the first court-house in Tennessee had been erected. It was built of round logs, fresh from the adjacent forest—was covered in the fashion of cabins of the pioneers, with clap-boards.

Improvement was the order of the day, and "The court recommend that there be a court-house built in the following manner, viz: 24 feet square, diamond corners, and hewn down after it is built up; 9 feet high between the two floors; body of the house 4 feet above upper floor; floors neatly laid with plank; shingles of roof to be hung with pegs. A justice's bench; a lawyer's and clerk's bar; also, a sheriff's box to sit in." *

But improvement and progress and change had dawned upon its future fortunes, and Jonesboro', already distinguished as the oldest town established in the present Tennessee, the centre of much of the intelligence and political influence in the new country, and the seat of its courts, was now to become the scene of exciting events—the theatre on which, at first, the master spirits of the frontier should co-operate and harmonize upon their political organization, and the arena where afterwards they became factionists and partizans, for and against the State of Franklin. The history of that ancient commonwealth will be given in the next chapter.

* County Records.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STATE OF FRANKLIN.

The revolutionary war was now ended, and the indepen-
1783 { dence of the United States acknowledged by England,
{ and some of the great powers on the Eastern continent. The transition from a state of provincial vassalage and colonial dependence to self government, was sudden, and in some of the states almost imperceptible. The change from a monarchy to a republic, brought with it, here and there over the country, a little of the spirit of insubordination, but to a much more limited extent than, under existing circumstances, might have been expected. The boundary between liberty and licentiousness, has at no time and in no place, been better understood and more strictly observed, than at the close of the American Revolution, and by the people of the new republics then entering upon a new theatre of national existence. Still, under the recent order of things, it is not matter of wonder that there should be immature conceptions of the nature of government and mistaken views of public policy, and that even lawlessness and violence should result from error and inexperience. To a limited extent it was so. The wonder rather is, that so little anarchy, misrule and insubordination existed amid the chaos, convulsions and upturnings of society, which the separation of the colonies from the parent government produced, and where the rights of the people were substituted for the prerogatives of sovereignty.

Apart from these considerations, there was a further difficulty involving the honour, the stability and almost the existence, of the United States government.

In achieving their independence, the states had each con-
1784 { tracted a large debt upon its own treasury, for expen-
{ ses incurred during the war. In addition to this, Congress had created a heavy liability upon the general treasury for advances made by American citizens and foreign-

ers, to meet expenditures growing out of a protracted conflict. While the country received the news of an honourable and advantageous peace with acclamations of joy and triumph, government felt itself borne down by its heavy public indebtedness, and harassed by the importunate clamour of its public creditors. Among the expedients adopted by Congress to lighten this burden, replenish its treasury and increase its exhausted credit, was the recommendation to such of the states as owned vacant and unappropriated lands, to throw them into the common stock, cede them to the United States, and out of the joint fund thus created, liquidate the common debt. North-Carolina was one of these. She owned a vast amount of unappropriated lands in that portion of her western territory extending from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. Sympathizing with Congress in the distress and difficulty resulting from the embarrassed financial condition of the Union, the General Assembly of North-Carolina, at its April session of this year, at Hillsborough, adopted measures to relieve them. Taxes were laid for this purpose, and authority was given to Congress to collect them, and also to levy a duty on foreign merchandize. Partly for the same reason, and for others which will hereafter be noticed, the Assembly passed an act in June, ceding to the Congress of the United States the western lands, as therein described, and authorized the North Carolina delegates to execute a deed for the same. In this cession thus authorized, was embraced all the territory now constituting the State of Tennessee, and including, of necessity, the trans-montane counties, Washington, Sullivan, Greene and Davidson.*

By an additional act of the same session, it was declared that the sovereignty and jurisdiction of North-Carolina in and over the territory thus ceded, and all its inhabitants, should be and remain the same in all respects, until the United States, in Congress, should accept of the cession. It had been provided in the cession act that if Congress should not accept in two years, the act was thenceforward to be of no effect.

The Assembly, at the same session, closed the land office

* Davidson county was erected in 1783, on Cumberland, as will be elsewhere fully stated.

for the Western Territory, and nullified all entries of land, except as therein specified.

Members from the four western counties were present at Hillsborough, and voted for the act of cession. They had observed a growing disinclination on the part of the legislature to make any provision for the protection and defence of the Western people, or to discharge the debts that had been contracted in guarding the frontiers, or inflicting chastisements upon the Indians. Accounts for these purposes had been, and of necessity would continue to be, large and frequent. These demands against the treasury of the state were received reluctantly—were scrutinized with the utmost caution, and paid grudgingly. Often they were rejected as informal or unauthorized. It was intimated even, that some of these demands were fabricated by the Western people, and that the property of the citizens east of the mountains was wrongly and unjustly taken to cancel the debts of their Western brethren.

It will be recollected that the Bill of Rights, which was adopted at the same time with the Constitution of North-Carolina, had made provision for the formation of a new state or states out of her Western Territory. Her western settlements were becoming expensive and burdensome to her, and as the time was at hand when a new and independent state might be formed out of them, her rulers felt it to be impolitic, to be very lavish in expenditures, for those who might soon become strangers to her peculiar interests, or members of a separate organization. The West complained of inadequate provision on the part of North-Carolina for their necessities, while the mother state lost no opportunity to impute to her remote children in the wilderness extravagance and profligacy—filial ingratitude and disobedience. To the influence of these mutual criminations and recriminations, may be traced the hasty passage of the cession act of June, 1784.

The members from the four western counties, immediately after the adjournment of the Assembly, at Hillsborough, returned home. They brought with them the first intelligence that had reached the West, of the passage of the cession act.

The impression was generally entertained, that Congress would not formally accept the cession of the Western Territory for the space of two years, and that, during that period, the new settlements being under the protection neither of Congress nor of North-Carolina, would be left in a state of anarchy, without aid or support from abroad, and unable to command, under the existing state of affairs, their own resources at home. This aspect of their condition was made the more discouraging and alarming, from the consideration that heretofore no provision had been made for the establishment of a Superior Court west of the mountains. Violation of law was permitted to pass unpunished, except by the summary process of the Regulators appointed for that purpose, by the people themselves. Nor was the military organization adequate to the exigencies of the new settlements. There was no brigadier-general allowed by law to call into service the militia of the counties, or to concentrate its energies on sudden emergencies. This defect was the more dangerous, and the more sensibly felt, now when Indian aggression continued. With a frontier exposed to the inroads of a savage enemy, and with no authority amongst themselves to whom the settlers could apply for assistance—with the settlements infested with culprits of every degree of guilt, refugees from other places, and escaping to these seclusions on account of their supposed immunity from conviction and punishment—distracted by the apprehension of an uncertain or questionable allegiance, ceded by the parent state, not yet accepted by their federal owners—depressed by the contemplation of the state of political orphanage to which they were now reduced, and of the anarchy which must result from it—the opinion became general with the entire population that the sacred duty devolved upon themselves to devise the means—to draw upon their own resources—and, by a manly self reliance, to extricate the inhabitants of the ceded territory from the unexpected difficulties by which they were suddenly surrounded. Self protection is the first law of nature. Salus populi suprema lex. The frontier was suffering constantly by Indian perfidy and assailed by Indian atro-

city, and the settlers seemed to hold their lives by the permission and at the will of their Cherokee neighbours.

In this dilemma it was proposed that in each captain's company two representatives of the people should be elected, who should assemble, as committees, in their respective counties, to deliberate upon the state of public affairs, and recommend some general plan of action suited to the emergency. These committees, for Washington, Sullivan and Greene, met and recommended the election of deputies from each of the counties, to assemble in convention at Jonesboro', with power to adopt such measures as they should deem advisable. The election of deputies to the convention was held, and resulted in the choice for Washington county of John Sevier, Charles Robertson, William Purphey, Joseph Wilson, John Irvin, Samuel Houston, William Trimble, William Cox, Landon Carter, Hugh Henry, Christopher Taylor, John Chisolm, Samuel Doak, William Campbell, Benjamin Holland, John Bean, Samuel Williams, and Richard White.

For the county of Sullivan—Joseph Martin, Gilbert Christian, William Cocke, John Manifee, William Wallace, John Hall, Saml. Wilson, Stockley Donelson, and William Evans.

For the county of Greene—Daniel Kennedy, Alexander Outlaw, Joseph Gist, Samuel Weir, Asahel Rawlings, Joseph Ballard, John Maughon, John Murphey, David Campbell, Archibald Stone, Abraham Denton, Charles Robinson, and Elisha Baker.

Davidson county sent no delegates; probably none were elected.

These deputies, on the day appointed, August 23d, assembled at Jonesboro'. John Sevier was appointed president of the convention. Landon Carter was the secretary.

Immediately after its organization, the convention raised a committee, to take into consideration the state of public affairs, and especially the cession of her Western Territory, by North-Carolina to Congress.

The committee consisted of Messrs. Cocke, Outlaw, Carter, Campbell, Manifee, Martin, Robinson, Houston, Christian, Kennedy and Wilson.

While discussing and deliberating upon the object of the convention, the committee came to its conclusion in the following manner: "A member rose and made some remarks on the variety of opinions offered, for and against a separation, and taking from his pocket a volume containg the Declaration of Independence by the colonies in 1776, commented upon the reasons which induced their separation from England, on account of their local situation, etc., and attempted to show that a number of the reasons *they* had for declaring independence, applied to the counties here represented by their deputies."

"After this member had taken his seat, another arose and moved to declare the three western counties independent of North-Carolina, which was unanimously adopted" by the committee.* This decision was submitted to the convention in the following

"REPORT.

"Your Committee are of opinion and judge it expedient, that the Counties of Washington, Sullivan and Greene, which the Cession Bill particularly respects, form themselves into an Association and combine themselves together, in order to support the present laws of North Carolina, which may not be incompatible with the modes and forms of laying off a new state. It is the opinion of your committee, that we have a just and undeniable right to petition to Congress to accept the cession made by North-Carolina, and for that body to countenance us in forming ourselves into a separate government, and either to frame a permanent or temporary constitution, agreeably to a resolve of Congress, in such case made and provided, as nearly as circumstances will admit. We have a right to keep and hold a Convention from time to time, by meeting and convening at such place or places as the said Convention shall adjourn to. When any contiguous part of Virginia shall make application to join this Association, after they are legally permitted, either by the State of Virginia, or other power having cognizance thereof, it is our opinion that they be received and enjoy the same privileges that we do, may or shall enjoy. This Convention has a right to adopt and prescribe such regulations as the particular exigencies of the time and the public good may require; that one or more persons ought to be sent to represent our situation in the Congress of the United States, and this Convention has just right and authority to prescribe a regular mode for his support."

This report was received and adopted by the convention. The question was then taken.

* Manuscripts of Rev. S. Houston.

"On motion of Mr. Cocke, whether for or against forming ourselves into a separate and distinct state, independent of the State of North-Carolina, *at this time*, it was carried in the affirmative.

"On motion of Mr. Kennedy, the yeas and nays were taken on the above question.

"*Yeas.*—Mr. Tirril, Samms, North, Taylor, Anderson, Houston, Cox, Talbot, Joseph Wilson, Trimble, Reese, John Anderson, Manifee, Christian, Carnes, A. Taylor, Fitzgerald, Cavit, Looney, Cocke, B. Gist, Rawlings, Bullard, Joshua Gist, Valentine Sevier, Robinson, Evans and Maughan. (28.)

"*Nays.*—John Tipton, Joseph Tipton, Stuart, Maxfield, D. Looney. Vincent, Cage, Provincer, Gammon, Davis, Kennedy, Newman, Wear, James Wilson and Campbell." (15.)

The manuscript from which the above is taken, was found among the papers of General Kennedy. It is without a date upon it. It is not known from the paper itself, which of the conventions had these proceedings. It was probably at the first convention at Jonesboro', in August, 1784. That body, however, consisted of forty members, and at this calling of the yeas and nays, forty-three voted. Some names are also found in this list of members, which are not put down in the convention at Jonesboro'. *Credentials* were of little consequence at that day, and perhaps were not required from members. This may account for the discrepancy, both as to the names and members of the convention.

It was then agreed that a member from the door of the house inform the crowd in the street of the decision. Proclamation was accordingly made before the anxious spectators, who seemed unanimously to give to the proceedings, their consent and approbation. In pursuance of one of its recommendations, the convention appointed Messrs. Cocke and Hardin a committee to draw up and form the plan of association. That plan was presented the next day to the convention in the following report:

"To remove the doubts of the scrupulous; to encourage the timid, and to induce all, harmoniously and speedily, to enter into a firm association, let the following particulars be maturely considered. If we should be so happy as to have a separate government, vast numbers from different quarters, with a little encouragement from the public, would fill up our frontier, which would strengthen us, improve agriculture, perfect manufactures, encourage literature and every thing truly laudable. The seat of government being among ourselves, would evidently tend, not only to keep a circulating medium in gold and silver

among us, but draw it from many individuals living in other states, who claim large quantities of lands that would lie in the bounds of the new state. Add to the foregoing reasons, the many schemes as a body, we could execute to draw it among us, and the sums which many travellers out of curiosity, and men in public business, would expend among us. But all these advantages, acquired and accidental, together with many more that might be mentioned, whilst we are connected with the old counties, may not only be nearly useless to us, but many of them prove injurious; and this will always be the case during a connexion with them, because they are the most numerous, and consequently will always be able to make us subservient to them; that our interest must be generally neglected, and sometimes sacrificed, to promote theirs, as was instanced in a late taxation act, in which, notwithstanding our local situation and improvement being so evidently inferior, that it is unjust to tax our lands equally, yet they have expressly done it; and our lands, at the same time, not of one fourth of the same value. And to make it still more apparent that we should associate the whole councils of the state, the Continental Congress, by their resolves, invite us to it. The assembly of North-Carolina by their late cession bill, opened the door, and by their prudent measures invite to it; and as a closing reason to induce to a speedy association, our late convention chosen to consider public affairs, and concert measures, as appears from their resolves, have unanimously agreed that we should do it, by signing the following articles:

"First. That we agree to entrust the consideration of public affairs, and the prescribing rules necessary to a convention, to be chosen by each company as follows:—That if any company should not exceed thirty, there be one representative; and where it contains fifty, there be two; and so in proportion, as near as may be, and that their regulations be reviewed by the association.

'Secondly. As the welfare of our common country depends much on the friendly disposition of Congress, and their rightly understanding our situation, we do therefore unanimously agree, speedily to furnish a person with a reasonable support, to present our memorial, and negotiate our business in Congress.

"Thirdly. As the welfare of the community also depends much on public spirit, benevolence and regard to virtue, we therefore unanimously agree to improve and cultivate these, and to discountenance every thing of a contradictory and repugnant nature.

"Fourthly. We unanimously agree to protect this association with our lives and fortunes, to which we pledge our faith and reputation."

These report being concurred in, on motion of Mr. Cocke, it was

"*Resolved*, That the clerks of the county courts who have the bonds and recognizance of any officers, sheriffs and collectors, who have collected any of the public monies, or are about now to collect any of the same, are hereby specially commanded and required to hold said bonds in their possession and custody, until some mode be adopted and pre-

scribed to have our accounts fairly and properly liquidated with the State of North-Carolina. And they resolved, further, that all the sheriffs and collectors, who have before collected any of the public monies, shall be called on, and render due accounts of the monies that they have collected and have in their hands, or may collect by virtue of their office.

"Messrs. White and Doak moved, and were permitted to enter their dissent against both of these resolutions, because, in their opinion, it was contrary to law to detain the bonds."

The deputies then took into consideration the propriety of having a new convention called to form a constitution, and give a name to the Independent State. They decided that each county should elect five members to the convention—the same number that had been elected in 1776, to form the constitution of North-Carolina. They fixed the time and place of meeting to be at Jonesboro', on the 16th of September, and then adjourned.

For some reason not now distinctly known, the convention did not meet till November, and then broke up in great confusion. The members had not harmonized upon the details of the plan of association. There was a still greater conflict of opinion amongst their respective constituencies, and in a new community the voice of a constituent is always omnipotent, and must not be disregarded. Each party was tenacious of its own plan, and clamourous for its adoption. Some preferred a longer adherence to the mother state, under the expectation and hope that by the legislation of North-Carolina, many, if not all, of the grievances which had disaffected her western counties, would be soon redressed. Her Assembly was then in session at Newbern, and did repeal the act for ceding her western territory to Congress. During the same session they also formed a judicial district of the four western counties, and appointed an assistant judge and an attorney-general for the Superior Court, which was directed to be held at Jonesboro'. The Assembly also formed the militia of Washington District into a brigade, and appointed Col. John Sevier the brigadier-general.

In the law repealing the cession act, it is mentioned as the reason for the repeal: "That the Cession, so intended, was made in full confidence that the whole expense of the Indian expeditions, and militia aids to the States of South-Carolina

and Georgia, should pass to account in our quota of the continental expenses in the late war; and, also, that the other states, holding western territory, would make similar cessions, and that all the states would unanimously grant *imposts* of five per cent. as a common fund for the discharge of the federal debt; and, whereas, the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut, after accepting the cessions of New-York and Virginia, have since put in claims for the whole or a large part of that territory, and all the above expected measures for constituting a substantial common fund have been either frustrated or delayed;"—the said act is, therefore, repealed. On account of the remote situation of the western counties, these causes of the legislation of the parent state were not well understood across the mountain, or were so misrepresented as to give rise to the charge, against North-Carolina, of fickleness, or rather to the imputation of neglect and inattention towards the new settlements.

But "revolutions never go backwards;" the masses had been put in motion; some steps had been taken in remodeling their governments—a change was desired. A new convention was determined on, and, accordingly, another election was held, and deputies were again chosen to a future convention. On the day of the election, at Jonesboro', General Sevier declared himself satisfied with the provisions that had been made by the Legislature of North-Carolina in favour of the western people, and, enumerating them in a public address, recommended to the people to proceed no further in their design to separate from North-Carolina. He also wrote to Col. Kennedy, of Greene county, under date—

2d JANUARY, 1785.

DEAR COLONEL:—I have just received certain information from Col. Martin, that the first thing the Assembly of North-Carolina did was to repeal the Cession Bill, and to form this part of the country into a separate District, by name of Washington District, which I have the honour to command, as general. I conclude this step will satisfy the people with the old state, and we shall pursue no further measures as to a new state. David Campbell, Esqr., is appointed one of our judges. I would write to you officially, but my commission is not yet come to hand.

I am, dr. Colo., with esteem, yr. mt. obdt.

COLO. KENNEDY. JOHN SEVIER.

1785 Gen. Sevier also made a written communication addressed to Col. Kennedy and the citizens of Greene county, informing them what had been done for their relief by the legislature, and, with the purpose of preventing confusion and controversies amongst the people of the western counties, he begged them to decline all further action in respect to a new government.

Notwithstanding this earnest advice of the president of the late convention, and the redress of the grievances of which they complained, and which had alienated the people from the mother state, they persisted in their determination; the election was held, and five deputies from each county were elected. Those chosen for Washington county were John Sevier, William Cocke, John Tipton, Thomas Stewart, and Rev. Samuel Houston. For Sullivan county, David Looney, Richard Gammon, Moses Looney, William Cage, and John Long. For the county of Greene, James Reese, Daniel Kennedy, John Newman, James Roddye and Joseph Hardin. The number of deputies was fifteen, less than half of the convention previously elected. They were chosen, too, by the counties and not by captain's companies, and, representing larger bodies of their fellow citizens, were less trammeled by local prejudices and instructions. Their action was less restricted, and their deliberations freer and more enlightened. In this body, as now composed, was considerable ability and some experience.

The convention subsequently assembled again at Jonesborough, and again appointed John Sevier president, and F. A. Ramsey, secretary.

The convention being organized and ready for business, the Rev. Samuel Houston, one of the deputies from Washington county, arose and addressed the convention on the importance of their meeting, showing that they were about to lay the foundation on which was to be placed, not only their own welfare and interest, but, perhaps, those of their posterity for ages to come; and adding that, under such interesting and solemn circumstances, they should look to Heaven, and offer prayer for counsel and direction from Infinite Wisdom. The president immediately designated Mr. Hous-

ton, and he offered up a solemn and appropriate prayer, in which all seemed to unite.

A form of a constitution under which the new government should be put in motion, was submitted and agreed to, subject to the ratification, modification or rejection of a future convention directed to be chosen by the people, and to meet on the fourteenth of November, 1785, at Greenville. Ample time was thus given to examine the merits and defects of the new organization, and by discussing them in detail, to harmonize conflicting opinions, and to secure to it general public sentiment and popular favour.

By an ordinance of the convention, however, it was provided that the electors in the several counties should, in the meantime, proceed to elect members of the legislature for the new state, according to the laws of North-Carolina; and that when thus chosen, the assembly should meet and put the new government into operation.

1785 { The election was accordingly held, and members of the legislature chosen for the State of Franklin. These met at the appointed time in Jonesboro'. After the most diligent search, the writer has been unable to procure a list of the members of this first legislative assembly in what is now Tennessee. It was, probably, for the most part composed of the same members who had constituted the two conventions that preceded, and gave form and vitality to it. This much is known, that Landon Carter was speaker, and Thomas Talbot, clerk of the Senate; and William Cage, speaker, and Thomas Chapman, clerk, of the House of Commons. Thus organized, the assembly proceeded to the election of governor. To this office John Sevier was chosen. A judiciary system was established also at this first session. David Campbell was elected Judge of the Superior Court, and Joshua Gist and John Anderson Assistant Judges.

The first session of the Legislature of Franklin, terminated on the thirty-first day of March, 1785, on which day the following acts were ratified, and signed by the speakers and countersigned by the clerks of their respective bodies, viz:

"An act to establish the legal claims of persons claiming any property under the laws of North-Carolina, in the same

manner as if the State of Franklin had never formed itself into a distinct and separate state."

"An act to appoint commissioners, and to vest them with full powers to make deeds of conveyance to such persons as have purchased lots in the town of Jonesboro'."

"An act for the promotion of learning in the county of Washington." Under the provisions of this act, the foundation of Martin Academy was laid. It is believed that this is the earliest legislative action taken anywhere west of the Alleghanies, for the encouragement of learning. Rev. Samuel Doak, who had been a member of the convention, and, probably, of the Franklin assembly, and the apostle of religion and learning in the West, was the founder and first president of Martin Academy. He was a graduate of Nassau Hall, in its palmiest days, under the presidency of Dr. Witherspoon. His school-house, a plain log building erected on his own farm, stood a little west of the present site of what is now Washington College. For many years it was the only, and for still more, the principal seat of classical education for the western country.

1785

"An act to establish a militia in this state."

"An act for dividing Sullivan county and part of Greene, into two distinct counties, and erecting a county by the name of Spencer." This new county covered the same territory now known as Hawkins county.

"An act for procuring a great seal for this state." This act was probably never carried into effect. More than two years afterwards commissions to the officers of Franklin were issued, having upon them a common wafer as the seal of the state.

"An act directing the method of electing members of the General Assembly." The first Monday of August, was the time fixed by law for the annual meeting of the legislature.

"An act to divide Greene county into three separate and distinct counties, and to erect two new counties by the name of Caswell and Sevier." The former occupied the section of country which is now Jefferson, and extended probably further west. There is reason to believe that Caswell

county extended down the French Broad and Holston to their confluence, and perhaps further west. This much is certain: that General White and others, known to be steadfast friends of the new state and officers under it, were at this time forming settlements in this part of the present Knox county. The other new county embraced what is still known as Sevier county, south of French Broad, and also that part of Blount east of the ridge dividing the waters of Little River from those of the Tennessee. The courts of Sevier county were held at Newell's Station, near the head of Boyd's Creek. This is one of the prettiest places in Tennessee; its ruins are still to be seen—about fifteen miles south-east from Knoxville—on the farm lately owned by Edward Hodges, Esq.

"An act to ascertain the value of gold and silver foreign coin, and the paper currency now in circulation in the state of North-Carolina, and to declare the same to be a lawful tender in this state."

"An act for levying a tax for the support of the government."

"An act to ascertain the salaries allowed the Governor, Attorney-General, Judges of the Superior Courts, Assistant Judges, Secretary of State, Treasurer and members of Council of State."

"An act for ascertaining what property in this state shall be deemed taxable, the method of assessing the same, and collecting public taxes."

"An act to ascertain the powers and authorities of the Judges of the Superior Courts, the Assistant Judges and Justices of the Peace, and of the County Courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, and directing the time and place of holding the same."

"An act for erecting a part of Washington county and that part of Wilkes lying west of the extreme heights of the Apalachian or Alleghany Mountains, into a separate and distinct county by the name of Wayne." This new county covered the same territory now embraced in the limits of Carter and Johnson counties.

The provisions of some of these acts were nearly the

same as those adopted by North-Carolina at the commencement of her state government. The style of the enactments was this: "Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Franklin."

The Governor, the Judge of the Superior Court, and the Assistant Judges, were elected, as has been already mentioned, by the legislature at its first session. The other state officers were Landon Carter, Secretary of State; William Cage, Treasurer; Stockley Donaldson, Surveyor-General; Daniel Kennedy and William Cocke, Brigadier-Generals of the Franklin militia. General Cocke was also delegated to represent the condition of the new government in the Congress of the United States. Members of the Council of State were—General William Cocke, Colonel Landon Carter, Colonel Francis A. Ramsey, Judge Campbell, General Kennedy, Colonel Taylor. Until the new constitution should be adopted by the people, the temporary form of government was that of North-Carolina.

County courts were, at the same session, established, and justices of the peace appointed. The civil and military officers for each county, as far as can now be ascertained, were—James Sevier, Clerk of Washington County Court; John Rhea, of Sullivan; Daniel Kennedy, of Greene; Thomas Henderson, of Spencer; Joseph Hamilton, of Caswell; and Samuel Weir, of Sevier. On the 10th of June, 1785, Governor Sevier, by proclamation, announced the appointment of F. A. Ramsey, Esq., as Clerk of the Superior Court of Washington District.*

The salaries of the officers of state were—of the Governor, two hundred pounds annually; Attorney-General, twenty-five pounds for each court he attended; Secretary of State, twenty-five pounds annually, and his fees of office; Judge of Superior Court, one hundred and fifty pounds per annum; Assistant Judges, twenty-five pounds for each court; Treasurer, forty pounds annually; each member of Council of State, six shillings per day, when in actual service.

"In the law, levying a tax for the support of government, was the clause following:

* Haywood.

"'*Be it enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the aforesaid land tax, and all free polls, to be paid in the following manner: Good flax linen, ten hundred, at three shillings and six pence per yard; nine hundred, at three shillings; eight hundred, two shillings and nine pence; seven hundred, two shillings and six pence; six hundred, two shillings; tow linen, one shilling and nine pence; linsey, three shillings, and woollen and cotton linsey, three shillings and six pence per yard; good, clean beaver skin, six shillings; cased otter skins, six shillings; uncased ditto, five shillings; rackoon and fox skins, one shilling and three pence; woollen cloth, at ten shillings per yard; bacon, well cured, six pence per pound; good, clean tallow, six pence per pound; good, clean beeswax, one shilling per pound; good distilled rye whiskey, at two shillings and six pence per gallon; good peach or apple brandy, at three shillings per gallon; good country made sugar, at one shilling per pound: deer skins, the pattern, six shillings; good, neat and well managed tobacco, fit to be prized, that may pass inspection, the hundred, fifteen shillings, and so on in proportion for a greater or less quantity.'"

"'And all the salaries and allowances hereby made, shall be paid by any treasurer, sheriff, or collector of public taxes, to any person entitled to the same, to be paid in specific articles as collected, and at the rates allowed by the state for the same; or in current money of the State of Franklin.' In specifying the skins, which might be received as a commutation for money, the risibility of the unthinking was sometimes excited at the enumeration. The rapidity of wit, which never stops to be informed, and which delights by its oddities, established it as an axiom, that the salaries of the governor, judges, and other officers, were to be paid in skins absolutely; and to add to their merriment, had them payable in *mink* skins."*

The provisions of the Franklin Legislature concerning its currency, have been the source of much merriment and pleasantry, at the expense of the Franks. It should be recollected that many of the articles, which were thus declared to be a lawful tender in payment of debts, were, at that moment, convertible into specie, at the prices designated by the law; and all of them, certainly, at a lower scale of depreciation than the issues of many banks, considered since that time as a legal currency. Besides, in the forming period of society, when the pastoral and agricultural have not yet been merged into the commercial and manufacturing stages, where the simple wants of a new community confine its exchanges to the bartering of one commodity or product for another, there can be but little use for *money*. There it does not constitute wealth, and is scarcely the representative of it. On the frontier, he is the wealthiest man, not

* Haywood.

who owns the largest amount of wild lands, while thousands of acres around him are vacant and unappropriated; or who has money to lend, which no one near him wishes or needs to borrow; but he whose guns and traps furnish the most peltries, who owns the largest flocks and herds, and whose cribs and barns are the fullest, and whose household fabrics are the most abundant. In a new settlement, these are wealth, and constitute its standard.

In the earlier periods of all the American colonies, a like condition of things existed, as did now in Franklin. Money appears to have been very scarce, and in their domestic transactions, quite unknown. In Virginia, two centuries ago, the price of a wife was estimated at one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco; and the subject of the transaction was held to impart its own dignity to the debt, which accordingly was allowed to take precedence of all other engagements. In 1688, a stipend of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco was given by law to each clergymen. In Maryland, tobacco, and not money, was made the measure of value, in all the laws where prices were stated or payments prescribed.* In North-Carolina, as late as 1722, debts and rents were generally made payable in hides, tallow, furs, or other productions of the country. And still later, in 1738, when money was scarce in that colony, it became necessary to receive payment of quit-rents and other debts, in such articles of country produce as were marketable and easily transported. The price of these several articles was fixed by acts of Assembly, at which they were a legal tender. When judgment was obtained in a court for damages to a certain amount, the entry was usually made in the docket with the following addition: "payable in deer skins, hides, tallow or small furs, at country price."† A specific tax of one bushel of Indian corn, upon every tithable inhabitant, was laid in 1715, for the support of some forces upon the frontier, and to discharge a debt due to South-Carolina.

At an early day in Virginia, tobacco became the standard of value, and supplied in part the place of a circulating medium. By an act of 1632, "the secretary's fees shall be as

* Grahame. † Williamson.

followeth : ffor a warrant, 05 lbs. of tobacco; ffor a passe 10 lbs.; ffor a freedom 20, etc. The marshall's fees ffor an arrest, 10 lbs.; ffor warning the cort, 02, imprisonment coming in 10, going out 10, laying by the heels 5, whipping 10, pillory 10, duckinge 10, ffor every 5 lbs. of tobacco the marshall may require one bushel of corne, etc. etc."*

1631 { The court of assistants, of Massachusetts, ordered that corn should pass for payment of all debts at the usual rate for which it was sold.

Hard Currency.—"Musket balls, full bore, were a legal tender in Massachusetts, in 1656, current for a farthing a piece, provided that no man be compelled to take above twelve at a time of them."

"In 1680, the town of Hilham paid its taxes in milk-pails."

Having appointed the officers of state, and provided for the support of the government of Franklin, the Assembly authorized a treaty to be held with the Cherokee Indians. Governor Sevier, Alexander Outlaw and Daniel Kennedy, were appointed commissioners. The treaty was held at the house of Major Henry, near the mouth of Dumplin Creek, on the north bank of French Broad River. The king of the Cherokees, with a great number of their chiefs, met the Franklin commissioners at this place, on the 31st of May, 1785. The conference was continued three days, and resulted in the establishment of the ridge dividing the waters of Little River and the Tennessee, as the boundary between the whites and Indians, and the cession of all the lands south of French Broad and Holston, east of that ridge. For these lands the Indians were promised compensation in general terms. "Both parties professed a sincere desire for the blessings of peace, and an ardent wish that it might be of long continuance. The governor, in a speech well calculated to produce the end he had in view, deplored the sufferings of the white people; the blood which the Indians spilt on the road leading to Kentucky; lamented the uncivilized state of the Indians, and to prevent all future animosities, he suggested the propriety of fixing the bounds, beyond which those settlements should not be extended, which had been

* Foote's Virginia.

imprudently made on the south side of French Broad and Holston, under the connivance of North-Carolina, and could not now be broken up; and he pledged the faith of the State of Franklin, if these bounds should be agreed upon and made known, that the citizens of his state should be effectually restrained from all encroachments beyond it."*

Under the government of Franklin, the county offices were generally conferred upon those who already held commissions under the State of North-Carolina for the same places. This arrangement gave general satisfaction. The metamorphosis from the old to the new order of things was so noiseless, gradual and imperceptible, it did violence to no one, produced no convulsion, and for the time being reconciled all parties west of the mountains to the new government, which was now in the full tide of successful experiment.

East of the Alleghanies, however, this sudden dismemberment of the territory of North-Carolina produced surprise, censure and condemnation. A rumour of the insurrectionary tendency across the mountain, had reached Newbern during the session of the legislature, and had, doubtless, much influence in hastening the measures adopted for the conciliation and relief of the western people. Complaints were soon after made to Alexander Martin, then governor of the state, by the chiefs of the Cherokee nation, of the frequent violation of treaty stipulations, and especially of the murder of one of their head men, Butler, by Major Hubbard, one of the Franklin officers, in time of peace.

Governor Martin, under date Danbury, Dec. 18, 1784 had written to Col. John Gist, authorizing him to convene the witnesses before him, and if they prove the killing, "you will issue your warrant to apprehend the said Hubbard, directed to the sheriff or such other officers as you judge proper, to be brought before you, and if he cannot shew any exculpatory reason for this act, you will commit him under a strong guard to Burke county jail, and to be under the care of General McDowell, there to remain until Washington Superior Court."

The circumstances of the death of Butler, as furnished by

* Haywood.

a surviving kinsman, as he received them from Hubbard himself, are these:

THE DEATH OF UNTOOLA OR GUN ROD OF CITICO—OR, AS KNOWN TO THE WHITES, BUTLER—A CHEROKEE CHIEF.

During an armistice that had taken place between the Upper towns of the Cherokees and the infant settlements upon the French Broad, an attempt was made to revive the peaceful relations which, at happy intervals, had existed between the white and Indian population. The counsels of the elder chiefs had at length prevailed over the rash and inconsiderate decisions of the young men and warriors, and had curbed, if not eradicated, the restless spirit of cruelty and aggression which had so often involved the frontier in war. The whites too, were at this moment not indisposed to a state of peace. The emigration from abroad had been so great as to render the amount of the last year's crop inadequate for the present wants and support of the country. A pacific policy was necessary to a renewal of that system of barter which, in times of previous scarcity, had been so beneficial to all. Impelled by necessity, several small parties ventured into the Indian country to procure corn. Amongst these was one consisting of only two men, Col. James Hubbardt and a fellow-soldier. Hubbardt's parents and their whole family, had been cruelly butchered in Virginia by the Shawnees, and he had hence become the avowed enemy of the Indian race; and it may not be saying too much to add, that he had killed more Cherokees than any other one man. In every battle with them, he sought the place of danger. Courageous in action, ardent in pursuit, artful in stratagie and desperate in his revenges, he had incurred the implacable resentment of the Indians. This feeling had been exasperated by the mortifying result of many a hardly contested rencounter with them.. In one of these it was his good fortune to meet and unhorse Butler, a distinguished warrior and the chieftain of Citico. To lose his horse, his tomahawk or his rifle, is equivalent, in the Cherokee warrior's code, to the loss of consequence and of honour. Butler apprehended this effect from his late inglorious retreat from his antagonist. This stain

upon his character ulcerated his proud and ambitious spirit, and impatient under its corrodings, and panting for an opportunity to retrieve his loss, he had dissented from the peace-talks which were gradually preparing his followers for a general pacification—an event which Butler was well aware, under *his* peculiar situation, would consign him to temporary obscurity, or perhaps sink him to lasting infamy. His wounded pride could not brook this tormenting apprehension, and he disdained to accept the overture of peace, which he too well knew had not been extorted by his valour. Hearing of the approach of Hubbardt and of his companion to his town, he invited a warrior, who still adhered to his fortunes, to accompany him. Well armed and well mounted, they hastened from Citico and soon met the object of their search. Hubbardt and his companion were encumbered with packages of different kinds, which had been laid upon their horses to be exchanged for corn. At the time of Butler's approach, they were on foot, leading the horses leisurely along the Indian path. Butler rode directly up, and with an air of insulted dignity demanded, in English, the object of their intrusive visit. Hubbardt, looking at him sternly, replied, with great self-possession, As the war is over, we have brought some clothing which we desire to barter for corn; and as an evidence of the conciliatory and peaceable purpose of his visit, he exhibited the contents of a sack taken from his horse. He also drew forth a bottle of whiskey and invited the Indians to drink. To inspire Butler with greater confidence, he leaned his rifle against a tree, vainly hoping, by this demeanour, to appease the resentment which but too plainly burned in the bosom and flashed from the eyes of his antagonist. To the enquiry about a supply of corn, no answer was made by Butler, who manifested a stubborn indifference to the negotiation. He continued mounted and rode partly around the white men, with the supposed intention of either separating Hubbardt from his gun, by running his horse in between him and the tree, or of getting them both in the range of his double-barrelled rifle, and of killing the principal and his second at one shot. Hubbardt, however, was not less eagle-eyed than he was brave, and taking his position near his gun, de-

termined, that while he made no aggression upon others, he would not allow himself to be deprived of the means of defence. The negotiation was now ended—not another word was uttered. Though all verbal communication was suspended, it was not difficult to read in their expressive countenances, the reckless determination of the two principals. Their companions remained spectators of the conduct of their chiefs—each of them aware that the fate of his friend might be decisive of his own.

Hubbardt knew that to resume his rifle, in the present posture of things, would be construed as a breach of the existing armistice or a renewal of the war, and would expose a starving frontier to famine and to the merciless incursions of their savage neighbours. To remain unarmed was to invite an attack from his adversary. He avoided either. He reached his hand to the muzzle of his gun and allowed the breach to remain upon the ground; then assuming a look of stern defiance, he waited, in silence, for the attack. Butler changed the position of his horse and aimed a blow at Hubbardt, but was unable, by this manœuvre, to gain any advantage over his wary antagonist. Baffled in this expectation, he coolly surveyed him, and, quick as lightning, levelled his gun and fired. The ball passed between the ear and head of Hubbardt, and cut the hair from his temple and doing little injury to the skin, slightly stunned him. The two Indians immediately retreated. Their flight was so instantaneous and rapid that they had reached the distance of eighty yards when a ball from Hubbardt's gun struck Butler in the back and brought him to the ground. He begged Hubbardt, who was now approaching him, to let him alone—he was a dead man. At his own request, he was lifted up and placed against a tree, when he breathed easier. To the request that he should tell them, before he died, whether his nation was for peace, he replied angrily, No. They are for war, and if you go any further they will take your hair. To the remark that they had better not again go to war, for the white people would whip them, he he replied: It is a lie, it is a lie; and making the declaration more emphatic by the addition of other offensive and insult-

ing expletives, continued to provoke Hubbardt till, in a paroxysm of ill-timed rage, by a blow from his heavy gun, he dispatched him.

The companion of Hubbardt had his attention so wholly absorbed by the principal combatants, that he allowed the other Indian to escape without firing at him. Hubbardt reproached him bitterly for this neglect, and said that, if he had killed the other, intelligence of Butler's death would not have exposed the whites to immediate retaliation ; as it is, said he, the Indians will invade the settlements before they can be prepared for them.

It will be seen, hereafter, how severely the frontier suffered from the revenge, cruelty and retaliation of Butler's townsmen.

Rumour had ascribed the disturbances on the frontier to the officers of the new government, and Governor Martin sent Samuel Henderson to the West, with instructions and full power to examine into and ascertain the extent of the injuries inflicted upon the Indians, and the disaffection of the western people. The governor also forwarded, by Major Henderson, a talk from himself to the Cherokees, and a letter to General Sevier. As containing a history of the times at which they bear date, each of these papers is given at length.

To the Old Tassel and other Warriors of the Cherokee nation :

Brothers :—I have received your talk by Colonel Martin, in behalf of yourself and all the Cherokee nation. I am sorry that you have been uneasy, and that I could not see you this last spring, as I promised you, as our beloved men met at Hillsborough had prevented me, by agreeing and concluding among themselves, that the Great Council of the thirteen American States, at Philadelphia, should transact all affairs belonging to the Red People. . . . . .

Brother :—It gives me great uneasiness that our people trespass on your lands, and that your young men are afraid to go a-hunting on account of our people ranging the woods and marking the trees. These things, I can assure you, are against the orders of your elder brother, and are not approved of by me and the good men of North-Carolina ; but while we were consulting our council of Philadelphia, our bad men living near your lands thought we had laid aside all government over them, and that they had a right to do as they pleased ; and not willing to obey any law for the sake of ill gain and profit, care not what mischief they do between the red and white people, if they can enrich them-

selves. But, brother, I know your complaints, and will endeavour to set your minds at ease, by again ordering off all these persons from your lands, who have settled on them without your consent. Your friend, Gen. Sevier, is made our First Warrior for the western country, to whom Colonel Martin carries my particular directions to have these intruders moved off. About the 25th of April, I propose to meet you, and such of your beloved men as will be pleased to attend, at the Great Island in Holston, or other place most agreeable to you on Broad or that river. I shall bring with me some of our first men, who will assist in the Talks, in whom, as well as myself, you can place your confidence and trust. I propose to bring with me the goods, which, in my last Talk, I informed you, were intended to purchase your right and claim to some of the lands near you, that a line be drawn and marked between your people and ours, which shall be the bounds in future, and over which our people shall not go and settle upon, without being highly punished.

Brother :—In the meanwhile, I beg you not to listen to any bad Talks, which may be made by either white or red people, which may disturb our peace and good will to each other ; and should mischief be done by any of our bad people, be patient until you hear from me, and may be certain your elder brother of North-Carolina will do every thing in his power, to give your minds satisfaction. I am told the northern Indians have sent you some bad Talks, but do not hear them, as they wish to make variance between all the red and American people without any provocation.

Brother :—Colonel Martin, your friend, has told me your grievances. I wish to redress them as soon as possible. I cannot come to you sooner than I have proposed. Bad men may make you uneasy, but your elder brother of North-Carolina has you greatly in his heart, and wishes to make you sensible of it.

GOVERNOR MARTIN TO GENERAL SEVIER :

DANBURY, December, 1784.

Sir :—By Major Outlaw, I sent your brigadier's commission, which I expect you have received, and which I hope will be acceptable to you, as also some proclamations agreeably to a request of the Legislature, to have all intruders removed off the Indian lands. I request your attention to this business, as I have received a Talk from the Cherokee nation, greatly complaining of trespasses daily committing against them ; and that their young men are afraid to hunt, as our people are continually ranging their woods and marking their trees. The importance of keeping peace with the Indians you are sufficiently impressed with, and the powers with which you are armed, are sufficient to check the licentious and disobedient, and remove every impediment out of the way, which may give the Indians uneasiness.

I am informed a daring murder has been committed, on one Butler, a Cherokee Indian, by Major Hubbard, of Greene county, without any provocation. I have given directions for his being apprehended and conveyed to Burke Gaol for security, until the setting of Washington Superior Court, when he will be remanded back. Col. Gist, of Greene county, is entrusted with this service. I have directed him to call on you for guards if the same be necessary.

You will please to write to me the first opportunity on this subject. I propose to hold a treaty with the Indians about the 25th of April, at the Great Island.

Governor Caswell and Colonel Blount will be commissioners to assist at the treaty, where I shall expect you to attend with such guard as will be thought necessary, and of which you will hereafter have advice.

Hearing of the continued revolt in the West, Governor Martin again addressed Governor Sevier:

Sir:—With some concern, I have heard that the counties of Washington, Sullivan and Greene, have lately declared themselves independent of the State of North-Carolina, and have chosen you governor—that you have accepted the same, and are now acting with a number of officers under the authority of a new government.

As I wish to have full and proper information on this subject, Major Samuel Henderson waits upon you with this, by whom you will please to transmit me an account of the late proceedings of the people in the western country, that I may have it in my power to communicate the same to the General Assembly.

The general discontent that prevailed through the state at the late Cession act, and the situation of our public accounts not being as favourable as they were taught to believe, caused the Assembly to repeal that act by a large majority, and to convince the people of the western country, that the state still retained her affection for, and was not desirous to part with, such a respectable body of citizens, in the present situation of affairs, attempted to make government as easy as possible to them by erecting a new Superior Court District, creating a Brigadier-General of the Militia, and an Assistant Judge of the said Superior Court, which was, in short, redressing every grievance, and removing every obstacle out of the way that called for a separation, and which the Legislature were induced to expect from one of the members of that district, would give full satisfaction.

It has also been suggested that the Indian goods are to be seized, and the Commissioners arrested, when they arrive, on the business of the Treaty, as infringing on the powers of your new government; for which reason they are stopped, and I shall not proceed with the Commissioners until we are assured how far the militia of Washington District may be relied on for guards in conducting the Treaty, whom alone I intend to call upon to attend to this business.

You will also please to inform me respecting the late Proclamations to remove off all intruders on the Indian lands, and what is done in Hubbard's case, of which I wrote you by Colonel Martin.

Gov. Martin also sent another Talk:

To the Old Tassel of Chota, and all the warriors of the Friendly Towns of the Cherokee nation:

Brothers:—The time is about arriving when I expected to have held a great Talk with you, as I promised by Col. Martin, and hope you will not charge me with being false and faithless to my promise, when I ex-

plain to you the reason why this business is obliged to be put off to some longer time. I am sorry to give you this information, as the fault is not yours or mine; but, from a circumstance I could not have foreseen, would have happened; while we were preparing to see each other to exchange mutual pledges of lasting friendship. A String.

Our brothers, the white people between the mountains and you, wish to have a council of beloved men and government separate from your elder brothers of North-Carolina, with whom they heretofore sat and held all their councils in common.

Your elder brothers are not yet agreed to their separation from them, till they are a more numerous and stronger people, till we have held Talks together on the terms of the separation, and till the great Council at New-York are agreed; while these things are settling among ourselves, the talking with you must be delayed, as the meeting must be on the ground where they live, and from whom we must procure things necessary for the support of you and us; and by this Talk we intend to make a chain of friendship strong and bright, that will last forever between you and all your elder brothers, more especially those who live near you. We wish to have their full consent and hearty assistance as one people in this business. A String.

Brothers:—Be not discouraged at this delay. Whatever disputes may be between your elder brothers, I trust it will not concern you, more than you may think the time long we may take up in understanding ourselves. In the meantime, I, as your elder brother, request you to be peaceably disposed to all the white people who are our brothers, and not suffer any mischief to be done to them, either to their persons or property, nor listen to any ill Talks which may be offered you, either from the red or white bad people; but should any injury be done you by the white people near you, complain to their head and beloved men, who I hope will give you redress, till the way is clear for you and us of North-Carolina to see each other. A String.

Brothers:—The time is shortly to be, by the nature of our government, when I am to become as a private brother, but the good Talks that have passed between us will not be forgotten. I will deliver them carefully to my successor, Governor Caswell, who loves you, and wishes to Talk with you in the same manner I have. He will have the conducting of the future Talks with you, which I hope will always be to our mutual satisfaction.

GOV. MARTIN'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR MAJOR SAMUEL HENDERSON.

Sir:—You will please to repair with despatch to General Sevier, and deliver him the letters herewith handed you, and request his answer. You will make yourself acquainted with the transactions of the people in the western country, such as their holding a Convention, and learn whether the same be temporary, to be exercised only during the time of the late Cession act; and that since the repeal thereof, they mean still to consider themselves citizens of North-Carolina, or whether they intend the same to be perpetual, and what measures they have

taken to support such government. That you procure a copy of the constitution, and the names of such officers at present exercising the powers of the new government. That you be informed whether a faction of a few leading men be at the head of this business, or whether it be the sense of a large majority of the people that the state be dismembered at this crisis of affairs, and what laws and resolutions are formed for their future government; also, where the bounds of their new state are to extend, and whether Cumberland or Kentucky, or both, are to be included therein, and whether the people of those places have also taken part in the above transactions. You will learn the temper and disposition of the Indians, and what is done in Hubbard's case, and how his conduct is approved or disapproved in general. Lastly, every other information you think necessary to procure, you will communicate to me as soon as possible; at the same time you will conduct yourself with that prudence you are master of, in not throwing out menaces, or making use of any language that may serve to irritate persons concerned in the above measures.

The authorities of North-Carolina were not long allowed to remain in doubt upon the subject of the defection of the western counties. Soon after the organization of the Legislature of the State of Franklin, and the appointment of its principal officers, a communication was addressed to Alexander Martin, Esq., Governor of North-Carolina, signed by John Sevier, Governor, and Landon Carter and William Cage, as Speakers of the Senate and House of Commons of the State of Franklin, announcing that they and part of the inhabitants of the territory lately ceded to Congress, had declared themselves independent of the State of North-Carolina, and no longer considered themselves under the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the same, and assigning the reasons for their separation. This formal Declaration of Independence, officially communicated by the functionaries of Franklin, and transmitted to the Executive of North-Carolina, induced Governor Martin to issue his circular under date, Danbury, April 7th, 1785, to the members of Council, requiring them to meet him at Hillsborough on the 22d inst. In his circular, he goes on to say that the inhabitants of the western counties "had declared themselves independent of the State of North-Carolina, and have refused, and do refuse, to pay obedience to the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the same;" and he convenes them at Hillsborough, "then and there in your wisdom to deliberate and advise the measures necessary to be taken on this occasion."

Three days after the meeting of his Council, Governor Martin issued a Proclamation as follows :—"Whereas, I have received undoubted information of the revolt of the inhabitants of Washington, Greene and Sullivan counties, who have declared themselves independent of the State of North-Carolina, under the name of the State of *Franklin*," and then convenes the Legislature at Newbern, on the 1st of June.

Upon the same day he issued also the following spirited and elaborate Manifesto :

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA :

By His Excellency ALEXANDER MARTIN, Esquire, Governor, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the State aforesaid—

To the Inhabitants of the Counties of Washington, Sullivan and Greene:

A MANIFESTO.

Whereas, I have received letters from Brigadier-General Sevier, under the style and character of Governor, and from Messrs. Landon Carter and William Cage, as Speakers of the Senate and House of Commons of the State of Franklin, informing me that they, with you, the inhabitants of part of the territory lately ceded to Congress, had declared themselves independent of the State of North-Carolina, and no longer consider themselves under the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the same, stating their reason for their separation and revolt—among which it is alledged, that the western country was ceded to Congress without their consent, by an act of the legislature, and the same was repealed in the like manner.

It is evident, from the journals of that Assembly, how far that assertion is supported, which held up to public view the names of those who voted on the different sides of that important question, where is found a considerable number, if not a majority, of the members—some of whom are leaders in the present *revolt*—then representing the above counties, in support of that act they now deem impolitic and pretend to reprobate—which, in all probability, would not have passed but through their influence and assiduity—whose passage at length was effected but by a small majority, and by which a cession of the vacant territory was only made and obtained with a power to the delegates to complete the same by grants, but that government should still be supported, and that anarchy prevented—which is now suggested—the western people were ready to fall into. The sovereignty and jurisdiction of the state were, by another act passed by the same assembly, reserved and asserted over the ceded territory, with all the powers and authorities as full and ample as before, until Congress should accept the same.

The last Assembly having learned what uneasiness and discontent the Cession act had occasioned throughout the state, whose inhabitants had not been previously consulted on that measure, in whom, by the constitution, the soil and territorial rights of the state are particularly vested, judging the said act impolitic at this time, more especially as it would, for a small consideration, dismember the state of one half of her territo-

ry, and in the end tear from her a respectable body of her citizens, when no one state in the Union had parted with any of their citizens, or given anything like an equivalent to Congress but vacant lands of an equivocal and disputed title and distant situation; and also considering that the said act, by its tenor and purport, was revocable at any time before the cession should have been completed by the delegates, who repealed it by a great majority; at the same time, the Assembly, to convince the people of the western country of their affection and attention to their interest, attempted to render government as easy as possible to them, by removing the only general inconvenience and grievance they might labour under, for the want of a regular administration of criminal justice, and a proper and immediate command of the militia; a new district was erected, an assistant judge and a brigadier-general were appointed.

Another reason for the revolt is assigned, that the Assembly on the Cession act stopped a quantity of goods intended for the Cherokee Indians, as a compensation for their claim to the western lands; and that the Indians had committed hostilities, in consequence thereof. The journals of the Assembly evince the contrary; that the said goods were still to be given to the Indians, but under the regulations of Congress, should the cession take place; which occasioned the delay of not immediately sending them forward; of which the Indians were immediately notified, and I am well informed that no hostilities or mischiefs have been committed on this account; but, on the other hand, that provocations have been, and are daily given, their lands trespassed upon, and even one of their chiefs has been lately murdered, with impunity.

On the repeal of the Cession act, a treaty was ordered to be held with the Indians, and the goods distributed as soon as the season would permit; which, before this, would have been carried into effect, had not the face of affairs been changed.

Under what character, but truly disgraceful, could the State of North-Carolina suffer treaties to be held with the Indians, and other business transacted in a country, where her authority and government were rejected and set at naught, her officers liable to insult, void of assistance or protection.

The particular attention the legislature have paid to the interest of the western citizens, though calculated to conciliate their affection and esteem, has not been satisfactory, it seems: but the same has been attributed to interest and lucrative designs. Whatever designs the legislature entertained in the repeal of the said act, they have made it appear that their wisdom considered that the situation of our public accounts was somewhat changed since that Assembly, and that the interest of the state should immediately be consulted and attended to, that every citizen should reap the advantage of the vacant territory, that the same should be reserved for the payment of the public debts of the state, under such regulations hereafter to be adopted; judging it illtimed generosity at this crisis, to be too liberal of the means that would so greatly contribute to her honesty and justice.

But designs of a more dangerous nature and deeper die seem to glare in the western revolt. The power usurped over the vacant territory, the Union deriving no emolument from the same, not even the

proportional part intended the old states by the cession being reserved, her jurisdiction and sovereignty over that country (which, by the consent of its representatives, were still to remain and be exercised) rejected and deposed; her public revenue in that part of her government seized by the new authority, and not suffered to be paid to the lawful Treasurer, but appropriated to different purposes, as intended by the Legislature,—are all facts, evincing that a restless ambition and a lawless thirst of power, have inspired this enterprise, by which the persons concerned therein, may be precipitated into measures that may, at last, bring down ruin, not only on themselves, but our country at large.

In order, therefore, to reclaim such citizens, who, by specious pretences and the acts of designing men, have been seduced from their allegiance, to restrain others from following their example who are wavering, and to confirm the attachment and affection of those who adhere to the old government, and whose fidelity hath not yet been shaken, I have thought proper to issue this Manifesto, hereby warning all persons concerned in the said revolt, that they return to their duty and allegiance, and forbear paying any obedience to any self-created power and authority unknown to the constitution of the state, and not sanctified by the Legislature. That they and you consider the consequences that may attend such a dangerous and unwarrantable procedure; that far less causes have deluged states and kingdoms with blood, which, at length, have terminated their existence, either by subjecting them a prey to foreign conquerors, or erecting in their room a despotism that has bidden defiance to time to shake off;—the lowest state of misery, human nature, under such a government, can be reduced to. That they reflect there is a national pride in all kingdoms and states, that inspires every subject and citizen with a degree of importance—the grand cement and support of every government—which must not be insulted. That the honour of this State has been particularly wounded, by seizing that by violence which, in time, no doubt, would have been obtained by consent, when the terms of separation would have been explained and stipulated, to the mutual satisfaction of the mother and new state. That Congress, by the confederation, cannot countenance such a separation, wherein the State of North-Carolina hath not given her full consent; and if an implied or conditional one hath been given, the same hath been rescinded by a full Legislature. Of her reasons for so doing they consider themselves the only competent judges.

That by such rash and irregular conduct a precedent is formed for every district, and even every county of the state, to claim the right of separation and independency for any supposed grievance of the inhabitants, as caprice, pride and ambition shall dictate, at pleasure, thereby exhibiting to the world a melancholy instance of a feeble or pusillanimous government, that is either unable or dares not restrain the lawless designs of its citizens, which will give ample cause of exultation to our late enemies, and raise their hopes that they may hereafter gain, by the division among ourselves, that dominion their tyranny and arms have lost, and could not maintain.

That you tarnish not the laurels you have so gloriously won at King's Mountain and elsewhere, in supporting the freedom and independence

of the United States, and this state in particular, to be whose citizens were then your boast, in being concerned in a black and traitorous revolt from that government in whose defence you have so copiously bled, and which, by solemn oath, you are still bound to support. Let not Vermont be held up as an example on this occasion. Vermont, we are informed, had her claims for a separate government at the first existence of the American war, and, as such, with the other states, although not in the Union, hath exerted her powers against the late common enemy.

That you be not insulted or led away with the pageantry of a mock government without the essentials—the shadow without the substance—which always dazzles weak minds, and which will, in its present form and manner of existence, not only subject you to the ridicule and contempt of the world, but rouse the indignation of the other states in the Union at your obtruding yourselves as a power among them without their consent. Consider what a number of men of different abilities will be wanting to fill the civil list of the State of Franklin, and the expense necessary to support them suitable to their various degrees of dignity, when the District of Washington, with its present officers, might answer all the purposes of a happy government until the period arrive when a separation might take place to mutual advantage and satisfaction on an honourable footing. The Legislature will shortly meet, before whom the transactions of your leaders will be laid. Let your representatives come forward and present every grievance in a constitutional manner, that they may be redressed; and let your terms of separation be proposed with decency, your proportion of the public debts ascertained, the vacant territory appropriated to the mutual benefit of both parties, in such manner and proportion as may be just and reasonable; let your proposals be consistent with the honour of the state to accede to, which, by your allegiance as good citizens, you cannot violate, and I make no doubt but her generosity, in time, will meet your wishes.

But, on the contrary, should you be hurried on by blind ambition to pursue your present unjustifiable measures, which may open afresh the wounds of this late bleeding country, and plunge it again into all the miseries of a civil war, which *God* avert, let the fatal consequences be charged upon the authors. It is only time which can reveal the event. I know with reluctance the state will be *driven to arms*; it will be the last alternative to *imbrue* her hands in the blood of her citizens; but if no other ways and means are found to save her honour, and reclaim her head-strong, refractory citizens, but this last sad expedient, her resources are not yet so exhausted or her spirits damped, but she may take satisfaction for this great injury received, regain her government over the revolted territory or render it not worth possessing. But all these effects may be prevented, at this time, by removing the causes, by those who have revolted returning to their duty, and those who have stood firm, still continue to support the government of this state, until the consent of the legislature be fully and constitutionally had for a separate sovereignty and jurisdiction. All which, by virtue of the powers and authorities which your representatives and others of the state at large have invested me

with in General Assembly, I hereby will command and require, as you will be liable to answer all the pains and penalties that may ensue on the contrary.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the State, which I have caused to be hereunto affixed, at Hillsborough, the twenty-fifth day of April, in the year of our Lord 1785, and ninth year of the Independence of the said State.

ALEXANDER MARTIN.

By His Excellency's command.
James Glasgow, Secretary.

A document such as this, emanating from the highest authority known to the sovereignty of North-Carolina, conceived in language and spirit at once conciliatory and respectful, though earnest and firm, could not be wholly disregarded, and was not without its influence upon the reflecting and considerate. Copies of it, in manuscript, were distributed, and read amongst the citizens of the new state. A closer scrutiny into the measure of separation that had been adopted, was instituted. A few had, from the first, advised adherence to the mother state. Their number had increased, after the repeal of the Cession act. To such, the Manifesto of Governor Martin furnished new weapons against Franklin and their present rulers. But no one contemplated or advised a permanent connection between North-Carolina and her western counties, as a return to their former allegiance must soon be succeeded by another separation from her, perhaps not less difficult, or of less questionable validity. The policy of ceding the western territory to Congress, might ultimately be re-adopted, and the existing imbecile condition of the Confederacy, led no one to think favourably of that alternative. A very large majority of the people, therefore, remained firm in their attachment to the new commonwealth; its machinery worked well. Law was, thus far, effectually administered. Treaties, for the acquisition of new Indian lands, were contemplated, the settlements were daily augmenting in number and strength, and the new government was acquiring vigour and stability, from a proposed annexation of a part of Virginia. Besides this, there was a charm in the idea of independence. The Manifesto itself evidently contemplated, and seemed to sanction, a separation, as not improbable at an early day; and as, in the minds of

most men, the question was one merely as to time, it was almost unanimously determined by the people to maintain their present position. The authorities of Franklin so decided also. Governor Sevier, accordingly, on the fourteenth of May, addressed to Governor Caswell, who had succeeded Martin in the executive chair of North-Carolina, his Manifesto, setting forth the proceedings of the State of Franklin, and answering, in detail, the complaints made against it by Governor Martin.

Governor Sevier writes to Governor Caswell under date :

STATE OF FRANKLIN,
Washington County, 14th May, 1785.

Sir :—Governor Martin has lately sent up into our country a Manifesto, together with letters to private persons, in order to stir up sedition and insurrection, thinking, thereby, to destroy that peace and tranquillity, which have so greatly subsisted among the peaceful citizens of this country.

First in the Manifesto, he charges us with a revolt from North-Carolina, by declaring ourselves independent of that state. Secondly, that designs of a more dangerous nature and deeper die seem to glare in the western revolt, the power being usurped over the western vacant territory, the Union deriving no emolument from the same, not even the part intended for North-Carolina by the cession, and that part of her revenue is seized by the new authority and appropriated to different purposes than those intended by your legislature.

His Excellency is pleased to mention that one reason we have assigned for the revolt, as he terms it, is that the goods were stopped from the Indians, that were to compensate them for the western lands, and that the Indians had committed murders in consequence thereof. He is also pleased to say that he is well informed to the contrary, and that no hostilities have been committed on that account; but on the other hand, provocations are daily given the Indians, and one of their chiefs murdered with impunity. In answer to the charge relative to what His Excellency is pleased to call the revolt, I must beg leave to differ with him in sentiment on that occasion ; for your own acts declare to the world that this country was ceded off to Congress, and one part of the express condition was, that the same should be erected into one or more states ; and we believe that body was candid, and that they fully believe a new state would tend to the mutual advantage of all parties ; that they were as well acquainted with our circumstances at that time, as Governor Martin can be since, and that they did not think a new government here would be led away by the pageantry of a mock government without the essentials, and leave nothing among us but a shadow, as represented by him.

But if Governor Martin is right in his suggestion, we can only say that the Assembly of North-Carolina deceived us, and were urging us on

into total ruin, and laying a plan to destroy that part of her citizens she so often frankly confessed saved the parent state from ruin. But the people here, neither at that time nor the present, having the most distant idea of any such intended deception, and at the same time well knowing how pressingly Congress had requested a cession to be made of the western territory ever since the 6th of September and 10th of October, in the year 1780—these several circumstances, together with a real necessity to prevent anarchy, promote our own happiness, and provide against the common enemy, that always infest this part of the world, induced and compelled the people here to act as they have done innocently : thinking, at the same time, your acts tolerated them in the separation. Therefore, we can by no means think it can be called a revolt or known by such a name. As to the second charge, it is entirely groundless. We have by no act, whatever, laid hold of one foot of the vacant land, neither have we appropriated any of the same to any of our use or uses, but intend everything of that nature for further deliberation, and to be mutually settled according to the right and claim of each party.

As to that part of seizing the public money, it is groundless as the former. For no authority among us, whatever, has laid hold of or appropriated one farthing of the same to our uses in any shape whatever, but the same is still in the hands of the sheriff and collectors. And on the other hand, we have passed such laws as will both compel and justify them in settling and paying up to the respective claimants of the same; all which will appear in our acts, which will be laid before you and fully evince to the reverse of Governor Martin's charge in the Manifesto.

Very true, we suggest that the Indians have committed murders in consequence of the delay of the goods. Nearly forty people have been murdered since the Cession Bill passed, some of which lived in our own counties, and the remainder on the Kentucky Path; and it is evidently known to the Cherokees, and their frequent Talks prove, they are exasperated at getting nothing for their lands, and in all probability had their goods been furnished, no hostilities would have been committed.

The murder committed with impunity, alluding to Major Hubbard's killing a half-breed, which Governor Martin calls a chief (but who was never any such thing among the Indians). We can't pretend to say what information His Excellency has received on this subject, more than the others, or where from. This we know, that all the proof was had against Hubbard that ever can be had, which is, the Indian first struck, and then discharged his gun at Hubbard, before the Indian was killed by Hubbard. As Governor Martin reprobates the measure in so great a degree, I can't pretend to say what he might have done, but must believe, that had any other person met with the same insult from one of those bloody savages, who have so frequently murdered the wives and children of the people of this country for many years past, I say had they been possessed of that manly and soldierly spirit that becomes an American, they must have acted like Hubbard.

I have now noticed to your Excellency the principal complaints in the Manifesto, and such as I think is worth observation, and have called

forth such proofs as must evince fully the reverse of the charge and complaints set forth.

The menaces made use of in the Manifesto will by no means intimidate us. We mean to pursue our necessary measures, and with the fullest confidence believe that your legislature, when truly informed of our civil proceedings, will find no cause for resenting anything we have done.

Most certain it is, that nothing has been transacted here out of any disregard for the parent state, but we still entertain the same high opinion and have the same regard and affection for her, that ever we had, and would be as ready to step forth in her defence as ever we did, should need require it.

Also our acts and resolutions will evince to the world, that we have paid all due respect to your state. First, in taking up and adopting her constitution and then her laws, together with naming several new counties and also an academy after some of the first men in your state.

The repeal of the Cession act we cannot take notice of, as we had declared our separation before the repeal. Therefore, we are bound to support it with that manly firmness that becomes freemen.

Our Assembly sits again in August, at which time it is expected commissioners will be appointed to adjust and consider on such matters of moment, as will be consistent with the honour and interest of each party.

The disagreeable and sickly time of the year, together with the great distance from Newbern, as also the short notice, puts it out of the power of any person to attend from this quarter at this time.

Our agent is at Congress, and we daily expect information from that quarter, respecting our present measures, and hope to be advised thereon.

We are informed that Congress have communicated to your state respecting the repeal of the Cession act. Be that as it may, I am authorized to say nothing will be lacking in us, to forward everything that will tend to the mutual benefit of each party and conciliate all matters whatever.*

To this counter-manifesto of Gov. Sevier, Governor Caswell replied, under date—

KINSTON, N. C., 17th June, 1785.

Sir:—Your favour of the 14th of last month, I had the honour to receive by Colonel Avery.

In this, sir, you have stated the different charges mentioned in Governor Martin's Manifesto, and answered them by giving what I understand to be the sense of the people, and your own sentiments, with respect to each charge, as well as the reasons which governed in the measures he complained of.

* For this letter, I am indebted to the politeness of Hon. D. L. Swain. It is extracted from the letter book of Gov. Caswell in his possession.

I have not seen Governor Martin's Manifesto, nor have I derived so full and explicit information from any quarter as this you have been pleased to give me. As there was not an Assembly, owing to the members not attending at Governor Martin's request, the sense of the Legislature, on this business, of course, could not be had, and as you give me assurances of the peaceable disposition of the people, and their wish to conduct themselves in the manner you mention, and also to send persons to adjust, consider and conciliate matters, I suppose, to the next Assembly, for the present, things must rest as they are with respect to the subject matter of your letter, which shall be laid before the next Assembly. In the meantime, let me entreat you not, by any means, to consider this as giving countenance, by the executive of the state, to any measures lately pursued by the people to the westward of the mountains.

With regard to the goods intended, by the state, for the Indians as a compensation for the lands, they, I believe, have been ready for many months, at Washington, and if I can procure wagons to convey them to the place destined, (the Long Island,) I mean to send them there to be disposed of according to the original intention of the Assembly, and will either attend myself or appoint commissioners to treat with the Indians; but in this, you know, it is necessary that whoever attends should be protected by the militia, and, under the present situation of affairs, it is possible my orders may not be attended to in that particular; and however a man may submit to these things in a private character, he may be answerable to the people, at least they may judge it so, in a public situation. Therefore, without your assurances of the officers and men under your command being subject to my orders in this case, as matters stand, I think it would be imprudent in me to come over or send commissioners to treat with the Indians. Of this you will be pleased to write me the first favourable opportunity. It is my wish to come over myself, and if matters turn so that I can with convenience, it is probable I may.

Governor Sevier further writes:

WASHINGTON COUNTY, 17th October, 1785.

Sir:—Having wrote you fully, in my letter of the 14th May last, relative to the proceedings of the State of Franklin, and answered some complaints set forth in Governor Martin's Manifesto in the same, I shall now only take the liberty to inform your Excellency that our Assembly have appointed a person to wait on your Assembly, with some resolves entered into by our Legislature.

Permit me to assure your Excellency that it was not from any disgust or uneasiness that we had, while under the parent state, that occasioned the separation. Our local situation you are sufficiently acquainted with, and your Cession Act, together with the frequent requisitions from Congress, had convinced us that a separation would inevitably take place, and, at the time of our declaration, we had not the most distant idea that we should give any umbrage to our parent state, but, on the other hand, thought your Legislature had fully tolerated the separation. I am able, in truth, to say that the people of this country wish to do

nothing that will be inconsistent with the honour and interest of each party.

The people of this state regard North-Carolina with particular affection, and will never cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern her honour and safety, and our hearty and kind wishes will always attend the parent state.

Before this letter was written, Governor Sevier had, in
1785 { conjunction with other commissioners, under the authority of Franklin, already concluded a satisfactory treaty with the Indians, and felt neither the disposition nor the necessity of replying to that part of Governor Caswell's letter, which related to Indian affairs. It seems to have been wholly disregarded west of the mountains; for, in August, as had been provided for, the Assembly of Franklin met again, and legislated further in promotion of the ulterior views of the new government. At this session, a law was passed, encouraging an expedition that was to proceed down the Tennessee, on its western side, and take possession of the great bend of that river, under titles derived from the State of Georgia.

In the meantime, Colonel Joseph Martin, whose name is found amongst the members of the first convention at Jonesborough, in discharge of his duty as Indian Agent for North-Carolina, had visited the Cherokee nation. Arrived at the Beloved Town, he writes to Governor Caswell, under date,

CHOTA, 19th September, 1785.

Dear Sir:—Your Excellency's favour of the 17th June, by Mr. Avery, never came to hand until the 10th inst. I find myself under some concern, in reading that part wherein I am considered a member of the new state. I beg leave to assure your Excellency, that I have no part with them, but consider myself under your immediate direction, as agent for the State of North-Carolina, until the Assembly shall direct otherwise. I am now on the duties of that office, and have had more trouble with the Indians, in the course of the summer, than I ever had, owing to the rapid encroachments of the people from the new state, together with the Talks from the Spaniards and the Western Indians.

These *Talks*, as further communicated by Colonel Martin, indicated renewed hostilities from several Indian tribes, instigated by the Spaniards, who were urging their claims to much of the western country, and to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi River.

With this letter, was also sent the subjoined Talk of the Old Tassel.

CHOTA, 19th September, 1785.

Brother:—I am now going to speak to you; I hope you will hear me. I am an old man, and almost thrown away by my elder brother. The ground I stand on is very slippery, though I still hope my elder brother will hear me and take pity on me, as we were all made by the same Great Being above; we are all children of the same parent. I therefore hope my elder brother will hear me.

You have often promised me, in Talks that you sent me, that you would do me justice, and that all disorderly people should be moved off our lands; but the longer we want to see it done, the farther it seems off. Your people have built houses in sight of our towns. We don't want to quarrel with you, our elder brother; I therefore beg that you, our elder brother, will have your disorderly people taken off our lands immediately, as their being on our grounds causes great uneasiness. We are very uneasy, on account of a report that is among the white people that call themselves a new people, that lives on French Broad and Nolechuckey; they say they have treated with us for all the lands on Little River. I now send this to let my elder brother know how it is. Some of them gathered on French Broad, and sent for us to come and treat with them; but as I was told there was a treaty to be held with us, by orders of the great men of the thirteen states, we did not go to meet them, but some of our young men went to see what they wanted. They first wanted the land on Little River. Our young men told them that all their head men were at home; that they had no authority to treat about lands. They then asked them liberty for those that were then living on the lands, to remain there, till the head men of their nation were consulted on it, which our young men agreed to. Since then, we are told that they claim all the lands on the waters of Little River, and have appointed men among themselves to settle their disputes on our lands, and call it their ground. But we hope you, our elder brother, will not agree to it, but will have them moved off. I also beg that you will send letters to the Great Council of America, and let them know how it is; that if you have no power to move them off, they have, and I hope they will do it.

I once more beg that our elder brother will take pity on us, and not take our ground from us, because he is stronger than we. The Great Being above, that made us all, placed us on this land, and gave it to us, and it is ours. Our elder brother, in all the treaties we ever had, gave it to us also, and we hope he will not think of taking it from us now.

I have sent with this Talk a string of white beads, which I hope my elder brother will take hold of, and think of his younger brother, who is now in trouble, and looking to him for justice.

Given out by the Old Tassel, for himself and whole nation, in presence of the head men of the Upper and Lower Cherokees, and interpreted by me.

JAMES McCORMACK.

For the Governor of North-Carolina and Virginia.

The intelligence communicated thus by Martin to Gov. Caswell, of the hostile intentions of the Indians, and especially of the policy of the Spaniards relative to their claims upon the Mississippi, had also reached the people of Franklin, and furnished additional arguments for a continued separation from the parent state. As the interests and dangers of the western people were peculiar, they chose to exercise the control of their own policy and means of defence, and to adapt these to the exigencies of their condition. Mutual exposure and common wants had generated a close alliance between themselves and the inhabitants of the coterminous section of Virginia; and the contagion of independence and separation extended to Washington county of that state, and threatened the dismemberment of the Old Dominion. Patrick Henry was at that time in the executive chair, and at once communicated to the Legislature of Virginia the intelligence of the disaffection in Washington county, in the following message:

I transmit herewith, a letter from the honourable Mr. Hardy, covering a memorial to Congress from sundry inhabitants of Washington county, praying the establishment of an independent state, to be bounded as is therein expressed. The proposed limits include a vast extent of country, in which we have numerous and very respectable settlements, which, in their growth, will form an invaluable barrier between this country and those, who, in the course of events, may occupy the vast places westward of the mountains, some of whom have views incompatible with our safety. Already, the militia of that part of the state is the most respectable we have, and by their means it is that the neighbouring Indians are awed into professions of friendship. But a circumstance has lately happened, which renders the possession of the territory at the present time indispensable to the peace and safety of Virginia; I mean the assumption of sovereign power by the western inhabitants of North-Carolina. If the people who, without consulting their own safety, or any other authority known in the American constitution, have assumed government, and while unallied to us, and under no engagements to pursue the objects of the federal government, shall be strengthened by the accession of so great a part of our country, consequences fatal to our repose will probably follow. It is to be observed, that the settlements of this new society stretch into a great extent in contact with ours in Washington county, and thereby expose our citizens to the contagion of the example which bids fair to destroy the peace of North-Carolina. In this state of things it is, that variety of information has come to me, stating, that several persons, but especially Col. Arthur Campbell, have used their utmost endeavours, and with

some success, to persuade the citizens in that quarter to break off from this commonwealth, and attach themselves to the newly assumed government, or to erect one distinct from it. And to effect this purpose, the equality and authority of the laws have been arraigned, the collection of the taxes impeded, and our national character impeached. If this most important part of our territory be lopped off, we lose that barrier for which our people have long and often fought; that nursery of soldiers, from which future armies may be levied, and through which it will be almost impossible for our enemies to penetrate. We shall aggrandize the new state, whose connexions, views and designs, we know not; shall cease to be formidable to our savage neighbours, or respectable to our western settlements, at present or in future.

"Whilst these and many other matters were contemplated by the Executive, it is natural to suppose, the attempt at separation was discouraged by every lawful means, the chief of which was displacing such of the field officers of the militia in Washington county as were active partizans for separation, in order to prevent the weight of office being put in the scale against Virginia. To this end, a proclamation was issued, declaring the militia laws of the last session in force in that county, and appointments were made agreeable to it. I hope to be excused for expressing a wish, that the Assembly, in deliberating on this affair, will prefer lenient measures, in order to reclaim our erring citizens. Their taxes have run into three years, and thereby grown to an amount beyond the ability of many to discharge; while the system of our trade has been such, as to render their agriculture unproductive of money. And I cannot but suppose, that if even the warmest supporters of separation had seen the mischievous consequences, they would have retraced and considered that intemperance in their own proceedings, which opposition in sentiment is too apt to produce."

The limits proposed for the new government of Frankland, by Col. Arthur Campbell, and the people of Virginia, who aimed at a separation from that state, were expressed in the form of a constitution which Col. Campbell drew up for public examination, and were these: Beginning at a point on the top of the Alleghany or Apalachian Mountains, so as a line drawn due north from thence will touch the bank of New River, otherwise called Kenhawa, at the confluence of Little River, which is about one mile above Ingle's Ferry; down the said river Kenhawa to the mouth of the Rencovert, or Green Briar River; a direct line from thence, to the nearest summit of the Laurel Mountain, and along the highest part of the same, to the point where it is intersected by the parallel of thirty-seven deg. north latitude; west along that latitude to a point where it is met by a meridian line that passes through the lower part of the rapid of Ohio; south along the meridian to Elk River, a branch of the Tennessee; down said river to its mouth, and down the Tennessee to the most southwardly part or bend in said river; a direct line from thence to that branch of the Mobile, called Donbigbee; down said river Donbigbee to its junction with the Coosawattee River, to the mouth of that branch of it called the Hightower; thence south, to the top of the Apalachian Mountain, or the highest land that divides the

sources of the eastern from the western waters; northwardly, along the middle of said heights, and the top of the Apalachian Mountain, to the beginning. It was stated in the proposed form, that the inhabitants within these limits agree with each other to form themselves into a free, sovereign and independent body politic or state, by the name of the commonwealth of Frankland. The laws of the Legislature were to be enacted by the General Assembly of the commonwealth of Frankland; and all the laws and ordinances which had been before adopted, used and approved in the different parts of this state, whilst under the jurisdiction of Virginia and North-Carolina, shall still remain the rule of decision in all cases for the respective limits for which they were formerly adopted, and shall continue in full force until altered or repealed by the Legislature; such parts only excepted, as are repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in this constitution, or those of the said respective states.*

The malcontents in Virginia had thus affixed such boundaries to their proposed commonwealth, as embraced not only the people and State of Franklin, but much of the territory of Virginia and the present Kentucky on the north, and of Georgia, and what is now Alabama, on the south. The western soldiery had carried their conquests nearly to these limits, and it was probably the right of conquest alone, which suggested the extent of the new state. The magnificent project of the Virginia Franks received the support of few men anywhere, and was abandoned soon after by its friends.

It was not so with the revolted people of North-Carolina. They continued to exercise all the functions of an independent government, and under forms anomalous and perplexing beyond example, were adopting measures to improve and perfect their system, and maintain their integrity and separation. Thus far they had legislated and administered law, had held treaties and acquired territory, under the expedient of a temporary adoption of the constitution of the parent state. It remained yet for the people to adopt or reject the form of government that had been prepared by the convention to whom that duty belonged. That body, and also the Franklin Assembly, at its August session, had recommended to the people to choose a convention for the purpose of ratifying the proposed constitution, or of altering it as they should instruct. The election was held accordingly. It is

* Haywood.

not known who were the deputies chosen. The names of nineteen only of them have been preserved. They are David Campbell, Samuel Houston, John Tipton, John Ward, Robert Love, William Cox, David Craig, James Montgomery, John Strain, Robert Allison, David Looney, John Blair, James White, Samuel Newell, John Gilliland, James Stuart, George Maxwell, Joseph Tipton and Peter Parkison. These are found signed to a protest against part of the proceedings. The convention was probably larger than either of those previously held. The form of government that had been prepared for the consideration of the people, had excited acrimonious debates and great contrariety of opinion. Some of its provisions being novel, were viewed as innovations upon the law and usages to which the voters were accustomed. Instructions were poured in upon the convention from all parts of the country in opposition to the exceptionable clauses. Such diversity of opinion existed as to cause its immediate rejection.

In their deliberations on a subject so new to most of the members, and in the details of which few in the country had either knowledge or experience to direct them, many propositions were made and suggested for examination merely, which were afterwards withdrawn by the movers themselves.

In anticipation of the meeting of this convention, Mr. Houston "had, with the advice and assistance of some judicious friends, prepared in manuscript A Declaration of Rights and a Constitution, made by the representatives of the freemen of the State of Frankland, which being read on the first day of the meeting, he moved that it be made the platform of the new constitution, subject to such alterations and amendments as a majority might think proper. Another member moved that the Rev. Hezekiah Balch, a spectator, but not a member, should have leave to offer some remarks upon the subject; which being granted, Mr. Balch animadverted severely upon the manuscript constitution, as prepared and read by Mr. Houston, and especially upon the section of it respecting an Institution of learning. As already mentioned, the Frankland Constitution was rejected by a small

majority. The president, General Sevier, then presented the constitution of North-Carolina, as the foundation of that of the new state. A majority of the house sustaining this proposition, they proceeded to remodel the North-Carolina Constitution, making only a few necessary alterations. This was, in a short time after, adopted by a small majority."

"A variety of names was proposed for the new commonwealth. Some were for calling it Franklin, in honour of Benjamin Franklin, of Philadelphia; others Frankland, as the land of freemen. But it was decided by a majority (small) in favour of calling it Franklin." *

The rejection of the Frankland Constitution induced its friends to have it published with an explanatory Introduction, written by some of the minority. At the same time there was published a pamphlet, on the "Principles of Republican Government, by a Citizen of Frankland." These publications were made at the instance and expense of the Frankland Commonwealth Society. Francis Bailey, of Philadelphia, was the printer. Of this society, Mr. Houston was an active member.†

Some proceedings of this convention are found published as a preface to the Declaration of Rights and Constitution as presented to the convention, and afterwards published in pamphlet form. They are copied.‡

* Letter of Rev. Samuel Houston, of Rockbridge, Va., March 20, 1838, to this writer.

† Several years since, this writer, in a communication addressed to Hon. Mitchell King, of Charleston, S. C., and extensively published in the Courier and elsewhere, vindicated at some length, his own accuracy in calling the new state Franklin, and not Frankland, as adopted by several writers and some historians. It is deemed unnecessary to extract, here, a line from that communication or to renew the argument, as almost every original letter and official paper published in these sheets fortify and authorize his position, and furnish irrefragable proof of its correctness. The question is no longer debatable.

‡ This pamphlet is out of print, and cannot now be found. For the copy here republished, and believed to be the only one extant, I am indebted to the late Col. Geo. T. Gillespie. It was found amongst the papers of Landon Carter, deceased, Secretary of State under the Franklin Government. The pamphlet is, in some places, so worn as to be almost illegible, and one page, at least, is wanting.

A DECLARATION OF RIGHTS,

MADE BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FREEMEN OF THE STATE OF FRANKLAND.

1. That all political power is vested in and derived from the people only.

2. That the people of this State ought to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof.

3. That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services.

4. That the Legislative, Executive and Supreme Judicial powers of government ought to be forever separate and distinct from each other.

5. That all powers of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority, without the consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

6. That elections of members to serve as representatives, in General Assembly, ought to be free.

7. That, in all criminal prosecutions, every man has a right to be informed of the accusation against him, and to confront the accusers and witnesses with other testimony, and shall not be compelled to give evidence against himself.

8. That no freeman shall be put to answer any criminal charge but by indictment, presentment, or impeachment.

9. That no freeman shall be convicted of any crime but by the unanimous verdict of a jury of good and lawful men, in open court, as heretofore used.

10. That excessive bail should not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel nor unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That general warrants, whereby an officer or messenger may be commanded to search suspected places, without evidence of the fact committed, or to seize any person or persons not named, whose offences are not particularly described and supported by evidence, are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be granted.

12. That no freeman ought to be taken, imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, liberties, or privileges, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the law of the land.

13. That every freeman, restrained of his liberty, is entitled to a remedy, to enquire into the lawfulness thereof, and to remove the same, if unlawful; and that such remedy ought not to be denied or delayed.

14. That in all controversies at law, respecting property, the ancient mode of trial by jury is one of the best securities of the rights of the people, and ought to remain sacred and inviolable.

15. That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and therefore ought never to be restrained.

16. That the people of this State ought not to be taxed, or made subject to payment of any impost or duty, without the consent of themselves, or their representatives, in General Assembly, freely given.

17. That the people have a right to bear arms for the defence of the State; and as standing armies, in time of peace, are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up; and that the military should be kept under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.

18. That the people have a right to assemble together, to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, and to apply to the Legislature for redress of grievances.

19. That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

20. That, for redress of grievances, and for amending and strengthening the laws, elections ought to be often held.

21. That a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty.

22. That no hereditary emoluments, privileges, or honours, ought to be granted or conferred in this State.

23. That perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free State, and ought not to be allowed.

24. That retrospective laws, punishing acts committed before the existence of such laws, and by them only declared criminal, are oppressive, unjust, and incompatible with liberty; therefore no *ex post facto* law ought to be made.

THE CONSTITUTION OR FORM OF GOVERNMENT

AGREED TO AND RESOLVED UPON BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FREEMEN OF THE STATE OF FRANKLAND, ELECTED AND CHOSEN FOR THAT PARTICULAR PURPOSE, IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, AT GREENEVILLE, THE 14TH NOVEMBER, 1785.

This State shall be called the *Commonwealth of Frankland*, and shall be governed by a General Assembly of the representatives of the freemen of the same, a Governor and Council, and proper courts of justice, in the manner following, *viz:*

Section 1. The supreme legislative power shall be vested in a single House of Representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Frankland.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives of the freemen of this State shall consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue, to be chosen equally and adequately according to the number of freemen in the commonwealth; provided when the number amounts to one hundred it shall never exceed it, nor be ever afterwards reduced lower than eighty, and every county shall annually send the number apportioned to it by the General Assembly.

Sec. 3. No person shall be eligible to, or hold a seat in, the House of Representatives of the freemen of this commonwealth, unless he actually resides in, and owns land in the county to the quantity of one hundred acres, or to the value of fifty pounds, and is of the full age of twenty-one years. And no person shall be eligible or capable to serve in this or

any other office in the civil department of this State, who is of an immoral character, or guilty of such flagrant enormities as drunkenness, gaming, profane swearing, lewdness, sabbath breaking, and such like; or who will, either in word or writing, deny any of the following propositions, *viz :*

1st. That there is one living and true God, the Creator and Governor of the universe.

2d. That there is a future state of rewards and punishments.

3d. That the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are given by divine inspiration.

4th. That there are three divine persons in the Godhead, co-equal and co-essential.

And no person shall be a member of the House of Representatives, who holds a lucrative office either under this or other States; *that is*, has a fixed salary or fees from the State, or is in actual military service and claiming daily pay, or minister of the gospel, or attorney at law, or doctor of physic.

Sec. 4. Every free male inhabitant of this State, of the age of *twenty-one* years, who shall have resided in this State six months immediately preceding the day of election, shall have a vote in electing all officers chosen by the people, in the county where he resides.

Sec. 5. The House of Representatives of this commonwealth shall be styled the *General Assembly of the Representatives of the Freemen of Frankland;* and shall have power to choose their own Speaker, and all other officers, Treasurer, Secretary of State, Superior Judges, Auditors, members to Congress. They shall have power to sit on their own adjournments; to prepare bills, and to enact them into laws; to judge of the elections of, and qualifications of, their own members. They may expel a member, but not a second time for the same cause; they may administer oaths on the examination of witnesses, redress grievances, impeach State criminals, grant charters of incorporation, constitute towns, cities, boroughs, and counties, and shall have all other powers necessary for the Legislature of a free State or commonwealth. But they shall have no power to add, alter, abolish, or infringe any part of the Constitution.

Two-thirds of the whole members elected shall constitute a House, (and the expense from the appointed time 'till they make a House, shall be laid on absentees, without a reasonable excuse,) and having met and chosen their Speaker, shall, each of them, before they proceed to business, take and subscribe, as well the oath of fidelity and allegiance hereafter directed, as the following oath—

"I, *A. B.*, do swear, That, as a member of this Assembly, I will not propose or assent to any bill or resolution, which shall appear to me injurious to the people, nor do, nor consent to any act or thing whatever, that shall have a tendency to lessen or abridge the rights and privileges as declared in the Constitution of this State; but will in all things conduct myself as a faithful honest representative and guardian of the people, according to the best of my judgment and abilities. *So help me God.*"

The doors of the house in which the representatives of the freemen of

this State shall sit in General Assembly, shall be and remain open, for the admission of all persons who shall behave decently; except when the good of the commonwealth requires them to be shut.

Sec. 6. The votes and proceedings of the General Assembly shall be printed weekly, during their sitting, with the Yeas and Nays on any question, vote, or resolution, (except when the vote is taken by ballot,) when any two members require it; and every member shall have a right to insert the reasons of his vote upon the Journals, if he desires it.

Sec. 7. That the laws, before they are enacted, may be more maturely considered, and the danger of hasty and injudicious determinations as much as possible prevented, all Bills of a public and general nature shall be printed for the consideration of the people, before they are read in the General Assembly the last time, for debate and amendment; and, except on occasions of sudden necessity, shall not be passed into laws before the next session of the Assembly: And, for the more perfect satisfaction of the public, the reasons and motives for making such laws shall be fully and clearly expressed in the preambles.

Sec. 8. The style of the laws of this commonwealth shall be, *Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted, by the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Frankland, in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same.* And the General Assembly shall affix their Seal to every Bill as soon as it is enacted into a law; which seal shall be kept by the Assembly, and shall be called the *Seal of the Laws of Frankland*, and shall not be used for any other purpose.

Sec. 9. As in every free government the people have a right of free suffrage for all officers of government that can be chosen by the people, the freemen of this State shall elect Governor and Counsellors, Justices of the Peace for each county, and Coroner or Coroners, Sheriffs, and all other such officers, except such as the Assembly are empowered to choose.

Sec. 10. All the able bodied men in this State shall be trained for its defence, under such regulations, restrictions and exceptions as the General Assembly shall direct by law, preserving always to the people, from the age of sixteen, the right of choosing their colonels, and all other officers under that rank, in such manner and as often as shall be by the same laws directed.

Sec. 11. The Governor of the State shall be annually chosen by the free suffrages of the people on the day of general election for Representatives for the General Assembly, and the returning officers for each county shall make a fair return to the House of Representatives, of the persons voted for, and the number of votes to each, which the Assembly shall examine, and the highest in votes shall be declared constitutionally elected; but no person shall be eligible more than three years out of seven, nor hold any other office at the same time.

Sec. 12. This State shall be divided into six grand divisions, each of which, as in the above mentioned sections, shall choose a Counsellor; And these divisions shall be thrown into three classes, numbered 1st, 2d and 3d, which shall change their members in Council by rotation, beginning with the first class the first year after they have served one, and the second the second year, and so on forever; by which means some

acquainted with business will be always in Council. And no person shall be eligible more than three years in seven, nor shall hold any other office in the State.

Sec. 13. The Governor and Council shall meet annually at the same time and place with the General Assembly : The Governor, or, in his absence, the Lieutenant Governor, who shall be one of their number, chosen with the rest, with the Council, (two-thirds of whom shall make a board,) shall have power to correspond with other States : to transact business with the officers of government, civil and military ; to prepare such business as may appear to them necessary to be laid before the General Assembly : They shall also have power to grant pardons and remit fines, in all cases whatsoever, except in case of murder, impeachment, and treason, which they may reprieve 'till the end of the next session of Assembly ; but there shall be no mitigation of punishment on impeachment, unless by act of the Legislature ; They are to take care that the laws be faithfully executed ; to expedite the execution of such measures as may be resolved upon by the General Assembly : They may draw upon the Treasury for such sums as shall be appropriated by the House of Representatives—they may also lay embargoes, or prohibit the exportation of any commodity for any time not exceeding thirty days, in the recess of the General Assembly only : They may grant licenses, as the laws shall direct, and shall have power to convene the House of Representatives, when necessary, before the day to which they were adjourned. The Governor shall be commander-in-chief of the forces of the State ; but shall not command in person, except advised thereto by the Council, and then only for so long as they shall approve of. The Governor and Council shall have a Secretary, and keep fair books of their proceedings, wherein any Counsellor may enter his dissent, with his reasons in support of it.

Sec. 14. All commissions and grants shall be in the name and by the authority of the freemen of the commonwealth of Frankland, sealed with the State seal, signed by the Governor, or, in his absence, the Lieutenant Governor, and attested by the Secretary ; which seal shall be kept by the Council.

Sec. 15. No justice of the peace shall receive any fee, gratuity, or reward for his services as a justice ; but all other officers of this State shall be allowed as moderate fees or salaries as possible, to be an adequate compensation for their services. And if any officer shall take other or greater fees than the laws allow, it shall ever afterwards disqualify him to hold any office in this State.

Sec. 16. Every officer of government shall be liable to be impeached by the General Assembly, or presented by the grand jury of any of the superior courts, either in office, or after his resignation or removal, for mal-administration. All impeachments shall be before a temporary court, composed of the Governor or Lieutenant Governor, and two members of the Council, to be chosen by the Council ; the three senior Judges of the Supreme Court, and three members of the General Assembly, to be chosen by the Assembly, who shall, or any five of them, hear and determine the same.

Sec. 17. The Treasurer of State shall be annually appointed, and no

person eligible more than three years successively. The Secretary of State, Attorney-General, Auditors, and such like officers, shall be appointed triennially; but removable for misconduct. And any officer, representative in General Assembly, or in the Congress of the United States, who is convicted of a second violation of any part of this constitution, shall be forever afterwards disqualified to hold any place or office in this State.

Sec. 18. That in every case, where any officer, the right of whose appointment is, by this constitution, vested in the General Assembly, shall, during their recess, die, or his office, by other means, become vacant, the Governor shall have power, with the advice of the Council of State, to fill up such vacancy, by granting a temporary commission, which shall expire at the end of the next session of the Assembly.

Sec. 19. That no Treasurer, until he shall have finally settled his accounts with the public, and paid the money remaining in his hand to the succeeding Treasurer, nor any person who heretofore has been, or hereafter may be, a Receiver of public monies, under this or any other State, until he has fully accounted for and paid into the treasury all monies for which he may be accountable and liable, shall have a seat in the General Assembly, or be eligible to any civil office in this State.

Sec. 20. The freemen of each county shall, for the purpose of ease, justice and conveniency in holding elections, and other public affairs, be divided into districts, as near one hundred in each as local circumstances will admit.

Sec. 21. The freemen of each district shall meet upon the second Tuesday of *February* forever, and, at their first meeting, elect three of their own members, who shall be called Registers, and who shall keep a fair alphabetical roll of the freemen of their district. Any two of them agreeing, or upon advice of any five freemen, shall have power to assemble the freemen of their district to consult for the common good, give instructions to their Representatives, or to apply to the Legislature for redress of grievances by address, petition, or remonstrance. They shall preside in all civil district elections, shall meet twice, or oftener, in the year, to deliberate upon and prepare to lay before the people such matters as may be necessary for them to consider. And, to keep up a rotation of the members, the person who shall have fewest votes at the first election, shall continue in office one year, the second two, and the highest three. And no Register shall be eligible for two years after he has served his term.

Sec. 22. That elections may be free, and corruption prevented as much as possible, the Registers of each district shall summon the freemen of their district to meet at some convenient place, upon the first Tuesday of March forever, where they shall elect, by ballot, all the officers for their district, which shall be hereafter directed, and the number of persons, indiscriminately, out of the county, appointed to represent it in the General Assembly, in the following manner: The senior Register shall call each freeman by name, in the order of the roll, who shall give his ticket or tickets to the second Register, and the highest in votes for district officers shall then be declared constitutionally elected; but the names of the persons to represent the county in General Assembly, and their respective numbers of votes, shall, by one of

the Registers, be laid before a meeting of one from each district, within ten days after the election; and when all are examined, the highest in votes shall be declared constitutionally elected, and certified by the same Register. No freeman shall have, in this commonwealth, more than one annual vote for any officer of government, and the Legislature hereafter to be appointed, shall, from time to time, enact and keep in force such laws as may appear necessary to prevent and remedy every species of corruption, and to oblige freemen to attend upon elections.

Sec. 23. Justices of the peace shall be elected for each county, ten or more, by the freemen, as shall, by the General Assembly, be thought necessary for each, of those residing within the same, and qualified as mentioned in Section 3, who shall be commissioned during good behaviour, by the Governor or Lieutenant Governor in Council; and no justice of the peace, or any other commissioned officer, shall hold his commission who misbehaves, or is found guilty of such things as disqualify; nor shall any one be chosen who is not a scholar to do the business, nor, unless acquainted with the laws of the country in some measure, but particularly with every article of the Constitution.

Sec. 24. To prevent the civil power usurping spiritual supremacy, the establishing of professions, denominations, or sects of religion, or patronizing ecclesiastical hierarchies and dignitaries, also to secure religious liberty and the rights of conscience for ever inviolate, every citizen of this commonwealth shall forever have full and free liberty to join himself to any society of Christians he may judge most for his edification, and shall experience no civil or legal disadvantages for his so doing: And every society or congregation shall have full liberty, without any restraint from law, to choose any minister they think best suited for their Christian instruction, and to support him as they think best; And every such society or congregation shall have full right to hold all lands given to, or purchased by them, for the use of their society, or any other property they may possess for religious purposes: and the society, or any description of men chosen by them, with power to act in their name, shall have power to receive, or to make and execute deeds, and enter into such other specialties as the society may direct them to make; and shall have full power, by their agent, treasurer, or collector, to receive, recover and retain all property and money justly due to them, in as full a manner as any other collector or agent in this commonwealth. And the future Legislature of this State shall have no power to make any law, act, or resolve whatsoever respecting religion, or the spiritual service we owe to God; but shall confine themselves wholly to matters purely civil.

Sec. 25. Laws for the encouraging of virtue, and preventing and suppressing of vice and immorality, shall be made and constantly kept in force, and provision shall be made for their due execution.

Sec. 26. That no person in the State shall hold more than one lucrative office at any one time, provided that no appointment in the militia, or the office of a justice of the peace, shall be considered as a lucrative office.

Sec. 27. All writs shall run in the name of the State of Frankland,

and bear test, and be signed by the clerks of the respective courts. Indictments shall conclude, *against the peace and dignity of the State.*

Sec. 28. That the delegates of this State to the Continental Congress, while necessary, shall be chosen annually by the General Assembly, by ballot, but may be superseded, in the meantime, in the same manner; and no person shall be elected to serve in that capacity for more than three years successively.

Sec. 29. A Sheriff and Coroner shall be annually elected, on the day, and in the manner, for electing Representatives in General Assembly, who shall be commissioned as before mentioned; and no person shall be eligible more than two years out of five. Also Commissioners, Assessors, Overseers of the Poor, Surveyors of Roads, and all such officers as each district may require, at the same time and in such number as in future may appear necessary to the Legislature.

Sec. 30. That the person of a debtor, where there is not a strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison, after delivering up, *bona fide*, all his estate, real and personal, for the use of his creditors, in such manner as shall be hereafter regulated by law. All prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, where the proof is evident or the presumption great.

Sec. 31. That every foreigner, who comes to settle in this State, having first taken an oath of allegiance to the same, may purchase, or, by other just means, acquire, hold, and transfer land or other real estate, and, after one year's residence, shall be deemed a free citizen.

Sec. 32. All kinds of useful learning shall be encouraged by this commonwealth, *that is to say*, the future Legislature shall erect, before the year seventeen hundred and eighty-seven, one University, which shall be near the centre of this State, and not in a city or town: And, for endowing the same, there shall be appropriated such lands as may be judged necessary, one-fourth of all the monies arising from the surveys of land hereafter to be made, one halfpenny upon every pound of inspected indigo, that shall be carried out of the State, by land or water; threepence upon every barrel of flour, and one shilling on every hogshead of tobacco, forever.* And, if the fund thence arising shall be found insufficient, the Legislature shall provide for such additions as may be necessary. And if experience shall make it appear to be useful to the interest of learning in this State, a Grammar School shall be erected in each county, and such sums paid by the public as shall enable the trustees to employ a master or masters of approved morals and abilities.

Sec. 33. That no purchase of lands shall be made of the Indian natives, but on behalf of the public, by authority of the General Assembly.

Sec. 34. That the future Legislature of this State shall regulate entails in such a manner as to prevent perpetuities.

Sec. 35. That the Declaration of Rights is hereby declared to be a part of the Constitution of this State, and ought never to be violated, on any pretence whatsoever.

Sec. 36. No tax, custom or contribution shall be imposed upon, or

* Dissented to, as is mentioned in the Preface.

paid by, the people of this State, nor any appropriation of public monies made by the Legislature, except by a law for that purpose; and the purposes for which the money is raised, and to which it is appropriated, shall be clearly expressed in the preamble. And, annually, the General Assembly shall publish a full account of all money paid into the Treasury, and by whom; also of all paid out of it, to whom, and for what.

Sec. 37. If any dispute or difference shall arise betwixt citizens, in matters of debt, property, character, or such things, the parties, agreeing to state their dispute, and leave it to arbitration, shall proceed in the following manner:—they shall apply by joint petition to the Registers of the district where the case exists, or the defendant lives, unless they shall otherwise agree, who shall name, in writing, twenty-four substantial freemen residing in the same, and the parties shall alternately strike out one until one half are struck out; then the parties shall draw by lot such an odd number as they shall agree upon, out of the remainder, who, after taking an oath to try the case in dispute without favour, affection, or partiality, shall hear and finally determine the same.

Sec. 38. The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature, or any person or part of government; and no prosecution shall commence against a printer for printing any thing whatsoever, provided he gives up the person's name.

Sec. 39. The Legislature shall take care to proportion punishments to the crimes, and may provide houses for punishing, by hard labour, those convicted of crimes not capital, wherein the criminals shall be employed, for the benefit of the public, or for the reparation of injuries done to private persons. All persons, at proper times, shall be admitted to see the prisoners at their labour.

Sec. 40. The inhabitants of this State shall have liberty to fowl and hunt in seasonable times, on the lands they hold, and all others therein, not enclosed, and in like manner to fish in all boatable waters, and others, not private property.

Sec. 41. The Legislature hereafter to be chosen, shall provide that marriages, in this commonwealth, be regularly and solemnly celebrated, between one man and one woman, before free and single.

Sec. 42. That this Constitution may be the better understood by the citizens of this commonwealth, and be more effectually kept inviolate to the latest ages, the future Legislature shall employ some person or persons, at the public expense, to draw it out into a familiar catechetical form, and the Registers shall take care that it be taught in all the schools within their respective districts; and shall further provide, that a sufficient number of the Constitution be printed, that each citizen may have one, as the inviolable charter of his privileges.

Sec. 43. The future Legislature shall choose and keep a chaplain during their session, if to be obtained, and shall annually invite some minister of the gospel to open their first session, after the annual election, with a sermon.

Sec. 44. The privileges and benefit of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall be enjoyed in this commonwealth, in the most free, easy, cheap,

expeditious and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the Legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months: And, in all cases, every person shall enjoy the liberty of being heard by himself and his counsel.

Sec. 45. In order that the freedom of this commonwealth may be preserved inviolate forever, there shall be chosen by the free suffrage of the freemen of this State, on the day of in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and in every succeeding fifth year forever, twenty-four freeholders, two-thirds of which shall constitute a Board in every case, and known by the name of a *Council of Safety*, and shall meet on the day of next ensuing their election, who, during one year after said day, shall have full power, and their duty shall be, to inquire whether the Constitution has been preserved—— [REMAINDER OF CONSTITUTION LOST.]

Before its adjournment the convention appointed General Cocke to present the constitution, as adopted, and a memorial to Congress, applying for admission into the Union. He was not received, and no notice was taken of his mission.

GREENE COUNTY COURT.

1785 The Franklin government had now commenced, and, at the May Sessions of this year, the county officers were re-appointed or confirmed. Under the new dynasty, "Daniel Kennedy was confirmed as Clerk; James Houston, Sheriff; Robert Kerr, Register; and Francis Hughes, Ranger. Tavern rates were, Diet, 1s.; liquor, half pint, 6d.; pasture and stable, 6d.; lodging, 4d.; corn, per gallon, 8d.; oats, per do., 6d."

In the meantime, Greeneville had been laid off. The court-house stood at the lower corner of the present court-house lot. It was built of unhewn logs, and coverd with clapboards, and was occupied by the court, at first, without a floor or a loft. It had one opening only for an entrance, which was not yet provided with a shutter. Windows were not needed either for ventilation or light, the intervals between the logs being a good substitute for them. In this simple and unpretending chamber, the third Franklin Convention was held, and there the elaborated and original constitution of the Commonwealth of Frankland was presented, angrily discussed, analyzed and rejected, and the constitution of the State of Franklin adopted. In it the

Commons assembled and deliberated, while the Senate convened in the old court room in Carr's house, which, at this time, had become the village tavern. Greeneville became the permanent capital of the new state, the seat of its legislature, and the place where the governor met his council of state, and projected and matured the measures of his foreign and domestic administration. Most loyal amongst the loyal, to Sevier and to Franklin, were the inhabitants of Greene county. There resided many of his captains and most of his officers of state. They were the last to abandon—they never did abandon him. Some of them may not have supported the Governor of Franklin, but none of them refused their support to John Sevier.

Petitions were drawn up and circulated among the people, praying the favourable consideration of the Congress of the United States to the separation of the western from the eastern sections of Virginia and North-Carolina.

Other petitions from the people of the ceded territory, were addressed to the Legislature of North-Carolina. In one of these, here preserved, the petitioners "beg leave to observe that the honourable legislature of your state, on the 2d June, 1784, passed an act ceding to the United States the territory which lies west of the Apalachian or Alleghany Mountains; containing in said act, several conditions and reservations in behalf of your petitioners, who discovering with pleasure and acknowledged gratitude, the paternal and patriotic disposition of the legislature, to countenance and consent to the ease and happiness of your remote citizens, emboldened us to set about erecting a separate government from that of the parent state. Assuring your honourable body, that it is not from any disgust to your constitution or laws, occasions us to supplicate you to permit a separation, but, on the contrary, (we) regard North-Carolina, and will never cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern her happiness and safety; and that our hearty and kindest wishes will always attend the parent state."

The convention having rejected the constitution as submitted, and adopted that of North-Carolina, under which the Franklin government had thus far been administered, it

was hoped that the public sentiment would be propitiated, and general harmony restored; but new elements of strife had arisen during the session of the convention, and new topics of discussion had been thrown out amongst the people. The dissentients comprised in their number, much of the wisdom and virtue of the body to which they belonged; and desirous of sustaining themselves with their constituents, they published an account of their proceedings, together with the rejected form of government, and appealed again to the people. Here, as might have been anticipated, sectarian bigotry, unlettered ignorance, and impassioned ultraism, would all tend to aggravate the existing discord and embitter the dispute. Sections I, II, III, and XXXII, became prolific sources of controversy and angry debate. The deputies in convention had dissented; their constituents themselves could not harmonize; and without any further effort to remodel the government, the people at length acquiesced in the constitution of the mother state.

In the meantime, the settlements were extended over the territory acquired under the Franklin treaties with the Cherokees, and a new source of hostilities with that tribe arose from the encroachment of the whites upon lands not embraced in former cessions to the adjoining states. It was considered by Congress necessary, therefore, that a treaty should be held under the authority of the United States. Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Lachn. McIntosh, were appointed Commissioners on the part of the General Government. They invited the chiefs of the respective towns to meet with them, in treaty, at Hopewell, on Keowee, in South-Carolina.

The boundary, which had been the chief cause of complaint by the Indians, was made to conform with the lines of their deed to Henderson & Co., and the treaty held by Commissioners of Virginia and North-Carolina in 1777. In their report to Richard Henry Lee, President of Congress, the Commissioners say: "The Spaniards and the French from New-Orleans, are making great efforts to engross the trade of the Indians; several of them are on the north side of the Tennessee, and are well supplied with the proper goods for

the trade. The Governor of New-Orleans or West Florida has sent orders to the Chickasaws to remove all traders from that country, except such as should take the oath of allegiance to the Catholic King." "The Cherokees say that the northern Indians have their emissaries among the southern tribes, endeavouring to prevail with them to form an alliance offensive against the United States, and to commence hostilities against us in the spring, or next fall, at the furthest; that, not only the British emissaries are for this measure, but that the Spaniards have extensive claims to the southward, and have been endeavouring to poison the minds of the Indians against us, and to win their affections by large supplies of arms, military stores and clothing."

By the fourth article of the treaty concluded on the 28th November, 1785, the Cherokee boundary is declared to be:

Beginning at the mouth of Duck River, on the Tennessee; thence running northeast to the ridge dividing the waters running into the Cumberland from those running into the Tennessee; thence eastwardly along the said ridge to a northeast line to be run, which shall strike the River Cumberland forty miles above Nashville; thence along the said line to the river; thence up the said river to the ford where the Kentucky road crosses the river; thence to Campbell's line near Cumberland Gap; thence to the mouth of Cloud's Creek on Holston; thence to the Chimneytop Mountain; thence to Camp Creek, near the mouth of Big Limestone, on Nollichucky; thence a southerly course six miles to a mountain; thence south to the North-Carolina line; thence to the South-Carolina Indian boundary, and along the same southwest over the top of the Oconee Mountain till it shall strike Tugalo River; thence a direct line to the top of the Currahee Mountain; thence to the head of the south fork of Oconee River.

In the meantime, North-Carolina was not inattentive to
1785 { the growing alienation and defection of her western
citizens. The Greeneville Convention had met on the 14th of November. On the 19th of the same month, the North-Carolina Legislature assembled at Newbern. Following the example of Virginia, they proceeded to take into consideration the state of their revolted counties, and passed an act, preceded by a preamble, in which it is stated as represented to the Assembly—

"That many of the inhabitants of Washington, Greene and Sullivan counties, have withdrawn their allegiance from this state, and have been

erecting a temporary separate government amongst themselves, in consequence of a general report and belief that the state, being inattentive to their welfare, had ceased to regard them as citizens, and had made an absolute Cession, both of the soil and jurisdiction of the country in which they reside, to the United States, in Congress. And whereas, such report was ill-founded, and it was, and continues to be, the desire of the General Assembly of this State to extend the benefits of civil government to the citizens and inhabitants of the western counties, until such time as they might be separated with advantage and convenience to themselves; and the Assembly are ready to pass over, and consign to oblivion, the mistakes and misconduct of such persons in the abovementioned counties, as have withdrawn themselves from the government of this state; to hear and redress their grievances, if any they have, and to afford them the protection and benefits of government, until such time as they may be in a condition, from their numbers and wealth, to be formed into a separate commonwealth, and be received by the United States as a member of the Union."

The act then grants pardon and oblivion for all that had been done in the revolted counties, on the condition that they return to their allegiance to North-Carolina, and appointed officers, civil and military, in place of the incumbents under the Franklin dynasty, and empowered the voters of Washington, Sullivan and Greene, to choose their representatives otherwise than by the then required forms. Three good and honest men, preferred by themselves, were to act as inspectors of the elections, and to return a certificate in favour of members thus chosen.

It is not known how many of the several counties participated in the provisions thus made by the parent state, for a return of her western citizens to their allegiance. But in Washington county disaffection to the Franklin government began to manifest itself, and George Mitchell, as sheriff, issued the following notice, which is copied exactly from the original, as found among the Sevier papers.

July, 19th day, 1786.

Advertisement.--I hereby give Publick Notice, that there will be an election held the third Friday in August next, at John Rennoe's, near the Sickamore Sholes, where Charles Robertson formerly lived, to choose members to represent Washington county in the General Assembly of North-Carolina, agreeable to an Act of Assembly, in that case made and provided, where due attendance will given pr me.

Geo. Mitchell, Shff.

The election was held accordingly at the Sycamore Shoals,

1786 { on Watauga River, when Col. John Tipton was chosen Senator of Washington county, and James Stuart and Richard White were chosen as members of the House of Commons of the Legislature of North-Carolina. These gentlemen had been members of the convention that formed the new government, and had in other ways participated in its administration. Their well known influence and weight of character in the new settlements, rendered their present position of ill-omen to the future fortunes of Franklin. In Washington county especially, many, influenced by their example, accepted the terms of accommodation held out by North-Carolina, and enrolled their names in opposition to the new state. From this period resistance to, or refusal of its authority, assumed a more systematic and determined form.

In the early part of the year 1786, was presented the strange spectacle of two empires exercised at one and the same time, over one and the same people. County courts were held in the same counties, under both governments; the militia were called out by officers appointed by both; laws were passed by both assemblies, and taxes were laid by the authority of both states. The differences in opinion in the State of Franklin, between those who adhered to the government of North-Carolina, and those who were the friends of the new government, became every day more acrimonious. Every fresh provocation on the one side, was surpassed in way of retaliation by a still greater provocation on the other. The Judges commissioned by the State of Franklin, held Supreme Courts twice in each year, in Jonesborough. Colonel Tipton openly refused obedience to the new government. There arose a deadly hatred between him and Governor Sevier, and each endeavoured, by all the means in his power, to strengthen his party against the other. Tipton held courts under the authority of North-Carolina, at Buffalo, ten miles above Jonesborough, which were conducted by her officers and agreeably to her laws. Courts were also held at Jonesborough in the same county, under the authority of the State of Franklin. As the process of these courts frequently required the sheriff to pass within the jurisdiction of each other to execute it, a rencounter was sure to take place. Hence it became necessary to appoint the stoutest men in the county to the office of sheriff. This state of things produced the appointment of A. Caldwell, of Jonesborough, and Mr. Pew, the sheriff in Tipton's court. Whilst a county court was sitting at Jonesborough, in this year, for the county of Washington, Colonel John Tipton, with a party of men, entered the court house, took away the papers from the clerk, and turned the justices out of doors. Not long after, Sevier's party came to the house where a county court was sitting for the county of Washington, under the authority of North-Carolina, and took away

the clerk's papers, and turned the court out of doors. Thomas Gorly was clerk of this court. The like acts were several times repeated during the existence of the Franklin government. At one time James Sevier, then having the records of the old court under North-Carolina, Tipton, in behalf of the court of North-Carolina, went to his house and took them away by force, and delivered them to Gorly. Shortly afterwards the records were retaken by Sevier's party, and James Sevier, the clerk, hid them in a cave. In these removals many valuable papers were lost, and at later periods, for want of them, some estates of great value have been lost. In the county of Greene, in 1786, Tipton broke up a court sitting in Greeneville, under the Franklin authority. The two clerks in all the three old counties, issued marriage licenses, and many persons were married by virtue of their authority. In the courts held under the authority of the State of Franklin, many letters of administration of intestate estates were issued, and probate of wills were taken.*

Notwithstanding the defection of some of its early advocates, and the neutrality of others of its friends, the government of Franklin continued to exercise its functions in the seven counties composing its sovereignty. County and Superior Courts were held, the militia was mustered and disciplined, and civil and military elections took place under its authority. In the new county of Sevier, Samuel Newell and John Clack were elected representatives; Samuel Weir was clerk of the county court and colonel of the regiment. In Spencer county, these same offices were filled by Thomas Henderson; and William Cocke and Thomas King were representatives. In Caswell county, Alexander Outlaw and Henry Conway were representatives; Joseph Hamilton was clerk of the county court, and George Doherty, colonel of the regiment. In Greene county, Daniel Kennedy was clerk, and John Newman, colonel. James Sevier was clerk of Washington county. In Sullivan county, John Rhea was clerk, George Maxwell, colonel of the militia, and John Long, John Provin and George Maxwell, members of the Assembly.

In addition to the administration of civil affairs, Governor Sevier, early in this year, found it necessary to repel the aggressions made upon the citizens of Franklin, by the Cherokees. In the treaty of Hopewell, that tribe had agreed to a lasting peace with the frontier people. Lulled into a state

* Haywood.

of false security by the unanimity with which the treaty had been signed by the chiefs of that nation, emigrants had pushed their settlements on the north side of Holston as low down as Beaver Creek, in what has since become Knox county. Remote from sources of defence, and exposed on three sides to attack, this settlement was selected as the most vulnerable point. The house of Mr. Biram was attacked, and two men fell victims to Cherokee cruelty. Many of the settlers fell back upon the stations above them, while a few of them erected, hastily, temporary defences in their own neighbourhood. Some small parties were soon collected and pursued the authors of the mischief. Governor Sevier himself adopted the policy, heretofore ascertained to be the most effectual, of penetrating at once into the heart of the enemy's country, securing thereby an immediate return of the hostile Indians to the defence of their villages and homes. A call for volunteers was promptly met, by the rendezvous of one hundred and sixty horsemen at Houston's Station, on the waters of Little River. The troops crossed the Tennessee River at the Island Town, and passing by the Tellico Plains, marched over the Unaca Mountain to Hiwassee. Here, three of the Cherokee villages, called the Valley Towns, were destroyed, and fifteen warriors were killed. Encamping in another village close at hand, Sevier sent forward his spies, who soon returned and reported that they had discovered a large trail. The troops were at once put in motion, and marched upon the trail. From the best information before them, it was decided in a council of officers, that as the number of the enemy could not be less than one thousand warriors, as they were under the command of John Watts, a cunning and daring leader, and were probably endeavouring to draw Sevier into a narrow defile, it was deemed, under existing circumstances, inexpedient to pursue the enemy without reinforcements. The pursuit was abandoned—the troops marched back to their encampment and returned home.

The effect of this invasion of the Cherokee country was salutary. Few aggressions were, for some time after, made against the frontier. But it was considered by each of the

sovereignties claiming jurisdiction over the country, a wise and necessary policy to adopt further methods of conciliation and security. North-Carolina had sent Col. Joseph Martin on a mission of peace into the interior of the Cherokee nation. Upon his return, he gave to Governor Caswell the result of his observation on Indian affairs, and on some of the measures of the Franklin government, of which he at first was an officer. His letter follows:

SMITH'S RIVER, HENRY COUNTY, May 11th, 1786.

Sir:—The accounts from the Cherokee country are somewhat alarming. I left Chota the fourteenth of last month, when two or three parties had gone out towards Cumberland or Kentucky, to take satisfaction for four of their young men that were murdered by one McClure, and two others, near a small Indian town, on the Tennessee. I left a man in whom I can confide to watch their return, and follow me with certain intelligence, which he has done, which is as follows:—The 17th of last month, the parties of Indians returned with fifteen scalps, sent several letters to Gen. Sevier, which he read, as they were open; they informed that general that they had now taken satisfaction for their friends that were murdered, that they did not wish for war, but if the white people wanted war, it was what they would get. He further says, that he was informed that there was great preparation making by the Creeks, to carry on an expedition against Cumberland—that they were about to erect a post at or near the Muscle Shoals—that several pack horses had already passed by Chickamauga—they say the French and Spaniards that are settled there are to furnish them with arms and ammunition—the Indians told me I might depend that the Creeks would endeavour to break up Cumberland this summer—I have lately been through the different Cherokee towns this spring, from Tugalo to Hightower, on the Chattahoochee River; they all seem very friendly, and I believe not the least danger from any unless Chickamauga; they seem much divided. The Draggon Canoe, which is one of the chiefs, is much attached to the Spanish interest, and I believe will join the Creeks; he killed two traders the latter part of the winter, on their way to the Chickasaws from Cumberland. Ellis Haslin, one of the principal traders in the Cherokee country, informed me he saw a party of Creeks and Chickamaugas, on their way to Cumberland, and endeavoured to turn them back, but they told him they were at open war with the Virginians, and they would not go back. I spent some days at Holston, to find out, as well as I could, the disposition of the people respecting the new state, and by the best calculations I can make, two-thirds of them are for the old state, and I make no doubt of their sending delegates to North-Carolina next session; they have held an Assembly lately, and appointed Capt. Cocke a member of Congress, and given Col. Charles Robertson liberty to coin thirty thousand dollars specie. I am told they are to have a coat of arms of their own, having a reference to the State of Franklin. One of the members of the Assembly informed me that the colonel was in such

forwardness with his mint, that in the course of three weeks he could furnish their members to Congress with cash of the new coin.

1786 { Governor Sevier and the authorities of Franklin were not inattentive, in the meantime, to their relations with the Indians, and in the exercise of one of the highest attributes of political sovereignty, appointed Commissioners to negotiate a second treaty with the Cherokees. The Commissioners were William Cocke, Alexander Outlaw, Samuel Weir, Henry Conway, and Thomas Ingles. The conference begun at Chota Ford, July 31, and was concluded at Coytoy, (Coiatee?) Aug. 3d. On the part of the Indians, the negotiation was conducted by Old Tassel and Hanging Maw. The best account of the treaty is found in the letter of one of the Commissioners, enclosing the proceedings to the Governor of North-Carolina. It follows:

BEND OF CHUCKEY, Oct. 8th, 1786.

Honoured Sir:—I have enclosed you a copy of a late treaty with the Cherokee Indians, and a just account of their conduct and present situation. They came into our settlement on the north of Holston, the 10th of July, and warned the settlement that there were Creeks to attack them the week following, and agreed with our people that they might know them from the Creeks, to wear a white flag on their head and on their guns; and that whenever they saw any white people, they would halloo "Chota" to them; and on the 20th of July, which was the time they said the Creeks was to attack the settlement, two young men were going from the station to a cornfield, some Indians hailed them, and called "Chota," and the young men went to them, and they seemed friendly, offered a swap of guns with one of the white men, and got hold of the white man's gun, and then shot him down with his own gun; the other man rode off, and the other two Indians fired at him, and shot two bullets through him; but he rode to the station, and lived three days. He was well acquainted with the Indians that shot him. Col. Cocke and myself got account of the murder the 23d, and the 31st we were in the town where the Indians lived that did the mischief, with two hundred and fifty men. We sent for the Heads of the towns to meet us at about six miles from the town, at Chota Ford, as you will see in the Talk, where they refused to give up the murderers, and said they were gone to the Shawnees; but we had certain accounts that they were then in the town; on which news we marched to the town, and, luckily, killed two of the very Indians that did the murder; and sent for all the warriors from all the near towns, which met accordingly, and agreed to the terms I have enclosed; and I was last week in the town, and had a Talk with them, and they seem very friendly, and well satisfied we should settle the country, and say they will sell us the coun-
t on the south of the Tennessee, and let us settle round them, if we

will keep the Creeks from killing them; or they will leave the country entirely, if we will give them goods for it; and I am convinced, from the late conduct and accounts I have had from them, the whole country to the Georgia line, on this side of Cumberland Mountain, may be had from them for a very trifling sum.

With this letter, Col. Outlaw sent the following:

A Treaty held between the Officers of the State of Franklin and the Cherokee Indian Chiefs, July 31st and August 3d, 1786, as follows, viz:

July 31st, Chota Ford.

Brothers and Warriors:—We are sorry that you have drove us to the necessity of coming to your ground to hold a Talk with you after the Grand Peace with our Great People, the Congress, and our own treaty with you, at Dumplin Creek, last year. You have now broke through all your Talks, and murdered our young men, and stole our horses from our own settlements, and robbed and murdered our men at Kentucky, and on the Kentucky Road and at Cumberland, and have always laid it on the Creeks; but now we have got proof that it is your own warriors that do the mischief, and lay it on the Creeks. We have now come down to talk plain and straight with you, and to tell you that North-Carolina has sold us all the country on the north side of Tennessee and Holston; that we intend to settle on it, and wish to do so in peace with you all, and trade and live friendly with all our brothers. And, agreeable to the treaty you made with us, we, in plain words, demand the murderers from you that killed our people, and demand all the horses you have taken from us, and from the people on the Kentucky Road and Cumberland; on which terms we will be brothers with you all, and continue so until you do more murder on our frontiers, at which time we will come down and destroy the town that does the mischief, and not let one of the murderers live in the towns that are peaceable and friendly; and if you are afraid of the other Indians, we will protect you and help you fight them; on which terms we will make peace with you and be friends. If not, we are warriors, and it is what you will. If you love peace, give up the murderers and you shall have peace.

ANSWERED BY THE TASSEL.

Now I am going to speak to you, brothers. We have smoked. The Great Man above sent the tobacco. It will make your hearts straight. I come from Chota. I see you. You are my brothers. I see what has been done is the cause of your coming. I am glad to see my brothers and hold them fast by the hand. The Great Man made us both, and he hears the Talk. The Great Man stopped you here to hear my Talk. They are not my people that spilt the blood and spoiled the good Talk a little. My town is not so; they will always use you well whenever they see you. The men that did the murder are bad men and no warriors. They are gone, and I can't tell where they are gone. They lived in Coytoy, at the mouth of Holston. This

is all I have to say. *They* have done the murder. Now I give you good talk. I will tell you about the land; what you say concerning the land, I will talk to Congress about, and the man that sold it I shall look to for it. You say that North-Carolina sold you the land over the river. We will talk to all our Head men about it. The Great Man above has sent you this white Talk to straight your hearts through. I give you this pipe in token of a straight Talk. I am very sorry my people has done wrong to occasion you to turn your backs. A little talk is as good as much talk; too much is not good.

COYTOY, August 3d.

Brothers and Warriors:—We are now in Coytoy, and are going to give you a straight Talk. You all well know that the great man over the water, King George, once commanded us all, and then we were all brothers; and that the great man, the king, got angry with us, and came over the water and killed our men and burnt some of our houses, which caused a war, and all your people, the Indians, helped the great man over the water, and we beat you all; and then the great man over the water gave up all this land to us, the white people, and made a peace with us, and then our great men, the Congress, made a peace with you, and agreed to live brothers with you all, and gave you such a piece of land to live on as they thought right, and so did your brother, John Sevier, governor of this country, and his commissioners at Dumplin, last year; but now you have broke all the good Talk, and your people have murdered our young warriors, your brothers, at Kentucky, Cumberland, and here, at home, and have killed our people as you did when you were helping the great man over the water, and have always laid it on the Creeks; but now we know it is your people that does the mischief. And to convince you we are willing to live brothers, we have marched a few of our warriors into the town that killed our young men, and burnt the town house where your people held the council to kill our men, and have burnt the bad men's houses, and destroyed as much corn as we thought belonged to them, but have not marched to any other town where our honest brothers lived, but have sent for them all to come and talk and smoke and eat with us, and let them all see that we will not hurt any of their people, our brothers, that are honest and will not kill our people. And we now tell you, in plain words, that if you kill any more of our people, we will come down and destroy the town that does the mischief, unless you bring the rogues to us; and if our people have killed any of your people since we came down, you must blame your bad men for it, for we do not know your bad men when they are in the woods. You have killed our old commanders, Colonel Donelson and Colonel Christian, who were always your friends when you were brothers, and were our great warriors and counsellors; and that you may not be any more deceived, we now tell you, plainly, that our great counsellors have sold us the lands on the north side of the Tennessee to the Cumberland Mountain, and we intend to settle and live on it, and if you kill any of our people for settling there, we shall destroy the town that does the mischief; and as your people broke the peace you made with Congress and us, and killed our men, it was your

faults that we come out to war. We have right to all the ground we marched over, but if you wish to live brothers, and be at peace, we will let you live in Coytoy, as brothers, in your old houses, if you will agree to give up the murderers when you can get them; and we only claim the island in Tennessee, at the mouth of Holston, and from the head of the island to the dividing ridge between Holston River, Little River and Tennessee, to the Blue Ridge, and the lands North-Carolina sold us, on the north side of Tennessee, which lines and terms we will agree to lay before our Great Council, and if you will agree to live brothers and friends, notwithstanding our taking of it by the sword, which is the best right to all countries, we will do our best endeavours to get our Council to give you all some goods, in token of our sincere peace and lasting friendship, although you refused to give up the murderers at Chota Ford when we sent to you and demanded them of you, agreeable to your treaty with us before we did you any harm, which, had you have done, we would not have marched into your town, but would have taken you by the hand and been brothers. Now, can you blame us, when your people broke the good Talks and spilt our blood? We call upon the Great Man above to witness, and you, yourselves, know, that we have acted agreeable to our former treaty, and only wish to punish the bad men and settle on the land North-Carolina sold us.

WM. COCKE,
ALEX. OUTLAW,
SAMUEL WEAR,
HENRY CONWAY,
THOMAS INGLES.

Attest—JOSEPH CONWAY.

ANSWER.

AUGUST 3d.

Brothers:—You have spoke to me. I am very thankful to you for it. My brother, William Christian, took care of every body, and was a good man; he is dead and gone. It was not me nor my people that killed him. They told lies on me. I loved Col. Christian, and he loved me. He was killed going the other way, over the big river. I never heard of your Great Council giving you the land you speak of. I talked, last fall, with the great men from Congress, but they told me nothing of this. I remember that the great men and I talked together last fall, and did not think this murder would have happened so soon. We talk good together now, but the great people, a good way off, don't talk so good as you; they have spoke nothing to us about the land, but now you have told us the truth. We hope we shall live friends together on it, and keep our young men at peace, as we all agree to sign the above terms and live brothers hereafter.

WM. COCKE,
ALEX. OUTLAW,
SAML. WEAR,
HENRY CONWAY,
THOMAS INGLES.

his
OLD ⋈ TASSEL,
mark

his
HANGING ⋈ MAW.
mark.

Attest—JOSEPH CONWAY.

The difficulties with the Indians being thus adjusted, and provision being made for co-operating with Georgia against the Creeks, it remained for the authorities of Franklin to reconcile conflicts nearer home. The imperium in imperio condition of things threatened anarchy or misrule—perhaps disaster and ruin to all parties. The people in some of the revolted counties had sent forward their representatives to the General Assembly of North-Carolina, which met in November, at Fayetteville. They were, in like manner, represented in the Assembly of Franklin. Taxes were laid by both governments and collected by neither, the people not knowing, as was pretended, which had the better right to receive them; and neither government was forward in overruling the plea, for fear of giving offence to those who could at pleasure transfer their allegiance.* Previous attempts had failed in securing from North-Carolina her consent to the separation of her revolted counties. Disaffection had already manifested itself against the authority of Franklin, and some of those who at first were the most zealous and clamorous for the separation, were now opposing it in their legislative capacity at Fayetteville. Every day brought new embarrassments to the administration of Governor Sevier, who, with the Assembly, was devising plans, by which to extricate the new government from impending danger. One of these was the appointment of General Cocke and Judge Campbell, as Commissioners, to negotiate a separation. Each of them was well suited for the purpose of his mission. The former was identified with the new settlements, by an early participation in the privation, enterprise and danger of the pioneer life. More recently, he had taken an active part in founding the new state—had been appointed its delegate to Congress—commanded a brigade of its militia, and held other positions implying confidence in his talents and address. His colleague had also a minute acquaintance with every question relating to either of the parties—held the highest judicial station in the government from which he was accredited, and by his private worth was entitled to the respect of the one to which he was sent.

* Haywood.

To secure to his embassy the greater consideration and weight, the Governor of Franklin addressed to the Governor of North-Carolina a communication, conceived in respectful and lenient terms, yet manifesting, at the same time, earnestness and determination, in maintaining the rights and advancing the interests of his state. It is dated at his private residence.

MOUNT PLEASANT, FRANKLIN, 28th October, 1786.

Sir :—Our Assembly have again appointed Commissioners to wait on the parent state, who, I hope, will cheerfully consent to the separation as they once before did.

It gives us inexpressible concern to think that any disputes should arise between us, more especially when we did not in the first instance pray the separation, but adopted our course after the same was done by Act of your Assembly. We humbly conceived we should do no wrong by endeavouring to provide for ourselves, neither had we the most distant idea that the Cession act would be repealed, otherwise matters might not have been carried to the length they are. The propriety of the repeal we do not pretend to scrutinize, as respecting the policy of your state; but, permit us to say, that, in our opinion, we discover many embarrassments both parties are likely to labour under in consequence of the repeal. We cannot suppose that Congress will consider itself well treated by North-Carolina, and we doubt that body will, thereby, become in some measure inattentive.

The late Indian Treaties in the south seem deeply to concern each party, especially now we find Congress have ratified the proceedings, and we have called on your state to carry the same into effect, so far as respects the same. We do not pretend to discriminate the motives that induced that body to enter into those measures, but beg leave to say, that, in our opinions, that had the deed or deeds been executed agreeable to the Cession act, that then our lands in the westward would have been secured under the conditions of that act; but, under the present circumstances, the greatest part of our western country lies in a very doubtful and precarious situation. I hope your Assembly will take under their serious consideration our present condition, and, we flatter ourselves, that august body will not submerge into ruin so many of their late citizens, who have fought and bled in behalf of the parent state, and are still ready to do so again, should there be an occasion. Our local and remote situation are the only motives that induce us to wish for a separation. Your constitution and laws we revere, and consider ourselves happy that we have had it in our power to get the same established in the State of Franklin, although it has occasioned some confusion among ourselves. We do, in the most candid and solemn manner, assure you that we do not wish to separate from you on any other terms, but on those that may be perfectly consistent with the honour and interest of each party; neither do we believe there is any among us who would wish for a separation, did they believe the parent state

would suffer any real inconveniency in consequence thereof. We would be willing to stand or fall together, under any dangerous crisis whatever.

We cannot be of the opinion that any real advantages can be obtained by a longer connection. Our trade and commerce is altogether carried on with other states, therefore neither party is benefitted on that head; and whether it can be suggested that the business of government can be extended from five to eight hundred miles distance, is a matter I leave to your own good sense to judge of; and, further, it cannot be supposed that the inhabitants who reside at that distance, are not equally entitled to the blessings of civil government, as their neigbbours who live east, south, or any other point, and not one-fourth of the distance from the seat of government, besides the incomparable advantages of the roads and other easy communications, that you have on the east of the Apalachian. However inconsiderable the people of this country may appear at this day, reason must inform us that the time is not far distant, when they will become as consequential in numbers, if not more so, than most of the Eastern States, and when your Excellency will be pleased to view the many advantages arising from the fertility of our soil, and the moderate and salubrious climate, you cannot, I presume, differ in sentiments on this head.

We will admit that our importation is not so flattering, but our exports are equal to any. As to our present abilities, we must confess they are not so great as could be wished for; but, happily for us, we have the parent, and many old and experienced states to copy after.

As to my own part, I have always considered myself happy while under the government of North-Carolina, and highly honoured with the different appointments they have been pleased to confer.

I heartily wish your Legislature had either not repealed, or never passed the Cession act, for probably it may occasion much confusion, especially should your Assembly listen too much to prejudiced persons, though this I have no right to suggest, but fear we may have a quarrel sufficient on our hands without any among ourselves.

I am authorized to say there is no set of people can think more highly of your government than those who want the separation, and they only wish it to answer their better conveniency; and, though wanting to be separated in government, wish to be united in friendship, and hope that mutual good offices may ever pass between the parent and infant state, which is my sincere wish and desire.

Judge Campbell, on account of ill health, was unable to accompany the other Commissioner on his embassy to Fayetteville. But, desirous of effecting its object, "a ratification of our independence," he forwarded to Governor Caswell his written argument in support of it, as follows:

STATE OF FRANKLIN,
Caswell County, Nov. 30th, 1786.

May it please your Excellency—

I have hesitated to address your Excellency on so delicate a subject as

the present. I shall only state a few facts, and leave your Excellency to draw the conclusion.

Is not the continent of America one day to become one consolidated government of United States? Is not your state, when connected with this part of the country, too extensive? Are we not, then, one day to be a separate people? Do you receive any advantage from us as now situated? or do you ever expect to receive any? I believe you do not. Suffer us, then, to pursue our own happiness in a way most agreeable to our situation and circumstances. The plans laid for a regular and systematic government in this country, are greatly frustrated by the opposition from your country. Can a people so nearly connected as yours are with ours, delight in our misfortunes? The rapid settlements that are making, and have been made out of the bounds prescribed both by your state and ours, is a matter worthy your consideration; our divisions are favourable to those who have a mind to transgress our laws. If you were to urge us, and it were possible we should revert back to you, in what a labyrinth of difficulties would we be involved? Witness the many lawsuits, which have been decided under the sanction of the laws of Franklin, the retrial of which would involve many persons in certain ruin.

If we set out wrong, or were too hasty in our separation, this country is not altogether to blame; your state pointed out the line of conduct, which we adopted; we really thought you in earnest when you ceded us to Congress. If you then thought we ought to be separate, or if you now think we ever ought to be, permit us to complete the work that is more than half done; suffer us to give energy to our laws and force to our councils, by saying we are a separate and independent people, and we will yet be happy. I suppose it will astonish your Excellency to hear that there are many families settled within nine miles of the Cherokee nation. What will be the consequence of those emigrations? Our laws and government must include these people or they will become dangerous; it is vain to say they must be restrained. Have not all America extended their back settlements in opposition to laws and proclamations? The Indians are now become more pusillanimous, and consequently will be more and more encroached upon; they must, they will be circumscribed. Some of your politicians think we have not men of abilities to conduct the reins of government; this may in some measure be true, but all new states must have a beginning, and we are daily increasing in men both of political and law knowledge. It was not from a love of novelty, or the desire of title, I believe, that our leaders were induced to engage in the present revolution, but from pure necessity. We were getting into confusion, and you know any government is better than anarchy. Matters will be differently represented to you, but you may rely on it, a great majority of the people are anxious for a separation. Nature has separated us; do not oppose her in her work; by acquiescing you will bless us, and do yourself no injury; you bless us by uniting the disaffected, and do yourself no injury, because you lose nothing but people who are a clog on your government, and to whom you cannot do equal justice by reason of their detached situation.

I was appointed to wait on your General Assembly, to urge a ratifi-

cation of our independence, but the misfortune of losing one of my eyes, and some other occurrences, prevented me. You will, therefore, pardon me for the liberties I have taken, whilst endeavouring to serve a people whose situation is truly critical.

Notwithstanding these earnest representations made in behalf of the people of Franklin, the Assembly of North-Carolina, disregarding their protests and memorials, continued to legislate for them. The territory that had been embraced in the new county of Spencer, under the Franklin Government, was, by the Legislature of North-Carolina, laid off into a new county called Hawkins, and civil and military officers were at the same session appointed for it, and the time was fixed by law for holding the courts. The Assembly had also taken into consideration the measures necessary to be adopted in relation to the revolters in Franklin. At this moment, General Cocke, the other Commissioner from the State of Franklin, appeared in Fayetteville, and, at his request, was heard at the bar of the House of Commons. In a speech of great length, as copied from Haywood, he pathetically depicted the miseries of his distressed countrymen; he traced the motives of their separation to the difficult and perilous condition in which they had been placed by the Cession act of 1784; he stated that the savages in their neighbourhood, often committed upon the defenceless inhabitants the most shocking barbarities; and that they were without the means of raising or subsisting troops for their protection; without authority to levy men; without the power to lay taxes for the support of internal government; and without the hope that any of their necessary expenditures would be defrayed by the State of North-Carolina, which had then become no more interested in their safety than any other of the United States. The sovereignty retained being precarious and nominal, as it depended on the acceptance of the cession by Congress, so it was anticipated would be the concern of North-Carolina for the ceded territory. With these considerations full in view, what were the people of the ceded territory to do, to avoid the blow of the uplifted tomahawk? How were the women and children to be rescued from the impending destruction? Would Con-

gress come to their aid? Alas! Congress had not yet accepted of them, and possibly, never would. And if accepted, Congress was to deliberate on the quantum of defence which might be afforded to them. The distant states would wish to know what profits they could respectively draw from the ceded country, and how much land would remain, after satisfying the claims upon it. The contributions from the several states were to be spontaneous. They might be too limited to do any good, too tardy for practical purposes. They might be unwilling to burthen themselves for the salvation of a people not connected with them by any endearing ties. The powers of Congress were too feeble to enforce contributions. Whatever aids should be resolved on, might not reach the objects of their bounty, till all was lost. Would common prudence justify a reliance upon such prospects? Could the lives of themselves and their families be staked upon them? Immediate and pressing necessity called for the power, to concentrate the scanty means they possessed of saving themselves from destruction. A cruel and insidious foe was at their doors. Delay was but another name for death. They might supinely wait for events, but the first of them would be the yell of the savage through all their settlements. It was the well-known disposition of the savages to take every advantage of an unpreparedness to receive them, and of a sudden to raise the shrieking cry of exultation over the fallen inhabitants. The hearts of the people of North-Carolina should not be hardened against their brethren, who have stood by their sides in perilous times, and never heard their cry of distress when they did not instantly rise and march to their aid. Those brethren have bled in profusion to save you from bondage, and from the sanguinary hands of a relentless enemy, whose mildest laws for the punishment of rebellion, is beheading and quartering. When driven in the late war, by the presence of that enemy, from your homes, we gave to many of you a sanctified asylum in the bosom of our country, and gladly performed the rites of hospitality to a people we loved so dearly. Every hand was ready to be raised for the least unhallowed violation of the sanctuary in which they reposed.

The act for our dismissal was, indeed, recalled in the winter of 1784; what then was our condition? More pennyless, defenceless and unprepared, if possible, than before, and under the same necessity as ever, to meet and consult together for our common safety. The resources of the country all locked up, where is the record that shews any money or supplies sent to us?—a single soldier ordered to be stationed on the frontiers, or any plan formed for mitigating the horrors of our exposed situation? On the contrary, the savages are irritated by the stoppage of those goods on their passage, which were promised as a compensation for the lands which had been taken from them. If North-Carolina must yet hold us in subjection, it should at least be understood to what a state of distraction, suffering and poverty, her varying conduct has reduced us, and the liberal hand of generosity should be widely opened for relief, from the pressure of their present circumstances; all animosity should be laid aside and buried in deep oblivion, and our errors should be considered as the offspring of greater errors committed by yourselves. It belongs to a magnanimous people to weep over the failings of their unfortunate children, especially if prompted by the inconsiderate behaviour of the parent. Far should it be from their hearts to harbour the unnatural purpose of adding still more affliction to those who have suffered but too much already. It belongs to a magnanimous people to give an industrious attention to circumstances, in order to form a just judgment upon a subject so much deserving of their serious meditation, and when once carefully formed, to employ, with sedulous anxiety, the best efforts of their purest wisdom, in choosing a course to pursue, suitable to the dignity of their own character, consistent with their own honour, and the best calculated to allay that storm of distraction in which their hapless children have been so unexpectedly involved. If the mother shall judge the expense of adhesion too heavy to be borne, let us remain as we are, and support ourselves by our own exertions; if otherwise, let the means for the continuance of our connexion be supplied with the degree of liberality which will demonstrate seriousness on the one hand, and secure affection on the other.

His speech was heard with attention, and he retired.

The Assembly progressed in deliberating on the measures to be adopted with respect to the revolted counties. By another act of this session, they pardoned the offences of all persons who had returned to their allegiance to the State of North-Carolina, and restored them to all the privileges of the other citizens of the state, as if the said offences and misconduct had never existed. With regard to decisions respecting property, which were incompatible with justice, they enacted, that the person injured should have remedy at common law. They continued in office all officers, both civil and military, who held and enjoyed such offices on the 1st of April, 1784; but declared vacant the offices of all such persons as had accepted and exercised other offices and appointments, the acceptance and exercise of which were considered to be a resignation of their former offices held under the State of North-Carolina; and they directed that such vacant offices, both civil and military, shall be filled with proper persons to be appointed by the General Assembly, and commissioned by the Governor of North-Carolina, as by law directed.*

The latter provisions of this act produced great dissatisfaction amongst the people upon whom it was intended to operate. The old office holders were capable, they had been faithful, and their experience and attention to official duty had secured universal confidence and approbation These, upon whom the new appointments were conferred, were many of them non-residents, inexperienced and not reliable, selected by the favouritism of some functionary in the old state, and, for that reason, odious to the people. Their appointment was denounced by and drew forth the bitter condemnation of some of both parties. The temper of the complainants is seen in the letter following, from Judge Campbell to the Governor.

STATE OF FRANKLIN,
Caswell County, March 18th, 1787.

May it please your Excellency:

I was honoured with yours of the 23d of February, for which I beg you to accept of my most cordial acknowledgments. The majority of the people of Franklin proclaim, with a degree of enthusiastic zeal, against a reversion to your state. Indeed, I am at a loss to conjecture whether your Assembly wished us to revert; if so, why did they treat the old faithful officers of this country with so much contempt? Officers who have suffered in the common cause, who have been faithful in the discharge of the trust reposed in them, have been displaced, without even the formality of a trial. Representations by a few malcontents

* Haywood.

might have been the cause of such proceedings, but surely it was a most impolitic step. If the old officers, who were the choice of the people, and under whom they have long served, had been continued, I doubt not but all things would have been settled here, agreeable to the most sanguine wish of your General Assembly; but such infringements on the liberties and privileges of a free people will never be attended with any salutary consequence. I also blame the law, which passed in your Assembly, to enable the people here to hold partial elections. If it was intended to divide us, and set us to massacreing one another, it was well concerted, but an ill-planned scheme, if intended for the good of all. The great number of warrants which issue from your entry-taker's office, without the composition money being paid, is a very great evil, and will tend exceedingly to embarrass this country. But I understand your Assembly have put a stop to such unfair proceedings. You mention, if the people here could be brought to agree in making a general application to the Legislature of North-Carolina, the desired object might easily be brought about. Human nature is the same in all countries. To expect to bring a people, cordially and unanimously, to adopt even the most salutary measure, is not to be expected, and they will most assuredly be refractory to doubtful and exceptionable plans.

The people here—for I have been in public assemblies and made it my business to collect their sentiments—dread the idea of a reversion. They say, if North-Carolina is in earnest about granting them a separation, why not permit them to go on as they have begun, and not involve them in inextricable difficulties, by undoing the work of two or three years past? They made offers by their agent, which they think was favourable to your country; but they rejected it with contempt. I mean the bill offered by General Rutherford to your Assembly, in behalf of this people. What conditions, say they, would North-Carolina extort from us, were we under their laws and immediate influence? Indeed, my mind is filled with painful anxiety for this people; the sword of justice and vengeance will, I believe, be shortly drawn against those of this country who attempt to overturn and violate the laws and government of Franklin, and God only knows what will be the event. If any blood is spilt on this occasion, the act for partial elections from your country will be the cause of it; and I am bold to say, the author of that act was the author of much evil. That your Excellency may not be in the dark about the spirit and determination of a great majority of these people, in supporting, maintaining and defending their beloved Franklin, I shall give you a brief and concise detail of what has transpired here since the fate of our memorial and personal application to the Legislature of North-Carolina has been announced to us. Pains were taken to collect the wishes of the people respecting a reversion; many, who were formerly lukewarm, are now flaming patriots for Franklin. Those who were real Franklinites, are now burning with enthusiastic zeal. They say that North-Carolina has not treated us like a parent, but like a step-dame. She means to sacrifice us to the Indian savages; she has broke our old officers, under whom we fought and bled, and placed over us many men unskilled in military achievements, and who were none of our choice. The General Assembly has been convened and steps were taken for

our internal security, with a degree of unanimity never before known in a deliberative assembly. A treaty is set on foot with the Indians. The land office, as opened to the Tennessee from the south side of French Broad and Holston Rivers, did not interfere with the north side, where your office was opened, and cautiously avoided interfering with the rights of Congress. You may judge from the foregoing whether these people are in earnest or not. You must not conclude we are altogether unanimous, but I do assure you a very great majority, perhaps nineteen-twentieths, seem determined to persevere at all hazards. I make no doubt but your Excellency will use your influence to bring matters to a friendly and advantageous issue for both countries. Nothing that the love of humanity can inspire me with, shall be wanting on my part.

The Legislature of North-Carolina, at the same session when this obnoxious act was passed, adopted the conciliatory measure of relinquishing to the citizens of the revolted counties all the taxes due and unpaid since 1784. This, with the act of pardon and oblivion for such as should return to their allegiance to North-Carolina, had the desired influence upon a part of the disaffected. Commissions were sent to and accepted by several in Washington, Sullivan, and Hawkins counties, as justices of the peace, under the authority of the old state, and by them courts were held and law administered, as though the State of Franklin did not exist. In Greene county, and the new counties below it, men could not be found willing to accept the offered commissions. There the authority of Franklin was supreme, and there
1787 was no conflict of jurisdiction. It was very different elsewhere, and especially in Washington county. Previous to the revolt, courts had been held at Jonesboro', and had afterwards been held at the same place under the new government. Now, when the sentiment of allegiance to North-Carolina had, in some measure, become general, the newly appointed magistrates, as directed by law, opened and held their courts at Davis's, ten miles above Jonesboro', on Buffalo Creek. The partizans of one government quarrelled with those of the other. The officers of each, in discharge of official duty, came into conflict with the authority of the rival government. The animosity, thus engendered, became the more acrimonious, as this county was the residence of Governor Sevier, and also of Col. John Tipton, who, though at first a leader in the revolt, had now become promi-

nent at the head of the old state party. These two, alike brave, ambitious and patriotic, and champions of their respective adherents, kept the people in a constant tumult, each, alternately, breaking in upon and interrupting the courts and jurisdiction of the other. The horrors of a fratricidal conflict seemed inevitable, and measures were adopted by both parties to allay the agitation and restore quiet. General Rutherford had introduced before the Legislature of North-Carolina a measure of conciliation, that would have been acceptable to the malcontents beyond the mountain, but it was instantly rejected. The mission of General Cocke, and the pacific overtures of Judge Campbell, had been abortive and unsuccessful. As a dernier resort, negotiation was attempted, to reconcile the conflicts of interests and of feeling between the two states. Who should be the negotiator? An officer of the old state? The opposition to such an one, was at one time a mere prejudice—it had now become a sentiment of inappeasable malignity, and no offers of compromise from him could be for a moment entertained. Policy dictated that he should be selected from the western people themselves, and that he should be one who, from his past position, was identified, in all his sympathies and interests, with the West. General Evan Shelby, high in the confidence of his countrymen everywhere, remarkable for his probity, candour, good sense and patriotism, was requested by Gov. Caswell to take charge of this delicate negotiation; and, in conjunction with others, whose assistance he solicited, met a Commission from the State of Franklin, on the 20th day of March, 1787, at the house of Samuel Smith. At this conference Gov. Sevier represented his own government, aided by such of its friends as he chose to invite. The result of their mutual efforts to accommodate existing difficulties, and to prevent the occurrence of those of greater magnitude, now constantly apprehended, was given in the letter following, from General Shelby to Governor Caswell:

SULLIVAN COUNTY, March 21st, 1787.

Dear Sir:—Your letter, and the packets which you were pleased to forward by your son, I have received, and the commissions to the several counties belonging have been forwarded, except those to the county of

Greene, yet in my hands, not well knowing who to direct them to. The proclamations have been disposed of accordingly. I have held a conference with Mr. John Sevier, Governor of the Franklin people. The enclosed is a copy of what was there concluded between him and me. It is submitted to the legislature. The people of Franklin have lately held an Assembly for their state, and have passed a bill for opening an office for to receive entries for the lands included between French Broad and Tennessee Rivers. Also, they have laid a land and poll-tax on the people. Conformable to the commissions for the peace sent up, courts of pleas, &c., have been held in the counties of Washington, Sullivan and Hawkins, without any opposition. Many people are firmly attached to North-Carolina; others are as obstinate against it; however, it is to be hoped that time and reflection will restore them friendly to North-Carolina.

The animosities arising from difference of opinion in governments among our people here, have run high. To quiet the minds of the people, and preserve peace and tranquillity till something better could be done, was the reason that induced me to hold a conference and conclude on the articles enclosed. I would be much rejoiced if, as you mention, you would think, in earnest, to come and live among us. You might do much here.

CONFERENCE AT SMITH'S.

"At a conference held at the house of Samuel Smith, Esquire, on the 20th day of March, 1787, between the Honourable Evan Shelby, Esquire, and sundry officers, of the one part, and the Honourable John Sevier and sundry officers, of the other part. Whereas, disputes have arisen concerning the propriety and legality of the State of Franklin, and the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the State of North-Carolina over the said state and the people residing therein.

"The contending parties, from the regard they have to peace, tranquillity and good decorum in the Western country, do agree and recommend as follows:

"First. That the courts of justice do not proceed to transact any business in their judicial departments, except the trial of criminals, the proving of wills, deeds, bills of sale, and such like conveyances; the issuing of attachments, writs and any legal process, so as to procure bail, but not to enter into final determinations of the suits, except the parties are mutually agreed thereto.

"Secondly. That the inhabitants residing within the limits of the disputed territory are at full liberty and discretion to pay their public taxes to either the State of North-Carolina or the State of Franklin.

"Thirdly. That this agreement and recommendation continue until the next annual sitting of the General Assembly of North-Carolina, to be held in November next, and not longer. It is further agreed, that if any person, guilty of felony, be committed by any North Carolina justice of the peace, that such person or persons may and shall be received by the Franklin sheriff or gaoler of Washington, and proceeded against in the same manner as if the same had been committed by and from any such authority from under the State of Franklin. It is also recommended, that the aforesaid people do take such modes and regulations,

and set forth their grievances, if any they have, and solicit North-Carolina, at their next annual meeting of the General Assembly, for to complete the separation, if thought necessary by the people of the Western country, as to them may appear most expedient, and give their members and representatives such instructions as may be thought most conducive to the interest of our Western World, by a majority of the same, either to be a separate state from that of North-Carolina, or be citizens of the State of North-Carolina.

"Signed and agreed, on behalf of each party, this day and year above written.

EVAN SHELBY,
JOHN SEVIER."

A temporary quiet succeeded this compromise, and the peo-
1787 { ple having the right of paying their taxes, and of owing allegiance to either of the rival governments, at their own option, the jurisdiction of both was for a time co-ordinate. No better proof need be adduced that the inhabitants of the disaffected country were law-abiding, honest, just, and peaceable, than their demeanour under this unwonted condition of questionable allegiance. Anywhere else, anarchy, misrule, tumult and violence, would have followed. Prevalent sentiment was, amongst these primitive people, essentially the law, and had the validity and force of legislative authority. Popular opinion was radically sound. It was in favour of right and justice. The people bowed to its supremacy, and paid allegiance to its mandates. They needed no other tribunal.

Still, a wound had been inflicted upon the dignity of the parent state, and there were not wanting men in the country, willing to appease her wrath, and make an atonement for the indignity and injury she had received. These, finding fault with and condemning the acts of the new state, reported its wrong doings to Governor Caswell. They were clamorous about trespasses committed upon Cherokee territory, by the intruding "Franklinites," and foreboded what really took place, a renewal of Indian aggression upon the settlements, if these were not restrained. Such is the import of the letter following:

CHOTA, 25th March, 1787.

Sir:—At my arrival in this place, I found the Indians in greater confusion than I had ever seen before, owing in part to Colonel John Logan's expedition against them, together with daily encroachments of the

Franklintons on their lands. They have actually opened a land office for every acre of land that the Legislature of North-Carolina ceded to them north of the Tennessee, which includes several of their principal cornfields, and a part of their beloved town, Chota, and the whole town of Rial, and are now settling on the banks of the river. I this day finished a Talk with the Indians, a copy of which I enclose to your Excellency. Three letters have lately been brought to the different towns, and read, from the French at the Muscle Shoals, which inform the Indians that the English, French and Spanish, have actually joined to carry on a war against America; that the Americans have stopped their trade from Detroit, by seizing several of their boats on the Mississippi; that they will not undertake to furnish them in future with anything but guns, knives, tomahawks, and ammunition; of these articles they shall have plenty. Various are the conjectures of the traders respecting war with the Cherokees. My opinion is, there will be a great deal of mischief done, if not an open war, unless the Franklinites can be removed off their land; which, I am well assured, cannot be done without an armed force.

Another writer, under date March 26th, of this year, informs the governor, "Politics in this part of the country run high. You hear in almost every collection of people, frequent declarations of hurrah for North-Carolina! and others in the same manner for the State of Franklin." "The Franklin Assembly have passed their act to punish, by imprisonment, any person that shall act in the commission of justice of the peace or other civil office, under the assumed authority of North-Carolina. God only knows where this contention will end. I fear it will end in blood."

Governor Caswell received another letter of still more portentous import, from an accredited agent, who had been sent to spy out the real condition of affairs in his trans-montane territory. In his tour of observation, he seems to have detected not only infidelity on the part of the people of Franklin to North-Carolina, but "a tendency to dissolve the federal bands." He is the first to advise "the interference of government" to suppress the insurgents.

Col. Hutchings to Gov. Caswell:

Hawkins County, the 1st April, 1787.

Sir:—I received your Excellency's letter of the 27th Feb., 1787, with the enclosed papers and others forwarded; and in compliance with the contents, I give you a statement of the proceedings in this quarter, as you signified a desire to know how the laws and a return to the old government set on the minds of the people. I find in the county of Greene the people are much divided. In the other three counties, about two-

thirds are much pleased with the laws and a return to the old government. The commissions and appointments are generally received. The people on the Indian hunting grounds, I learn, are very obstinate, and I suppose will pay little or no respect to your Excellency's proclamation for their removal. The Franklin party yet persist, and seems to impede the progress of civilization and retard the operation of the most salutary laws. They have lately held an Assembly and passed several acts, and seem vigorous in executing them. They have opened an office for the lands south of French Broad to the banks of Tennessee River. The land is to be sold at forty shillings per hundred acres, the first ten shillings in hand, and two years credit for the other thirty shillings. This unites the inhabitants of those lands to their party; and in order to frighten others into a compliance with them, the Assembly have passed an act to fine and imprison any person who shall dare to act under the authority of North-Carolina:—for the first offence five pounds; a second offence, ten pounds and a year's imprisonment; and the governor at his discretion to summon a guard over them, which guard are to be paid out of the property of the offender. They have also empowered the governor to raise the militia to oppose the operation of the laws of North-Carolina, who are now enlisting and giving four hundred acres of land bounty. This is under a colour of guarding the frontiers. Should they offer any insult to the civil authority, I expect it will be difficult to prevent an effusion of blood. I think your Excellency will readily see the necessity of the interference of government; and unless those people are entitled to exclusive and separate emoluments from the rest of the community, they ought, certainly, to be quelled. If we are in our allegiance, protection ought to be reciprocal. I, therefore, give it as my opinion, that it is highly necessary that notice should be taken of the conduct of those people, as there are many plans and matters agitated by them, which seem to have a tendency to dissolve even the federal bands. Several letters I have in my possession, which can be spoken of no other way. A few lines from your Excellency, with your advice how to conduct myself in this unhappy dilemma, would be most thankfully received.

The Governor of North-Carolina thought proper, after the adjournment of its legislature, to communicate directly to Gov. Sevier, the proceedings of that body in reference to the revolters. It follows:

KINSTON, 23d February, 1787.

Sir:—I was favoured with your letter of the 28th of October, on the subject of a separate and independent government on your side of the Apalachian, which I did myself the honour of laying before the General Assembly. Their resolutions and determinations on that subject, I had flattered myself it would be in my power to have forwarded you copies of, by this time. It must, therefore, suffice, that I acquaint you for the present, that the Assembly, from the representation of persons from among yourselves, was induced to believe it was proper for the people to return to subjection to the laws and government of North-Carolina; that they are not yet of strength and opulence sufficient to sup-

port an independent state; that they, the Assembly, wish to continue the benefits and protection of the state towards them, until such time as their numbers and wealth will enable them to do for themselves, when they, the Assembly, are free to say, a separation may take place. In the meantime, the most friendly intercourse between the citizens on the eastern and western waters, is strongly recommended; and as the people westward of the Apalachian have received no benefit from Government for the two years last past, they are willing to exempt them from the payment of the public taxes.

Thus, sir, you have in substance, as far as I recollect, the amount of the proceedings of the Assembly, save the appointment of civil and military officers for the three old and a new county; the brigade to be commanded by Evan Shelby, Esq. In the civil department, Judge Campbell is re-appointed; and the representatives carried out commissions for the county officers, civil and military. I have not a doubt, but a new government may be shortly established, if the people would unite, submit to the former government, and petition for a separation. This, I think, is the only constitutional mode, and I firmly believe, if pursued, will be a means of effecting the separation on friendly terms, which I much wish; and I cannot say but I have my own satisfaction in view, as I expect, if life and health and strength last, to lay my bones on the western waters. Twelve months will bring about a release to me from public employment, and it is my intention then to visit that country once more; and if I can find a place, to secure an agreeable private retreat for the remainder of my life, I mean to establish it as the place of my residence. I wish you and your friends to consider the propriety of these measures, and if you think proper to adopt them, you will, I think, answer your views with respect to a new government, and come a shorter way to obtain the same, than by divisions among yourselves; for there will be greater obstructions in your way than those occasioned by the mere opinion of the people here. These are my candid sentiments. I may be mistaken, but time will evince the propriety or otherwise, of my observations.

In answer to this communication, the Governor of Franklin writes, under date,

Jonesboro', 6th April, 1787.

Sir:—I was favoured with yours of 23d February, in which your Excellency was pleased to favour me with a detail of the proceedings of your Assembly. I must own, before their rising, I had the fullest hopes and confidence, that body would have either agreed to the separation, on honourable principles and stipulations, or otherwise endeavoured to have re-united us upon such terms as might have been lasting and friendly, but I find myself and country entirely deceived; and if your Assembly have thought their measures would answer such an end, they are equally disappointed. But I firmly believe, had proper measures been adopted, an union, in some measure, or perhaps fully, would have taken place. We shall continue to act as independent, and would rather suffer death in all its various and frightful shapes, than conform to any thing that is disgraceful.

The firm and decisive tone of this letter, was in accordance with the present temper of Sevier and his adherents. The compromise entered into between the contracting parties, March 20th, was found to be, in some of the counties, of little avail. "It is agreed and recommended," were terms sufficiently explicit and strong to be obligatory on the masses, and their "regard to peace, tranquillity and good decorum," led them to respect the provisions of the agreement. But in Washington, Sullivan and Hawkins, where the recent act of North-Carolina had vacated certain of the offices, and commissions under her authority had been accepted and acted under, a spirit of faction and discontent developed itself. The *ins* and the *outs*, as is sometimes seen in more modern times, quarrelled. A question arose as to the *powers* of those who had negotiated the late "agreement and recommendation." By common consent, the office holders considered them invalid and irregular. The truce was ended. Gov. Sevier determined that he and the other officers of Franklin would "act as independent."

To Gov. Sevier's letter, Gov. Caswell replied, in a very friendly and conciliatory spirit, under date,

KINSTON, April 24th, 1787.

Dear Sir:—I had the honour to receive your letters by Mr. Meek. I cannot account for the conduct of our Assembly in their last session. I know some of the gentlemen's sentiments did not coincide with my own, but still think if the people on your side the mountain had then been more unanimous, the measures of a separation on just and honourable principles would have been pursued; and if it were possible for the people amongst you to prevail upon themselves to apply by sufficient number, to give convincing proofs of far the greater part of the whole being desirous of establishing a new government upon such principles, the same may yet be effected. If the violences of the passions of some men among you are not restrained, if they are suffered to break out, it will be putting the day further off; and, perhaps, the separation may not be effected without bloodshed. This, I am sure, neither you nor any other man capable of reflection, would wish to see brought about, if it can be evaded by justifiable means.

You may rely upon it that my sentiments are clearly in favour of a separation, whenever the people to be separated think themselves of sufficient strength and abilities to support a government. This separation to be established upon reasonable, honourable, equitable and just principles, reciprocally so to those who will still continue the old government, as well as those who are to form the new. My ideas are that

nature, in this formation of the hills between us, and directing the courses of waters so differently, had not in view the inhabitants on either side being longer subject to the same laws and government; that it might be convenient for them, as she has liberally bestowed on the minds of thinking men wishes to enjoy and obtain for themselves, and others in their circumstances, equal benefits, privileges and immunities with the rest of mankind.

I conclude, by recommending unanimity among you, as the only means by which your government ever can obtain energy, even when the separation is effected by consent of North-Carolina.

General Shelby, the other diplomatist, proposed, in the meanwhile, to the government he represented, the adoption of more energetic and efficient measures.

SULLIVAN COUNTY, May 4th, 1787.

Sir:—The 27th of April past, I called the colonels (viz: Tipton, Maxwell and Hutchings) of Washington, Sullivan and Hawkins counties, in order to consult on some measures which might be most salutary for the safety of this country at the present time. The gentlemen met, accordingly, at my house, and several gave it as their opinion that I should address government in the following manner: As the safety and well being of government are now at hazard, and the liberties and properties of the good citizens thereof wrested from them by parties of faction, notwithstanding the lenient and conciliatory measures of the General Assembly, by a call of the commanding officers of the several counties, and sundry complaints from individuals and the enclosed copies of letters, it was thought proper to advise with your Excellency on the occasion, and send a just statement of the proceedings. The Assembly of Franklin being called, have passed and ratified the following acts: They have opened an office for the lands reserved for the Indians, from French Broad River to the Tennessee River; also, an act fining and imprisoning any person who shall dare act under the authority of the State of North-Carolina, under which act they proceed with the greatest rigour, beating and imprisoning, and seizing the property by men in arms. By a third act, in order to complete their designs and draw a party to their interest, they have laid their taxes one shilling the poll and sixpence per hundred acres of land, after the collection of which they give three years tax free. These methods, with many others, such as appointing officers to carry into execution their treasonable acts and designs, a total subversion of all laws and good government, even every sense of civilization, are lost among them. I have, therefore, thought it expedient to call upon you for your immediate assistance, having the faith and honour of the Legislature of North-Carolina pledged to us, that we shall remain secure in our liberties and properties. The matter is truly alarming, and it is beyond a doubt with me that hostilities will in a short time commence, and without the interference of government without delay, an effusion of blood must take place. I, therefore, think it highly necessary that one thousand troops, at least, be sent, as that number might have a good effect; for should we have that number under the sanction of govern-

ment, there is no doubt with me they would immediately give way, and would not appear in so unprovoked an insurrection. On the contrary, should a faint and feeble resistance be made, the consequence might be very fatal, and would tend to devastation, ruin and distress. Should your Excellency think it convenient to call on the commonwealth of Virginia, I have reasons to believe we might meet with their aid, as they have four counties nearly bordering on us, and would be the most speedy assistance we could come at, in case your troops do not reach us in time to relieve us. I think it highly necessary that a quantity of ammunition be forwarded to us, as it is very scarce in this country. Thus, sir, you have before you the result of my conference with the aforementioned colonels; it is plain where the measure therein advised, if adopted, will end. The matter is entirely referred to government, and I hope something may be done and some measure adopted, to put a final end to the present unhappy disturbances. The officers in Greene county have all engaged in the new state affair, and have, therefore, refused to receive their commissions. There is scarcely any money in the country. I have been obliged to fit out this express with horse and cash to bear him down. It is to be expected your Excellency will procure some money to bear his expenses home again. Your Excellency will perceive, by comparing the enclosed in my last letter with this, that the people of Franklin have not assented to the agreement which was entered into with their governor, for the preservation of peace and good order in this country. Not many men are here engaged in vindicating the authority of North-Carolina. They have hitherto behaved with that coolness and prudence which ever ought to characterize good subjects, assured of their safety under the government they are in; at the same time, convinced that allegiance and protection are reciprocal, they expect to enjoy the one as they have yielded the other.

Among the papers enclosed by General Shelby to the Governor of North-Carolina, was a letter to himself from Col. Hutchings, of Hawkins county, of April 22d, in which, speaking of the officers of the new state, he says:

They have, among them, a Major Elholm, from Georgia, who, I am informed, is a great advocate for their cause; also, a Major Jones, who fled from Virginia. They advise Cromwell's policy to be adopted, Mr. Cocke threatening confiscation and banishment. That the gentlemen have not been very candid, this Major Donelson will give you a further account of. Cocke's party are getting very insolent. I expect, in a few days, I shall be obliged to try his boasted number. I am making the necessary preparations, and cannot doubt success if they have not assistance from Greene county. I have more than five their number in Hawkins.

Col. Anthony Bledsoe, at the time a citizen of Davidson county, and of great personal influence and weight of character, aided, by his presence in the disaffected counties, in

keeping down any violence or outbreak. He seconded the views of General Shelby, without being so specific as to the "decided part" he wished the government of North-Carolina to act. His letter follows:

SULLIVAN COUNTY, May 4th, 1787.

Dear Sir:—When I last addressed your Excellency, I little expected to have dated a second from the same place. I have stayed long enough in this part of the country to see the appearance of the long-dreaded confusion—long enough to see and hear the measures of the last session of the General Assembly treated with the greatest contempt. I have always been of opinion that, without the greatest prudence, it was to end in blood, and am now further convinced that, without government acts a decided part, hostilities will shortly commence. Might I be permitted to request your Excellency's addressing these people, and advising them of the necessity and advantage of returning to their duty once more, and the danger and evil consequences of their persisting in the attempt of their supporting an independence? I do assure your Excellency, that it is my opinion, your address on that occasion would have a very good effect on the principal people in the revolted party. I judge this will accompany a letter from General Shelby addressed particularly on this subject.

To his suggestions of maintaining the authority of North-Carolina by an armed force, Governor Caswell replies to General Shelby, under date,

KINSTON, May 21st, 1787.

Sir:—Your letter of the 4th current, came to my hands the 19th. I stated the situation of your country to the Council, and laid your letter and every other information I possessed respecting the same, before them for advice; the result of their deliberations, I have the honour of enclosing you a copy of; they may not answer your expectations, but I hope will prove satisfactory, when I inform you upon what principles they acted.

They think it would be very imprudent to add to the dissatisfaction of the people there, by showing a wish to encourage the shedding of blood, as thereby, a civil war would be eventually brought on, which ought at all times to be avoided, if possible; but more especially at the present, as we have great reason to apprehend a general Indian war. If the northern and southern tribes should unite with your Cherokee neighbours, you will stand in need, they think, of all your force; and therefore recommend unanimity amongst you, if it can by any means be effected; as you thereby will be much more able to defend yourselves, than you possibly can be when divided; let alone the circumstances of cutting each other's throats. Besides these, it would be impracticable to raise an armed force here, to be sent to your assistance at this time, if we were ever so much disposed thereto, for the following reasons: The people in general, are now engaged in their farming business, and if brought out, would very reluctantly march; there is no money in the

treasury to defray the expenses of such as might be called out; nor, in fact, have we arms or ammunition; that, under such circumstances, it would be necessary to attempt it.

I must, therefore, recommend to you, the using every means in your power to conciliate the minds of the people, as well as those who call themselves Franklinites, as the friends and supporters of government. If things could be dormant, as it were, till the next Assembly, and each man's mind be employed in considering your common defence against the savage enemy, I should suppose it best, and wherever unanimity prevails among your people, and their strength and numbers will justify, an application for a separation; if it is general, I have no doubt of its taking place upon reciprocal and friendly terms.

I have written a letter to the inhabitants of the counties of Washington, Sullivan, Greene and Hawkins, stating matters in such a point of view, as the opinion of the Council; a copy of which I have the honour to enclose you. Your express also carries a letter for the commanding officer of each of the counties, which you will be pleased to forward to them.

Accompanying this letter, Governor Caswell also forwarded, through General Shelby, the following address:

To the Inhabitants of the counties of Washington, Sullivan, Greene and Hawkins:

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:—I have received information that the former contention between the citizens of those counties, respecting the severing such counties from this state, and erecting them into a separate, free, and independent government, hath been again raised, notwithstanding the lenient and salutary measures held out to them by the General Assembly in their last session; and some have been so far misled, as openly and avowedly to oppose the due operation and execution of the laws of the state, menacing such as should adhere to the same, with violence; and some outrages on such occasions, have been actually committed, whereby sundry of the good citizens of the said counties have been induced to signify to government their apprehension of being obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to support the laws and constitution of this state. And notwithstanding the behaviour of some of the refractory might justify such a measure, yet I am willing to hope, that upon reflection and due consideration of the consequences which must ensue in case of the shedding of blood among yourselves, a moment's thought must evince the necessity of mutual friendship and the ties of brotherly love being strongly cemented among you. You have, or shortly will have, if my information is well-grounded, enemies to deal with, which will require this cement to be more strong than ever; your whole force may become necessary to be exerted against the common enemy, as it is more than probable they may be assisted by the subjects of some foreign power; if not publicly, they will furnish arms and ammunition privately to the Indian tribes, to be made use of against you; and when your neighbours are so supported and assisted

by the northern and southern Indians, if you should be so unhappy as to be divided among yourselves, what may you not then apprehend and dread? Let me entreat you to lay aside your party disputes; they have been, as I conceive and yet believe will be, if continued, of very great disadvantage to your public as well as private concerns. Whilst these disputes last, government will want that energy which is necessary to support her laws and civilize; in place of which, anarchy and confusion will be prevalent, and, of course, private interest must suffer.

It certainly would be sound policy in you, for other reasons, to unite. The General Assembly have told you, whenever your wealth and numbers so much increase as to make a separation necessary, they will be willing the same shall take place upon friendly and reciprocal terms. Is there an individual in your country who does not look forward, in expectation, of such a day's arriving? If that is the case, must not every thinking man believe, that this separation will be soonest and most effectually obtained by unanimity? Let that carry you to the quiet submission to the laws of North-Carolina, till your numbers will justify a general application; and then, I have no doubt, but the same may be obtained upon the principles held out by the Assembly; nay, it is my opinion that it may be obtained at an earlier day than some imagine, if unanimity prevailed amongst you.

Although this is an official letter, you will readily see that it is dictated by a friendly and pacific mind. Don't neglect my advice on that account; if you do, you may repent it when it is too late; when the blood of some of your dearest and worthiest citizens may have been spilt, and your country laid waste in an unnatural and cruel civil war; and you cannot suppose if such an event should take place, that government will supinely look on, and see you cutting each other's throats, without interfering, and exerting her powers to reduce the disobedient. I will conclude by once more entreating you to consider the dreadful calamities and consequences of a civil war. Humanity demands this of me; your own good sense will point out the propriety of it; at least, let all animosities and disputes subside till the next Assembly; even let things remain as they are, without pursuing compulsory measures until then, and I flatter myself that honourable body will be disposed to do what is just and right, and what sound policy may dictate.

Nothing yet had occurred in the transactions between Franklin and North-Carolina so well calculated to heal the breach, and effect a reconciliation between them, as this letter of Gov. Caswell, and the action of the North-Carolina Legislature communicated in it. The origin and cause of the separation, at the time it occurred, was the Cession Act. That had been repealed. The great object of the secessionists now, was independence of North-Carolina, so as to avoid a re-enactment of the repealed law. The apprehension of that objectionable and inadmissable policy was removed in

the minds of some of the earliest and most steadfast friends of Franklin by the assurances of the Governor and Legislature of North-Carolina, that, at the proper time, a new state should be formed, and their cherished wishes for independence should be gratified, if the malcontents would return to their allegiance. The argument was forcible—to many perfectly satisfactory and irresistible. It inflicted a vital stab upon the new government, which, within the next year, caused its dissolution.

PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENTS SOUTH OF FRENCH BROAD.

The Irish Bottom began to be settled. George McNutt was one of the earliest emigrants. His daughter, ———, afterwards the wife of Col. —— McFarland, and still living in Jefferson county, was the first white child born south of French Broad. Nancy Rogers, daughter of Jonah Rogers, was the second.

After the treaty of Dumplin, great facilities existed for
1785 { occupying the country acquired under it, south of French Broad and Holston, and the stream of emigration was principally directed in that channel. From Henry's Station, at the mouth of Dumplin, the emigrants crossed the river, settling along Boyd's Creek Valley, where McGaughy's, Newell's and other stations were formed. They soon crossed the ridge dividing that stream from Elijah, and formed a station, McTeer's, still in the occupancy of a descendant of the same name, William McTeer, Esq. It soon became the nucleus of an excellent neighbourhood of intelligent, worthy and patriotic citizens—emigrants principally from the valley of Virginia, who brought with, and diffused around them, republicanism, religion, intelligence and thrift. They were, for several years, annoyed and harassed by Cherokee incursions. The proximity of their settlement to the fastnesses of the adjoining mountains, made it necessary, constantly, to guard their frontier. While one worked in the field, another acted as a scout or a sentinel. They were often driven into stations, and twice had to leave their farms and cabins, and fall back, for a short time, upon the older settlements. But gaining, year after year, additional strength by new emigrations, they gradually extended the

settlements down the valley of Elijah and Naill's Creek. Henry's, McTeer's, McCullock's, Gillespie's, Craig's, Kelley's, Houston's, Black's, Hunter's, Bartlett's, Kirk's, Ish's, and others, were, soon after, the neuclei of settlements. During the formation and defence of all these stations, a volume would not contain the instances of Indian outrage and aggression perpetrated against the property and lives of the inhabitants, nor the heroic and soldierly conduct of the brave frontiermen, in protecting themselves, repelling invasion, pursuing and chastising the savages, inflicting a just retaliation with vengeful severity upon the cruel Cherokees, in their distant villages and the seclusions of the mountains. Boys became men—women turned soldiers—assisting in defence of the family and the home. Vigilance and heroism, and fearlessness and energy, characterized the entire population. Could a diagram be drawn, accurately designating every spot signalized by an Indian massacre, surprise or depredation, or courageous attack, defence, pursuit or victory by the whites, or station, or fort, or battle-field, or personal encounter, the whole of that section of country would be studded over by delineations of such incidents. Every spring, every ford, every path, every farm, every trail, every house, nearly, in its first settlement, was once the scene of danger, exposure, attack, exploit, achievement, death. Some of these are given in their chronological order, elsewhere. A few other instances, culled from the whole, are here given: Houston's Station stood about six miles from Maryville, where Mr. Minnis has since lived. It was occupied by the families of James Houston, McConnell, McEwen, Sloane and Henry. It was attacked by a party of Indians, one hundred in number. They had, the day before, pursued the survivors of the Citico massacre, in the direction of Knoxville, many of whom they had killed. Elated with their preceding successes, they determined, on their return, to take and murder the feeble garrison at Houston's. A vigorous assault was made upon it. Hugh Barry, in looking over the bastion, incautiously exposed his head to the aim of an Indian rifle. He fell, within the station, fatally wounded, having received a bullet in his forehead. The Indians were emboldened by this success, and prolonged the conflict more than half an

hour. The garrison had some of the best riflemen in the country within it, and, observing the number and activity of the assailants, they loaded and discharged their guns with all possible rapidity. The women assisted them as far as they were able. One of them, Mrs. McEwen, mother of R. H. McEwen, Esq., of Nashville, and since the wife of the Senior S. Doak, D.D., displayed great equanimity and heroism. She inquired for the bullet moulds, and was engaged, busily, in melting the lead and running bullets for different guns. A bullet from without, passing through the interstice between two logs of the station, struck the wall near her, and rebounding, rolled upon the floor. Snatching it up, and melting and moulding it quickly, she carried it to her husband and said: "Here is a ball run out of the Indians' lead; send it back to them as quick as possible. It is their own; let them have it in welcome."

Simultaneously with the extension of the settlement of the country south of French Broad, after the Franklin Treaty at Dumplin, was its expansion north of that stream and on Holston. Adam Meek made the first settlement on the head of Beaver Creek, at the place in the Quaker Valley now owned by John Bales, Sen. Mr. Meek had no neighbour west of him, and so sparse were the settlers on the east, that at first he procured meal from the neighbourhood of Greeneville.

Mr. Meek was a surveyor, an emigrant from Mecklenburg county, N. C., and had, as early as 1785, explored the country and made surveys on the frontier. Like most other pioneers, Mr. Meek built his first cabin of round poles. This he covered with bark and grass, which, for the first year, sheltered his family. During the Indian alarms, the family frequently retired, at evening, to a deep sink, three-quarters of a mile from their cabin, and there spent the night. A fort or station was, at a later period, formed at the Strawberry Plains, now the residence of Rev. Thomas Stringfield. In this station the settlers collected together for mutual protection and defence. It soon became the centre of an enterprising, respectable and intelligent population, and *there* is still, one of the most flourishing and enlightened neighbour-

hoods in the country—distinguished for its Institutions of learning, its churches, its thrift and general prosperity.

Lands had been entered and surveyed, and grants issued for them, in what is now Knox and Grainger counties. The current of population followed the vallies, and here and there along the valley south of Clinch Mountain, could be seen springing up in the forests, at the head of Flat Creek, Bull Run and Beaver Creek, the humble cabin of the backwoodsman. In the fork between Holston and French Broad, new settlers began their clearings. Henry's Station, at Dumplin, ceased to be the last post north of the river. A little colony from it crossed Bay's Mountain, and formed what was known as Greene's, afterwards Manifold's, Station. Near it, Gibson, Beard, Bowman and Cozby settled, and with them came James White, afterwards the proprietor of Knoxville. He first pitched his tent four miles above the mouth of French Broad, and on its north bank, near the present residence of John Campbell, Esq. His early compatriots, Greene and Cozby, settled soon after near him, but on the opposite side of the river. Captain Thomas Gillespie settled three miles below, on the north side of the river. The ruins of his house are still seen. It stood near the present residence of Mr. James Hufacre. A little later came Jeremiah Jack, Esq., and settled the second plantation above the mouth of French Broad.

Robert Armstrong planted corn and raised a crop, this
1787 { year, on the plantation which, next year, he settled
{ on Holston, a little above the mouth of Swan Pond Creek. Mr. Devereaux Gillaim, at the same time, occupied the plantation embracing the point between French Broad and Holston. His first cabin stood east of the dwelling house of the present proprietor, between it and the church.

Archibald Rhea, Sen., settled immediately opposite, on the south bank of French Broad. Alexander McMillan settled the place now occupied by Rev. Thomas Stringfield, then, as now, known as Strawberry Plains, and soon after removed to the farm on which he died, four miles above Armstrong's Ferry, on the present New Market Road.

The settlements between the rivers were less annoyed by

the Indians, than those south or north of them. Almost insulated by the rivers, the intervention of these large streams furnished to the inhabitants some immunity from invasion. On one occasion, however, some armed warriors crossed the river, and presented themselves at the door of Captain Gillespie's cabin. The captain had, the day before, been clearing in the island and burning brush, and the fires were still burning there, in view of the house. He had left home early that morning, on his way to Dumplin, twelve miles off. The Indians, finding Mrs. Gillespie unprotected, entered the house, and one of them taking out a scalping knife, drew it across his bare arm, as if sharpening it He then went to a cradle, in which an infant lay asleep, and indicated with his finger a line around its head, along which he intended to apply the knife in scalping it. The other Indians looked on with savage ferocity. The heroic mother, with surprising presence of mind, sprang to the door, and, looking in the direction of the clearing, exclaimed, in a loud voice, " White men, come home! come home, white men ! Indians ! Indians!" The warriors, disconcerted by her well contrived stratagem and her well timed equanimity, precipitately left the house, dashed down the hill towards the spring, and disappeared in the cane-brake. Mrs. G. bearing her child in her arms, escaped in the opposite direction, and in sight of the path along which her husband would return. She had gone several miles in anxious apprehension of the murderous pursuit of the warriors, when she met the captain. He guessed the cause of their unexpected meeting, took the mother and the child upon his horse, carried them hastily back to Manifold's ; leaving them there, he reinforced himself with three men, and returned in haste to his house. The savages had plundered it of its contents, and while some were carrying off the spoils, one was busily engaged in setting fire to the house. He was fired upon by Captain G., who had outrode the other horsemen, and shot without dismounting. The Indian was partly obscured by the smoke of the fire he was kindling, and escaped. The other men came up, the property was recaptured and the Indians were driven across the river. Two of them were wounded in crossing, at the mouth of Burnett's branch. It was believed that the Indians came to

steal rather than to murder; indeed, this neighbourhood suffered more by having their horses stolen, than by any other form of Indian aggression. On one occasion only, is it recollected that the people generally went into a station. A sudden invasion of Little River settlement produced an alarm, and the settlers temporarily forted at Gillaim's; the alarm subsided, and the people returned to their plantations.

The population accumulated rapidly; being accessible by the two rivers, the neighbourhood received many families from the upper counties in boats and canoes. Amongst these were James Anderson, Moses Brooks and George McNutt, Esq., who removed from Chucky and settled on the north side of Holston, above Knoxville. James White, the year before, had moved from his first cabin in the Fork, and settled on what is since White's Creek. With Captain White, came his old neighbour from Iredell county, North-Carolina, and comrade in arms, James Conner, the worthy ancestor of H. W. Conner, Esq., of Charleston, South-Carolina. These two were the first to disturb the virgin soil, on which the future Knoxville was to be built. Tradition says, that the lot on which the First Presbyterian church now stands, was the place first cleared by them. Pounded corn was the only bread the first settlers used. Their rifles, which had been used in the war of the Revolution, procured them meat. Their cabin stood half a mile from the mouth of the creek, and on its west side, north of Mrs. Kennedy's orchard. This cabin afterwards constituted one corner of White's Fort; Captain Crawford and others forted in it with him. A quadrangular plat of ground, containing a quarter of an acre, was chosen, on each corner of which was a strong cabin, but of less imposing appearance than Mr. White's, which was two stories high. Between these corners, stockades were placed eight feet high, impenetrable to small arms, and having port-holes at convenient height and distance. A massive gate opened in the direction of the spring. White's Fort became the central point for emigrants, and the rendezvous for rangers and scouts. They were charmed with its beauties. In their short rambles around their encampment, they noticed an elevated parallelogram, extending south, and terminating with a bold front upon the Holston.

A creek of considerable size glided along its eastern, and another along its western base, from the banks of which gushed forth, in close proximity, fountains of excellent water. It was noticed that the two streams furnished several eligible sites for water power. The highest point of land between them, seemed designed by nature for a barrack or garrison. As then seen, the site of the future Knoxville was lovely in the extreme—almost entirely sheltered by the primitive forest, in its rich foliage, and having an air of enchanting coolness and rural retirement and seclusion — its quiet disturbed only by the playful murmurings of rivulets, formed by the several springs, and winding through their grassy borders in stillness to the creeks. Wooded hills and sylvan slopes completed the picture of rural beauty. The high land terminated abruptly towards the Holston, seen here and there through the tall trees, winding its way along the cane-brakes which lined its margin. Immediately opposite, was the Little Island, robed in green and almost submerged by the turbid stream. The southern shore presented, in one place, lofty hills, resting upon a perpendicular cliff—in another, rising with a more gradual ascent to the ridge beyond. The whole country was carpeted with verdure and clothed with trees—dense woods surrounding you, with the solitude and silence of nature. These attractions, and the advantages of its position, had pointed out the place as the nucleus of a future settlement. Mr. White soon had other settlers as his neighbours. John Dearmond settled south of the river, near Col. Churchwell's Ferry, and other emigrants came rapidly around White's Fort. A small tub-mill was erected by him. The necessity for it was so urgent, that at first he was forced to use a very inferior stone for runners. These were still in use at the time of the treaty in 1791. Amongst other emigrants, John Adair moved this year to his late residence in Knox county. He had been appointed Commissary under North-Carolina, to furnish provisions for the Cumberland Guards, and in the discharge of that trust, took his position on the extreme frontier. Adair's Station was erected at the same time with White's, about five miles north of it. The country began to be reached by wagons; settlers were gradually ex-

tending themselves west, and in quick succession, Well's, Bennett's, Byrd's, Hackett's and Cavett's Stations, were formed. Campbell's Station was settled by several emigrants of that name from Virginia, survivors of the gallant regiment which had signalized itself at King's Mountain. Of these the principal one was Col. David Campbell, who has left the savour of a good name wherever he was known. He was the ancestor of the present Governor of Tennessee, who has so well sustained the reputation of the Volunteer State, in the late Mexican War.

At first, each of these stations was a single cabin in the midst of a *clearing*. When Indian disturbances broke out, the inhabitants clustered together in the strongest one near them, and it then became a *Station*. They have all disappeared, except Colonel Campbell's, which still exists as the east end of the present dwelling house of Mr. Martin.

Jacob Kimberlin found lead, and furnished it to the inha-
1787 { bitants. It was found south of French Broad, not far
{ from Gap Creek, on the farm now owned by Jeremiah Johnson, Esq.

Besides the *Counties* of Franklin, the State was also arranged into *Districts*. Whether these were judicial or military, this writer has no means of determining. The only evidence he has been able to procure of this subdivision of Franklin, is furnished by the "commission" of one of its Colonels, of Elholm District.* The original is before the writer, in the bold chirography of Governor Sevier. The seal of the state affixed to it, is a small wafer, covered with common paper. There was, in all probability, no other seal of state.

Leaving here the chronological order of events in Franklin, we pause to review some transactions in its Foreign policy, which could not be so well introduced elsewhere.

Georgia, desirous of extending her settlements to the rich

*Elholm District was, doubtless, so called in honour of Major Elholm. In this district, as the tradition is, was embraced all the territory of Franklin, below Washington county, viz: Greene, Caswell and Sevier counties. Washington District probably embraced Washington, Sullivan, Spencer and Wayne counties.

interior of the state, had established Houston county in that
1784 { part of her territory north of the Tennessee River, and including the Great Bend of that stream, opposite the Muscle Shoals. The Commissioners appointed to organize the new county, held an adjourned meeting, July 30, 1784.

"Present, Stephen Heard, Chairman; John Donelson, Joseph Martin and John Sevier, Esqrs.

"The Board resolved that John Sevier be appointed to receive locations and entries of lands, and that William Blount, Esq., Lachlin McIntosh, John Morell, John Donelson, Stephen Heard, William Downs, John Sevier, Charles Robertson, Joseph Martin and Valentine Sevier, junior, Esqrs., be appointed justices of the peace.

"That John Sevier be recommended as Colonel, John Donelson, Lieut. Colonel, and Valentine Sevier, junior, Major. John Donelson, Esq., was appointed Surveyor, and Joseph Martin, Esq., recommended as Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The Entry-taker is requested to attend and receive entries for claims of land, on the fifteenth day of March next, at or near the mouth of Elk River.

"The Board adjourned to the 15th March next, and then to meet at the mouth of Elk River. STEPHEN HEARD, Chairman."

It is not known that the Board ever assembled at the mouth of Elk. It is scarcely probable that they did as the military expedition which accompanied them, descended the Tennessee River no further than the point where it was intersected by the state line. The appearances of the Indians were so hostile, the Commissioners remained but a few days, and then withdrew.

A further meeting of the Board took place 29th July, 1785, when it was

"*Resolved*, That the application be made to the Governor and Council by William Downs and Thomas Napier, Esquires, Commissioners, or either of them, for their direction and approbation, to have ten tracts of land, containing ten thousand acres each, to be laid out in the bend of Tennessee, for public use."

The Board met at Washington, July the 24th, 1787, and

"Took into consideration the state of the business, agreeable to a former resolution of the General Assembly, and having certain accounts from the State of Franklin, and the settlements of the Cumberland and Kentucky, that a number of people from the aforesaid settlements are about to go into the District of Tennessee, to make settlements thereon.

"*Resolved*, With leave of the Executive Council, that the business of surveying in said district, be immediately put into execution, agreeable to a Resolve of the Assembly, of February, 1784."

At the ensuing session of the Legislature of Franklin, the necessary provision was made to raise a force of mounted riflemen, sufficient to succour Georgia and subdue the Creek Indians. We copy the act of the Franklin Assembly from the original manuscript in the possession of this writer.

Whereas, it appears to this House, from a letter of the 27th of August, 1786, to his Excellency, Governor Sevier, from his Honour, the Governor, Edward Telfair, of the State of Georgia, with certain information that the Creek Indians had declared war against the white people, and had committed several murders on their frontier of late; and that in consequence of which, he had sent a Peace Talk to the nation of Indians, and that from the best accounts he could get, they intended to make vigorous assaults on the white people, as soon as they had gathered their corn; and that the said state intends to carry on a vigorous campaign against said Indians, if they do not treat with said state, and were to march by the first of November next; and also by a letter from Colonel Joseph Martin, dated the first of October, instant, with certain accounts that the Creek Indians were laying in a large quantity of powder, for the purpose of carrying on the war, which was furnished by the Spaniards; and that they had spies in all the Cherokee towns, and on our frontiers, and were making every preparation for war; and have had also information from the Cherokee Indians, that the Creeks intended attacking our frontier, and were making outrageous threats against us daily. And whereas, it is the indispensable duty of the inhabitants of this state to guard against all dangers, and the Confederation directs and empowers each state to defend itself against any enemy.

Be it therefore Resolved by this General Assembly, That each county in this state, raise one-fourth of the militia of each county, who are hereby required to hold themselves in readiness, to march on horse to the frontiers of this state, at the shortest notice, to defend their own state, in case there should be any attacks made on it by any enemy, or nation of Indians, when attacked by the State of Georgia, and that every six men furnish themselves with one pack-horse, and twenty days' provision each man.

2. *And be it further Resolved*, That there be officers appointed to command such men so raised, and that they all go as militia men, and to be paid as such, and all plunder taken in action from the enemy, shall be free plunder to the captors.

3. That the light horse regiment of this state be immediately equipped, and made ready to march with the above draft.

4. *And be it further Resolved*, That the Governor and Council hold a friendly correspondence with his Honour, the Governor of Georgia; and that they communicate to him our intentions, and that the men so raised, and holding themselves in readiness, march at their direction, on the shortest notice, to the protection of our frontiers.

And it is Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be directed to hold the militia of this state in immediate readiness to march to the aid of the frontier, on the shortest notice.

Resolved, That the Governor, by and with the advice of his Council, is hereby empowered to call the Assembly to any part of the state he thinks right, to direct the movements of the army, now ordered out, in case he should find it necessary to march them out of the state.

Attest—

Jo. Conway, C. S. Gilbert Christian, S. S.
I. Taylor, C. C. Henr. Conway, S. C.

October 13th, 1786.

As far as is now known, the manuscript from which the above is copied, is the only legislative enactment of the State of Franklin that has survived the ravages of time and accident. At that day, there was no printing press nearer than Richmond, Newbern or Charleston. The proceedings of Franklin were never printed, and for that reason it became necessary to revive a provision made under similar circumstances, many years before, in North-Carolina; and that was, at the opening of the first session of the county courts, and at the first militia training or muster, after the rise of the General Assembly, an individual was appointed to read all recent enactments aloud in the hearing of the people, at the court-house or muster-grounds. Thirty years since, the late Col. F. A. Ramsey was often mentioned as "the man who read Sevier's laws to the militia of Franklin."

If further proof were wanting to show that the "Constitution of the State of *Frankland*" was never adopted or acted under, the above act furnishes that proof irrefragably. That Constitution, as has been seen, provides for a single house, while this act is signed by the Speaker of the Senate, and by the Speaker of the Commons, and is also attested by the Clerk of the Senate, and by the Clerk of the Commons.

After intelligence had reached the authorities of Georgia that the people of Franklin, of Cumberland and of Kentucky, were intending to emigrate to the Bend of Tennessee, another attempt was made to effect the settlement of Houston county. Gov. Sevier was written to on the subject. His reply is dated:

Gov. Sevier to Gov. Telfair:

State of Franklin,
Washington County, 14th of May, 1786.

Sir:—Being appointed one of the Commissioners of Tennessee District, I beg leave to inform your Honour that it appears impracticable to proceed on that business before the fall season.

The people here are apprehensive of an Indian war. Hostilities are daily committed in the vicinities of Kentucky and Cumberland. Cols. Donelson, Christian, and several other persons, were lately wounded and are since dead.

The success of the Muscle Shoal enterprise, greatly depends on the number that will go down to that place. A small force will not be adequate to the risk and danger that is to be encountered, and the people here will not venture to so dangerous a place with a few.

Your Honour will be pleased to be further informed, and, through you, the different branches of your government, that no unfair advantage will be taken from this quarter; no surveying will be attempted until a force sufficient can be had, and timely notice given to those who may intend to move down. The people in this quarter wish to proceed in the fall, but will wait your advice on this subject. Your Honour may rest assured that I shall, with pleasure, facilitate everything in my power that may tend to the welfare of this business.

Gov. Telfair, replying to Sevier's letter of May 14, informed him, Aug. 27, 1786, that the Legislature of Georgia had postponed the consideration of the Tennessee Land District; that the Creek Indians had been committing murders and depredations on the frontier of Georgia; that commissioners had been appointed to negotiate terms of a peace, in failure of which, the state would, at once, carry on vigorous hostile operations against that tribe. It had been suggested, continued Gov. Telfair, that the State of Franklin intended to march a body of men against the Creeks. "I flatter myself it will be greatly to the success of both armies to begin their movements at one and the same time, should it become necessary. The first of November I suggest as the time for marching. On this subject I have to solicit your immediate answer and determination." He also informs Gov. Sevier that Robert Dixon and Stephen Jett, Esquires, were appointed Commissioners on the part of Georgia, to confer with him on that subject.

Not long after the date of this letter, to wit, Aug. 26, 1786, Governor Houston, of Georgia, commissioned Governor Sevier, Brigadier-General for the District of Tennessee. This brigade was formed for the defence of Georgia, and for repelling any hostile invasion.

Governor Sevier was not unwilling to accept this evidence of the confidence and friendship of the Governor and people of Georgia. He was sensible of the opposition Franklin

had encountered, and the growing discontent and difficulty yet to be encountered from some in the new state, and from the government of North-Carolina. His Cherokee neighbours, and their allies, the Creeks, were ready, at any moment, to take advantage of the necessities of the infant government, and to involve it in a general war. He took the precaution, therefore, to assure himself of the good feeling and co-operation of the Georgians, and to identify that people with his own in the common cause of self-defence and self-protection. With many of their leading men he had become acquainted, in his several campaigns to the South, during the Revolutionary war. Some of them were at his side on King's Mountain, and other battle grounds of that struggle. Some of them, at its close, had followed him to the West, and adhered to his fortunes in every vicissitude. The countrymen of Clarke, and Pickens, and Matthews, all knew his gallantry and were his steadfast friends. Of these, no one appreciated Governor Sevier more highly than a foreigner, Cæsar Augustus George Elholm. He was a Frenchman or Polander, a member of Pulaski's Legion, and was with that brave leader at the siege of Savannah. A feat performed, in part, by him, once considered fabulous, but recently authenticated by I. K. Tefft, Esq., of Savannah, is here given in the words of that learned antiquarian and accurate historian:

"While the allied army was engaged before Savannah, and while the siege was pending, Col. John White, of the Georgia line, conceived and executed an extraordinary enterprise.

"Captain French, with one hundred and eleven British regulars, had taken post on the Ogechee River, about twenty-five miles from Savannah. At the same place lay five British vessels, of which four were armed, the largest mounting fourteen guns and the smallest four. Col. White having with him only Captain Cæsar Augustus George Elholm, a sergeant and three men, on the night of the 1st of October, 1779, approached the encampment of French, kindled many fires, which were discernible at the British station, exhibiting from the manner of arranging them the plan of a camp. To this stratagem he added another. He and his comrades, imitating the manner of the staff, rode with haste in various directions, giving orders in a loud voice. French became satisfied that a large body of the enemy were upon him, and on being summoned by White he surrendered his detachment, the crews of the five vessels, forty in number, and one hundred and thirty

stand of arms. Having thus succeeded, Col. White pretended that he must keep back his troops, lest their animosity should break out, and an indiscriminate slaughter take place, in defiance of his authority, and that, therefore, he would commit them to *three* guides, who would conduct them safely to good quarters. The deception was carried on with so much address, that the whole of the British prisoners were safely conducted by three of the captors for twenty-five miles through the country to the American post at Sunbury. One of these captors was C. A. G. Elholm."

Such was Major Elholm, who is now introduced to the reader, and will again be mentioned as bearing further part in the affairs of Franklin.

When, in 1786, it became necessary for the new state to strengthen the relations of friendship and good feeling with other communities, Governor Sevier, through the Legislature of Franklin, professed a readiness to unite with Georgia, and make common cause with that state in the prosecution of the war against the Creeks, which seemed then inevitable. The management of this proposition, Sevier entrusted to Major Elholm, whom he despatched to Augusta. Bearing with him the strongest evidences of the Governor's confidence, and with "sealed instructions" in his possession, he waited upon the Executive of Georgia. In accordance with the main object of his mission, Elholm succeeded in procuring an embassy to accompany him on his return, to whose care was committed the charge of enlisting the Western people into an invasion of the Creek nation. An account of the reception of the embassy in Franklin, and the Major's conjectures of its results, will be given in his own words. The reader will excuse the Major's Gallicisms. They are well atoned for by his ardour and enthusiasm.

MAJOR ELHOLM TO GOV. TELFAIR:

GOVERNOR SEVIER'S, Franklin, September 30, 1786.

Sir:—I does myself the honour to inform your Excellency, that your Commissioners set out from this the 28th inst., by the way of Kentucky and Cumberland. They were received very politely by his Excellency the Governor, from whose zeal for to assist you, aided by the inclination of the Franks, I am fully convinced your embassy will meet all wished success by the Assembly of this State, which is ordered to assemble 12th next, by his Excellency's command, in consequence thereof. Several of the inhabitants have waited on the governor, for to be informed of the contents of the embassy from Georgia. And when being ac-

quainted therewith, it gave me great pleasure to find no other apprehension appeared, but that of making peace with the Creeks without fighting, by which occasion they said so favourable a chance for humbling that nation would fall dormant. The Governor, in order that the Americans may reap a benefit from the dread the Cherokees and Chickasaws feels from the displeasure and power of the Franks, he has despatched letters to them, offering them protection against the Creek nation, with condition that they join him.

Cumberland, it seems, has it at this time in contemplation to join in government with the Franks. If so, so much the better, and it would surely be their interest so to do, as they are yet few in numbers, and often harassed by the Indians.

Judging from apparent circumstances, you may promise youself one thousand riflemen and two hundred cavalry, excellently mounted and accoutred, from this state, to act in conjunction with Georgia.

"P. S. Governor Sevier received letters from the principal men in Cumberland, which inform him of a convention held lately at that place, when Commissioners were chosen by the people with power for to join with the Franks in their government.

"Mr. John Tipton's party, which is against the party of the new government, seems deep in decline at present, which proves very favourable to the embassy from Georgia."

Gov. Sevier to Gov. Telfair:

Mount Pleasant, Franklin, 28th Sept., 1786.

Yours of the 27th August, I am honoured with. I consider myself much obliged with the information your Honour was pleased to give me respecting the manner and form you intend to conduct with the Creek Indians.

You will please to be informed, that the deliberations of our Assembly have not, as yet, been fully had, respecting the marching a force against that nation of Indians. Our Assembly will be convened in a few days, at which time, I make not the smallest doubt, but they will order out a respectable force to act in conjunction with the army of your state. The determinations of our Legislature I shall immediately communicate to your Honour, as soon as the same can be fully obtained. The movements to begin about the first November, I fear will be rather early for our army. Could the time be procrastinated a few days, I hope it would not obstruct the success of the expedition. Shall be much obliged by being informed of the time of marching, should the same be found necessary. Also, as near as may be, of the time and place your army may be expected in the Creek country.

Gov. Telfair replied, under date of 28th November, 1786, "That Commissioners appointed to treat with the Creek nation have concluded a peace, on account of which every preparation for hostile operations are now suspended." The governor also expressed a hope that the peace might be lasting. This hope was doomed to be disappointed.

The offer of assistance by the people of Franklin, made by Gov. Sevier, and his recommendation of Major Elholm, his ambassador, to the Governor and Council of Georgia, drew forth the following action:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, 3d Feb., 1787.

Mr. O'Brien, from the Committee to whom was referred the letter from John Sevier, Esq., brought in a report, which was agreed to, and is as follows:

That the letters from the said John Sevier, Esq., evince a disposition which ought not to be unregarded by this state, particularly in the intention of settlers in Nollichucky, etc., to co-operate with us during the late alarm with the Indians, provided the necessity of the case required it; they, therefore, recommend to the House, that his Honour, the Governor, inform the Honourable John Sevier, Esq., of the sense this state entertains of their friendly intentions, to aid in the adjustment of all matters in dispute between us and the hostile tribes of Creek Indians that were opposed to this state.

That in regard to Major Elholm, who has been so particularly recommended, they cannot forbear mentioning him as a person entitled to the thanks and attention of the Legislature, and recommend that his Honour, the Governor, draw a warrant on the Treasury, in favour of Major Elholm, for the sum of fifty pounds.

Subsequently, an act was passed by the Legislature of Georgia, authorizing the Governor and Executive Council to make an engagement with the people of Franklin to suppress the hostilities of the Creek Indians.

GEN. CLARKE TO GOV. SEVIER:

AUGUSTA, Feb. 11th, 1787.

Dear Sir:—I received your favour by Major Elholm, who informed me of your health. Assure yourself of my ardent friendship, and that you have the approbation of all our citizens, and their well wishes for your prosperity. We are sensible of what benefit the friendship of yourself and the people of your state will be to Georgia, and we hope you will never join North-Carolina more. Open a Land Office as speedily as possible, and it cannot fail but you will prosper as a people; this is the opinion current among us.

I have considered greatly on that part of your letter which alludes to politics in the Western country. It made me serious, and as seven states have agreed to give up the navigation, it is my friendly advice that you do watch with every possible attention, for fear that two more states should agree. I only observe to you, that the Southern States will ever be your friends.

It was reported that East and West Florida were ceded by the Spaniards to France, but it is not so. I know that you must have the navigation of the Mississippi. You have spirit and right; it is almost every man's opinion that a rumour will rise in that country. I hope to see

that part myself yet. Adieu; Heaven attend you and every friend, with my best respects.

Governor Telfair also addressed him, under date—

Augusta, Georgia, 13th February, 1787.

Sir: . . . . I took the liberty, in my place, to lay your communications before the legislature, with a few comments thereon. I am happy, sir, to inform you, they were received with that attention and respect due to the friendly manner in which you were pleased to convey the aid you were authorized to afford the state, in case of active operations being found necessary to be carried on against the Creek Nation.

Governor Sevier, writing to Governor Matthews, says, under date—

Mount Pleasant, Franklin, 3d March, 1787.

Sir:—Yours of 12th February, with the resolves of the Honourable the General Assembly therein enclosed, I had the honour to receive from Major Elholm. A principal chief of the Choctaws arrived here, who had come by way of the Creek Nation, and was there informed, that nation intended hostilities against the State of Georgia early this spring;—that they intended last summer to have given Georgia a home stroke, had not a small party, contrary to their councils, committed hostilities before the main body of the warriors was ready to go out.

Permit me, sir, to return you my sincere thanks, and through you the other gentlemen of your state, for the great honour done me on the fifth day of February last.

The honour alluded to in this last paragraph by Gov. Sevier, was the recommendation of his election as an honorary member of the District Society of the Cincinnati. His certificate of membership is before the writer. In the report of the Committee, appointed to "investigate the merits of the Honourable Brigadier-General John Sevier," it is mentioned "That he had a principal merit in the rapid and well conducted volunteer expedition, to attack Colonel Ferguson, at King's Mountain, and a great share in the honour of that day, which is well known gave a favourable turn to our gloomy and distressed situation, and that an opportunity never yet appeared, but what confessed him an ardent friend and real gentleman."

He is then recommended for, and received the appointment of a "Brother Member of the Cincinnati," at Augusta, 12th of February, 1787.

Major Elholm had become, not less by his address than by his enthusiasm, a favourite in Georgia. The Executive Coun-

cil received him as a man of distinction, and invited him to a seat with them, while the subject of his mission was under consideration. There and elsewhere, he took every opportunity to descant, in his fervid manner, and in the most glowing terms, upon the excellence and beauty of the country from which he came, and dwelt at length upon the prowess of the western people, and their devotion to liberty and independence, and succeeded in creating an interest and enthusiasm in their behalf. "Success to the State of Franklin, His Excellency Gov. Sevier, and his virtuous citizens," became a common toast.

Gen. Clarke continued his correspondence, under date—

GEORGIA, 22d May, 1787.

Sir: . . . . Should any further appearance of war be apparent, I shall take the earliest opportunity of communicating it to you, with the expectation of acting in confidence and concert with your state, in the operations taken against the Creeks.

I am very sorry to hear you have not peaceably established yourselves in the State of Franklin, and that the unhappy contention yet prevails between that and the State of North-Carolina, and more particularly when they think of reducing you by force of arms. These ideas have not proceeded from any assurance from this state, as it is the received opinion of the sensible part of every rank in Georgia, that you will, and ought to be, as independent as the other states in the Union.

Other gentlemen of distinction and character in Georgia, in like manner, held out to the Governor of Franklin assurances, not of good wishes only, but of assistance. One of them writes, under date,

WILKES COUNTY, STATE OF GEORGIA, May 21, 1787.

WM. DOWNS TO GOV. SEVIER:

Sir: . . . . We have various reports respecting the different opinions of the politics of your state. I must inform you I have had, within these few months, the different opinions of a number of the greatest politicians in our state respecting yours, who give it as their opinion, that it will support itself without a doubt; and, from what I can understand, would give every assistance in their power.

As a further means of adding to the strength of the new state, Governor Sevier and his Council asked the advice of Doctor Franklin. His reply is dated—

PHILADELPHIA, June 30, 1787.

Sir:—I am very sensible of the honour your Excellency and your Council have done me. But, being in Europe when your state was formed, I am too little acquainted with the circumstances, to be able to

offer you any thing, just now, that may be of importance, since every thing material, that regards your welfare, will, doubtless, have occurred to yourselves. There are two things which humanity induces me to wish you may succeed in: the accommodating your misunderstanding with the government of North-Carolina, and the avoiding an Indian war by preventing encroachments on their lands. Such encroachments are the more unjustifiable, as these people, in the fair way of purchase, usually give very good bargains; and, in one year's war with them, you may suffer a loss of property, and be put to an expense vastly exceeding in value what would have contented them, in fairly buying the lands they can spare.

I will endeavour to inform myself more perfectly of your affairs, by inquiry, and searching the records of Congress; and if any thing should occur to me, that I think may be useful to you, you shall hear from me thereupon. I conclude with repeating my wish, that you may amicably settle your difference with North-Carolina. The inconvenience to your people, attending so remote a seat of government, and the difficulty to that government in ruling well so remote a people, would, I think, be powerful inducements to it, to accede to any fair and reasonable proposition it may receive from you, if the Cession act had now passed.

The Doctor continued to address Gov. Sevier, in his official capacity, as late as December of this year.

Gen. Wm. Cocke, a Brigadier of the Franklin militia, and a member of the council of state, addressed Governor Matthews the following, dated—

STATE OF FRANKLAND,* }
MULBERRY GROVE, 25th June, 1787. }

Sir:—When I take a view of the local and political situation of this country, I conceive the interests of your state, so far as respects Indian affairs, almost inseparable with the safety and happiness of this country; and on hearing that the Creek Indians have committed hostilities in Georgia, I have endeavoured to consult with my friends here, on the subject of lending you any assistance in our power, provided you should stand in need of such assistance; and I am certain every thing to serve your state or its interests, will be done by the people of *Franklin*, that they could, with reason, be expected to do. I imagine General Kennedy will be able to raise a thousand or fifteen hundred men, as volunteers,

* It is worthy of remark, that this letter is dated, "State of Frankland." This is the only instance, as this annalist avers, in the whole list of letters and other papers which he has had such ample opportunity to read and examine in the preparation of these sheets, in which the name of the new state is not spelled "Franklin." In the Convention, Gen. Cocke had been in favour of the (rejected) "Constitution of the State of Frankland," and may be supposed to have retained from a feeling of paternity, the name first intended for his bantling. It is observable, however, that in the body of his letter, he gives the proper orthography —*Franklin*.

and I think I can raise a like number. An army of two or three thousand, will be quite sufficient to march through any of the towns that we should have to pass through. I hope the Indians have not been so successful in your state as the Cherokees report; the accounts from that nation are that the Creeks have killed twenty-five families, without the loss of a man. I have ordered the different colonels under my command, to hold their men in readiness, and on being well assured of the Indians attacking your state, we shall march into their towns, so soon as we shall be requested by you. But lest the United States might think us forward, we shall remain in readiness, until we are called for by the State of Georgia or until hostilities are committed in our state.

Propositions to assist in the conquest of the Creek nation were also made to Gov. Sevier, by the King, Chiefs and Leaders of the Chickasaws.

The proffered auxiliaries from the Chickasaws, the repeated assurances of co-operation from Georgia, and the expected assistance from Virginia and Cumberland, stimulated both the authorities and people of Franklin to undertake the subjugation of the Creeks. Another consideration in favour of that policy, exerted at this moment a powerful influence upon the mind of Governor Sevier. Some of the causes for separating the western counties from the parent state, had either ceased to exist, or operated now, upon the minds of the people with less intensity, and it was very evident that a very formidable party in Franklin was now opposed to a further continuance of the new government.

In Washington county, this opposition had become most apparent. The magistrates appointed by the authorities of North-Carolina, met at the house of William Davis, some distance from the seat of justice, and organized a court, when the following proceedings took place:

COUNTY PROCEEDINGS.

1787.—February Term, met at the house of William Davis.

Present, John McMahon, James Stuart, and Robert Allison.

George Mitchell was elected Sheriff pro. tem., and John Tipton was elected Clerk pro. tem., and Thomas Gomly, Deputy Clerk.

Feb. 6. The gentlemen on the Dedimus, appointed justices of the peace for said county, are as follows: John Tipton, Landon Carter, Robert Love, James Montgomery, John Hamer, John Wyer, John Strain, Andrew Chamberlain, Andrew Taylor, Alex. Moffett, William Pursley, Edmond Williams, and Henry Nelson.

John Tipton presented commission as Colonel of the county, and Robert Love as Major, and were qualified.

The next Quarterly Term of this Court was held at the same place.

At May Term, Tuesday 8th, the Court elected John Pugh Sheriff, Alexander Moffett, Coroner, and Elijah Cooper, Stray-master.

Ordered by the Court, That the Sheriff of this county demand the public records from John Sevier, formerly Clerk of this county.

Ordered, That the Sheriff notify Wm. McNabb to appear before the next County Court, with all the records as former Ranger.

Ordered, That the Sheriff demand the key of the County Jail at Jonesboro, from the former Sheriff of this county.

In other counties, the authority of Franklin was so far extinct, that of North-Carolina so fully recognized, that elections were not held for the Greeeneville Assembly, but representatives were regularly chosen for the legislature of the old state, to meet at Tarborough, on the 18th November. Of those thus elected, several had been the early and steadfast friends of separation and independence, and had been the principal functionaries of the new commonwealth. Even Greene county, which had refused to allow commissions emanating from the old dynasty, to be accepted and acted under, within its boundaries, had partaken of the general defection, and had elected to the Assembly at Tarborough, David Campbell, the presiding Judge upon the Franklin Bench, as Senator; and Daniel Kennedy, one of the Franklin brigadiers, and James Reese, Esq., once a member of its legislature, to the House of Commons.

Washington county, in like manner, was represented by John Tipton, James Stuart, and John Blair; all of whom had been the first to propose, and the most active in carrying into effect, the insurrectionary movement. Sullivan county had chosen Joseph Martin, John Scott, and George Maxwell; and Hawkins county, Nathaniel Henderson and William Marshall; all original supporters of Franklin, and advocates of separation. Sevier and Caswell counties alone maintained their allegiance to the new state, and adhered to Gov. Sevier and his fortunes; and even in these, there were not wanting men whose position was equivocal, and who hesitated not to dissuade from further resistance to the current, which now set so strongly in favour of the mother state. Harassed by the difficulties that surrounded his official position, and perplexed by the duties and responsibilities devolv-

ing on him as a patriot, Governor Sevier instituted a further embassy to the State of Georgia, with the hope of extricating himself and his government from surrounding embarrassments. As a dernier resort, he invited the mediation of Georgia between North-Carolina and Franklin; and addressed to Governor Matthews the following communication:

FRANKLIN, 24th June, 1787.

Sir:—The Honourable Major Elholm waits upon your Assembly, in character of Commissioner from this State, with plenary powers.

The party in opposition to our new republic, although few and inconsiderable, yet, by their contention and disorder, they occasion much uneasiness to peaceable minds. We are friendly citizens of the American Union, and the real desire we have for its welfare, opulence, and splendour, makes us unwilling and exceedingly sorry to think, that any violent measures should be made use of, against the adherents of any of our sister states; especially the one that gave us existence, though now wishing to annihilate us. And what occasions in us excruciating pain is, that perhaps we may be driven to the necessity, unparalleled and unexampled, of defending our rights and liberties against those, who not long since, we have fought, bled and toiled together with, in the common cause of American Independence, or otherwise become the ridicule of a whole world. This I hope, however, God will avert; and that a reunion will take place on honourable, just, and equitable principles, reciprocally so to each party, is our sincere and ardent wish.

When we remember the bloody engagements in which we have fought together against the common enemy, the friendly, timely and mutual supports afforded between the State of Georgia and the people of this country, it emboldens us to solicit you, sir, and through you the different branches of your government, that you will be graciously pleased to afford to the State of Franklin such of your countenance as you may, from your wisdom and uprightness, think, from the nature of our cause, we may deserve,—in promoting the interest of our infant republic, reconciling matters between us and the parent state, in such manner as you, in your magnanimity and justice, may think most expedient, and the nature of our cause may deserve.

Permit us to inform you that it is not the sword that can intimidate us. The rectitude of our cause, our local situation, together with the spirit and enterprise of our countrymen in such a cause, would inflame us with confidence and hopes of success. But when we reflect and call to mind the great number of internal and external enemies to American Independence, it makes us shudder at the very idea of such an incurable evil, not knowing where the disorder might lead, or what part of the body politic the ulcer might at last infect.

The nature of our cause we presume your Excellency to be sufficiently acquainted with. Only, we beg leave to refer you to the Cession act of North-Carolina, also the constitution of that government, wherein it

mentions that there may be a state or states erected in the West, whenever the legislature shall give its consent for the same.

We cannot forbear mentioning, that we regard the parent state with particular affection, and will always feel an interest in whatever may concern her honour and prosperity, as independent of each other.

For further information, I beg leave to refer you to Honourable Major Elholm.

Accompanying this communication, was one addressed to the Speaker of the Georgia Assembly, dated—

FRANKLIN, 24th June, 1787.

Sir :—At the request of a number of respectable inhabitants of Virginia, North-Carolina and Franklin, I am induced to write your honourable body, respecting the Tennessee lands, informing you that there is a large number of the aforementioned people who, for some time past, have been at considerable expense, in order to equip themselves to become residents in that quarter, who have been led to believe, from the tenor of your resolves, and the conduct of the Commissioners appointed for that business, that they, the people, might, with great propriety, expect to become immediate settlers.

Permit me to inform your honourable body that we have every reason to believe, that the making the aforesaid settlements would be of infinite advantage to your state, and of much utility to the adventurers; and further, were that place inhabited, from the great advantages it would be to this state, I am confident that Franklin would give every necessary support to the inhabitants, that might be wanting to protect them from the ravages and depredations of any of the hostile tribes of Indians, which will, in a great measure, be effected, by erecting some garrisons on the frontier of our state, which we have lately resolved to do. We submit it to your wiser consideration, and myself, as one of your Commissioners, shall be happy in rendering every exertion that the duty of my office may require, in compliance with your determinations.

Sevier continued his efforts in behalf of his tottering government, and under date 6th July, 1787, says to General Kennedy :

Dear General :—I met with the Old State party on the 27th last month; few of our side met, not having notice. I found them much more compliable than I could have expected, except a few. I have agreed to a second conference, which is to be held at Jonesboro', the last day of this month. You will please to give notice, to all those appointed by the convention, that may be within your district, to be punctual in attending at the time and place. I shall earnestly look for you there, and as many other of our friends as can possibly attend, and I flatter myself something for the good of the public may be effected.

In the "Columbian Magazine," for November, 1787, is found the following extract of a letter from General Cocke to Major Elholm, at Augusta, Georgia.

MULBERRY GROVE, STATE OF FRANKLIN,
August 27, 1787.

Col. Tipton the other day appeared with a party of about fifty men, of such as he could raise, under a pretence of redressing a quarrel that had arisen between our sheriff and the sheriff of North-Carolina, though their principal view was, to put themselves in possession of our records. This conduct produced a rapid report, that they had made a prisoner of his Excellency, to carry him to North-Carolina, which caused two hundred men to repair immediately to the house of Col. Tipton, before they became sensible of the mistake, and it was only through the influence of his Excellency, that the opposite party did not fall a sacrifice to our Franks. During this time, a body of about fifteen hundred veterans, embodied themselves to rescue their governor (as they thought) out of the hands of the North-Carolinians, and bring him back to the mountains—an instance that proves our citizens to have too noble a spirit to yield to slavery or to relish a national insult.

Continuing his correspondence with Governor Matthews, Governor Sevier writes:

MOUNT PLEASANT, FRANKLIN, 30th August, 1787.

Sir:—I had the honour to receive your favour of the 9th inst., by the express. You are pleased to mention, that you are of opinion that your Assembly will be favourably disposed towards this state. The measures entered into by your Executive, relating to our business, we are very sensible of, and the honour you thereby do us.

I have enclosed your Excellency copies of two letters from Colonels Robertson and Bledsoe, of Cumberland, wherein you will be informed of the many murders and ravages committed in that country by the Creeks. It is our duty and highly requisite in my opinion, that such lawless tribes be reduced to reason by dint of the sword.

I am very sensible, that few of our governments are in a fit capacity for such an undertaking, and perhaps ours far less so than any other; but, nevertheless, be assured, that we will encounter every difficulty to raise a formidable force to act in conjunction with the army of your state in case of a campaign.

We have lately received accounts from some gentlemen in Virginia, who generously propose to send a number of volunteers to our assistance. We shall cultivate their friendship, and I make no doubt but a considerable number may be easily raised in that quarter.

Our Assembly sat but a few days. The only business of importance done, was the making a provision for the defence of our frontier, by raising four hundred men, which is nearly completed. They are to be stationed in the vicinity of Chickamauga, and in case of actual operations against the Creeks this number will be ready.

Our Assembly is to meet on the 17th of next month, at which time I shall do myself the honour of laying your despatches before that honourable body, who, I am happy to inform you, will be favourably disposed to render your state every assistance in their power, by making such arrangements as may be judged adequate to the business. Their de

terminations on this subject will be immediately communicated to your honour, so soon as the same can be had and fully obtained.

The letter above referred to from Col. Robertson, bears date,

Nashville, Aug. 1st, 1787.

Sir:—By accounts from the Chickasaws, we are informed that at a Grand Council held by the Creeks, it was determined, by that whole nation, to do their utmost this fall to cut off this country, and we expect the Cherokees have joined them, as they were to have come in, some time ago, to make peace, which they have not done. Every circumstance seems to confirm this. The 5th day of July, a party of Creeks killed Captain Davenport, agent for Georgia, and three men in the Chickasaw nation—wounded three and took one prisoner, which the Chickasaws are not able to resent for want of ammunition.

The people are drawing together in large stations, and doing every thing necessary for their defence; but, I fear, without some timely assistance, we shall chiefly fall a sacrifice. Ammunition is very scarce, and a Chickasaw, now here, tells us, they imagine they will reduce our station by killing all our cattle, etc., and starving us out. We expect, from every account, they are now on their way to this country, to the number of a thousand. I beg of you to use your influence in that country to relieve us, which, I think, might be done by fixing a station near the mouth of Elk, if possible, or by marching a body of men into the Cherokee country, or in any manner you may judge beneficial. We hope our brethren in that country will not suffer us to be massacred by the savages, without giving us any assistance, and I candidly assure you that never was there a time in which I imagined ourselves in more danger.

Kentucky being nearest, we have applied there for some present assistance, but fear we shall find none in time. Could you now give us any? I am convinced it would have the greatest tendency to unite our counties, as the people will never forget those who are their friends in a time of such imminent danger.

I have wrote to General Shelby on this subject, and hope that no division will prevent you from endeavouring to give us relief, which will be ever gratefully remembered by the inhabitants of Cumberland, and your most obedient humble servant.

That from Col. Bledsoe, bears date,

Sumner County, Aug. 5th, 1787.

Dear Sir:—When I had last the pleasure of seeing your Excellency, I think you was kind enough to propose, that in case the perfidious Chickamaugas should infest this country, to notify your Excellency, and you would send a campaign against them without delay. The period has arrived that they, as I have good reason to believe, in combination with the Creeks, have done this country very great spoil by murdering numbers of our peaceful inhabitants, stealing our horses, killing our cattle and hogs, and burning our buildings through wantonness, cutting down our corn, etc.

I am well assured that the distress of the Chickamauga tribe is the only way this defenceless country will have quiet. The militia being very few, and the whole, as it were, a frontier, its inhabitants all shut up in stations, and they, in general, so weakly manned, that in case of an invasion, one is scarcely able to aid another, and the enemy daily in our country committing ravages of one kind or other, and that of the most savage kind. Poor Major Hall and his eldest son, fell a sacrifice to their savage cruelty two days ago, near Bledsoe's Lick. They have killed about twenty-four persons in this country in a few months, besides numbers of others in settlements near it. Our dependence is much that your Excellency will revenge the blood thus wantonly shed.

Gov. Sevier to Gov. Matthews:

Franklin, 28th Oct., 1787.

Sir:—I have fortunately met with Mr. William Talbot, who is now on his way to your state. I am happy to have it in my power to inform your Excellency that the Legislature of this State has passed an act, authorizing the Executive to forward an aid to your assistance, consisting of nine hundred men, together with several companies, who offer their assistance, from Virginia.

We flatter ourselves this force, with that from your state, will be sufficient to answer the wished for purpose. We now wait the determination of your state, and shall endeavour to comply with any reasonable request we may receive from your state towards carrying on a campaign, in conjunction with you, against the Creek Indians. The Creeks, I am told, have, in some measure, abated their hostilities at Cumberland. They have not done us any damage in this quarter as yet.

These several communications were submitted to the Executive Council of Georgia.

While they were under consideration, Major Elholm was invited to a seat in the Council, and was requested to furnish a *projet* of the military preparation necessary for the conquest of the Creek nation, and the settlement of the Great Bend of the Tennessee River. The plan he submitted and advised, was to appropriate the Great Bend as bounties, to the officers and soldiers employed in taking and occupying it; and that while they continued to maintain and protect their settlements, without expense to Georgia or Franklin, the inhabitants should pay no taxes for a term of years. In support of his plan, Major Elholm added, "I am certain you may expect at least one thousand men from Franklin."

Gov. Sevier, desirous of procuring the assent of the parent state to the separation and independence of Franklin, appointed another Commissioner to North-Carolina. One of

the Council, F. A. Ramsey, was selected for that mission. It is tradition that he proposed to assume, on the part of the new government, the whole Continental debt of North-Carolina. At first his embassy met the favourable attention of the Legislature, but the failure to adopt the Federal Constitution, then under discussion, produced delay, and the negotiation failed. After his project was acted on by the Council, Major Elholm made the following address.

To His Excellency, GEORGE MATTHEWS, Esq.,
and the Honourable Council:

Moved with the liveliest sense of obligation, for your attention paid to the Franks, my constituents, I feel it the most pleasing task to solicit, for a moment, to give the due thanks to the magnanimity of your government, in the name of my fellow-citizens. . . . .

We are prepared to move in concert with the operation of your military forces, against our common enemy; and for that purpose, a detachment of upwards of a thousand men, well accoutred, now waits on your Excellency's chief movements and command, with a reserve on occasion, to increase said force, two thousand strong.

To which it was replied by Governor Matthews:

IN COUNCIL, AUGUSTA, Nov. 5, 1787.

To the Honourable GEORGE ELHOLM, Esq.,
Commissioner from the People of Franklin.

Sir:—Your obliging and very friendly letter I had the honour to receive, and which was laid before the Executive Council. I have now, sir, to return you, (in behalf of the supreme power of this state,) my warmest thanks for your assiduity, as well as for the close attention you have paid mutually to the State of Georgia and the people of Franklin. Impressed deeply as we are, for the welfare of all those who have had independence enough to free themselves from British usurpation, we cannot but be mindful of the good people of Franklin, and hope, ere long, the interests of *both* will be *securely and lastingly* cemented.

Permit me, now, sir, to wish you a safe return, and a happy sight of the people by whom you were commissioned; in which I am joined by the honourable the Executive.

GOVERNOR MATTHEWS TO GOVERNOR SEVIER:

AUGUSTA, Nov. 12th, 1787.

Sir:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 30th August. The Assembly of the State are now fully persuaded that they never can have a secure and lasting peace with the Creek Indians, till they are well chastised, and severely feel the effects of war. They have passed a law for raising three thousand men for that purpose, and have empowered the Executive to call for fifteen hundred men from Franklin, in addition to that number; which united force, I flatter myself, will be more than adequate to chastise their insolence and perfidy. Major Elholm takes with him the acts for raising the men, which will so fully

inform you on that matter, that I need not touch on the subject. I have to request, that you will inform me as soon as possible, if I may depend on that number of troops from Franklin; and what time they will be ready to take the field, as I most ardently wish to have a speedy end put to the war. The Bend of Tennessee being allowed for your men, I flatter myself, will give pleasure, and, as the bounty is given for fighting our common enemy, will be, I am persuaded, thought generous and liberal.

Governor Telfair to Governor Sevier:

Augusta, Georgia, 12th Nov. 1787.

Sir:—It affords me pleasure to congratulate you on the legislature of this state, and government, having taken measures that, in my opinion, will prove extremely beneficial to Franklin, inasmuch as to evince to the Union that one of the members of it has full confidence in the valour and rectitude of the people and government thereof.

When a people unite in common danger, and when a certain portion of the blood of each commonwealth engaged therein must be spilt, in the progress and events of a savage war, it will unite friendship, awake the feelings, and even hand to posterity a grateful remembrance of past transactions; permit me, then, as an individual, to suggest the propriety of the intended co-operation having for its basis a well-directed force, supported by energy, and conducted by talents and abilities. It is a crisis by which a young people may rise in estimation, and I flatter myself, it will give tone to the name of Franks.

An officer of similar rank and powers, was directed to accompany Major Elholm, on his return from his Georgia mission. The negotiation, with the management of which that Commissioner had been entrusted, had been conducted with zeal and fidelity, and had resulted to the entire satisfaction of the governor, the council, and those of the people of Franklin, who still adhered to the declining fortunes of that state. Despatches containing the proceedings at Augusta, and the alliance between the contracting parties, were forwarded by express to Governor Sevier. The intelligence was hailed with acclamations of joy by his adherents, and was not unacceptable to that part of the people who had transferred, or were prepared to transfer, their allegiance to the mother state. The object of the alliance—the conquest of the Creeks, and the occupancy of the country below them on the Tennessee—accorded exactly with the martial spirit of the western soldiery, and comported well with their character and taste for adventure and enterprise. Small as was their number, remote and inaccessible as was the thea-

tre for the contemplated campaign, difficulty and danger only stimulated them to the undertaking, and they longed for the opportunity of carrying their victorious arms to the country above Mobile. Rumours had reached them of the occlusion of the Mississippi, and they already cherished the design of opening up by their own swords, a channel of commerce with the world, in despite of Federal indifference or foreign diplomacy and injustice.

If the people of Franklin rejoiced at the successful issue of Elholm's mission, it may be easily supposed that Governor Sevier received the intelligence with the highest gratification. He was too sagacious not to have observed, that the new state was at the point of dissolution—the crisis was at hand which it could not probably survive. Elections had not been holden of members for a succeeding session of the Franklin Assembly. His gubernatorial term would expire in a few short month—she was himself ineligible, and a successor could be appointed only by a vote of the legislative bodies. The only chance of preserving the integrity of his government, was that the projected campaign would silence the clamour of the malcontents, and restore harmony and concert to the distracted members of his little republic. This hope was fallacious and illusory; but the governor's perseverance was indomitable, and he appealed at once to his countrymen, and issued the circular which follows, to the colonel commandant of each county, and through them to the people.

GOVERNOR SEVIER'S CIRCULAR TO THE MILITARY OF FRANKLIN.

28TH NOVEMBER, 1787.

Major Elholm is just now returned from Georgia with expresses from the governor of that state, requiring an aid of fifteen hundred men from the State of Franklin, to co-operate with them against the Creek Indians, under the following conditions, to wit:

All that will serve one campaign, till a peace is made, shall receive as follows:

A colonel, one thousand two hundred acres; a lieutenant-colonel, one thousand one hundred; a major, one thousand; a captain, nine hundred; first-lieutenant, eight hundred; second-lieutenant, seven hundred and fifty; non-commissioned officers, seven hundred; privates, well armed and accoutred, six hundred and forty.

Any general officer, called into the service, to have the following proportions :—

A major-general, fifteen hundred acres ; a brigadier general, fourteen hundred acres.

The Bend of Tennessee is reserved for the troops of Franklin, which is a desirable spot, and will be of great importance to this state. We are to have an additional bounty of fifty acres on every one hundred acres, in lieu of rations, and all other claims against the State of Georgia, which makes our proportion of lands amount to half as much more as what is above allotted. A private man's share, if he finds himself, amounts to nine hundred and sixty acres, and officer's in proportion.

This great and liberal encouragement will, certainly, induce numbers to turn out on the expedition, which will not only be doing something handsome for themselves, but they will have the honour of assisting a very generous and friendly sister state to conquer and chastise an insolent and barbarous savage nation of Indians.

I now request that you will, with the utmost despatch, cause a general muster to be held in your county, and endeavour to get as many volunteers to enter into and engage in the aforesaid service, and under the above conditions, as is in your power. You may, also, encourage active persons to turn out and recruit ; and both yourself, and those that may recruit, to transmit to me, immediately after the general muster, your numbers of recruited volunteers. If I am spared, I think to take the field once more, and wish we may be able to march about Christmas, if possible, for the sooner we march, the sooner the people can return in time to put in their spring crops.

I congratulate you, and every true friend, on the success of our Commissioner in the State of Georgia, and am happy to inform you that our situation as a state is now secure and on a permanent footing—much occasioned by one of the members of the Union, through her liberal and sisterly affection, having taken us by the hand, and noticing us as a people, of which you will be convinced by the copies, &c., accompanying this. The good people in this country are under high obligations to our trusty and worthy Commissioner, Major Elholm, whose acquaintance and abilities have enabled him to accomplish for us most desirable purposes.

I have not time to transcribe and send, for your's and the people's perusal, a copy, in full, of the Georgia act, respecting Franklin, but hope the outlines, herein inserted, will be satisfactory. I also recommend that the recruiting officers might apply and take a copy for the satisfaction of those who may be inclined to enter into the service.

The State of Georgia has appointed Col. George Handley, a respectable character in that state, to attend the State of Franklin in character of Commissioner. I expect him in a few days, and shall be desirous of giving him every information before his return. I recommend the information herein contained, through your patronage, to the people, who, I hope, after seeing the great notice and respect shewn them by the State of Georgia, in her application to us for our assistance, and the high confidence they place in the spirit and bravery of the people here, that they will be animated with the idea, that they are now capable of evin-

eing to the world that, like a young officer who first enters the field, they are competent, from their bravery and merit, to make themselves known and respected amongst the nations of the world; and, though we have not large cities and sea-ports, which generally sink into wealth and luxury, by which means the offspring dwindle into effeminacy and dissipation, yet, I hope, we shall always remain as happy, free and independent as any other people; if not, sure I am, it will be our own fault, and we ought never to be pitied.

This appeal by Governor Sevier, to the gallantry of his countrymen, was responded to in their usual warlike spirit. An army of volunteers was at once recruited, and, as early as December 2d, a letter was addressed by the Governor to Colonel Handley, offering the co-operation of his army with the forces of Georgia, in the contemplated invasion of the Creek nation. To this no answer was received till after the governor's term of office had expired, and he had become a private citizen.

COLONEL HANDLEY TO GOVERNOR SEVIER:

AUGUSTA, GA., February 19th, 1788.

Sir:—We now inform you, that we have a just sense of the good intentions of the pepple of Franklin towards this state; and we are well-persuaded, the information contained in your letter, when properly directed, is such as will tend to the mutual welfare and prosperity of both.

We have the satisfaction to assure you, sir, that great progress is made in our recruiting service. The regular troops will be marched into the Indian country, putting to death all who make opposition. Mercy will not be granted on any other terms than a total surrender of their country and themselves.

All this, we assure you, would have happened, had not Congress, agreeably to their act of the 26th of October, 1787, ordered one Commissioner to be appointed from each of the states, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, to hold a treaty with the Indians, and we now only suspend our operations till their determinations are known.

This letter is sufficiently explanatory of the delay in replying to Sevier, as well as of the cause of abandoning the expedition. This delay, and the consequent disappointment of the militia of Franklin, baffled the hope which the governor had cherished of harmonizing his people in support of the new government. The volunteers were restless, impatient and disappointed. Employment, suited to their taste—danger, with which habit had made them familiar—victory, which had ever followed them and their leader—conquest, which they never doubted—renown, which they deified—

achievement which they idolized, and fame for which they sighed, had suddenly vanished and eluded their grasp. Not a word of censure was uttered against their gallant commander-in-chief, but the soldiery remained in sullen discontent at home.

During the disturbances in Franklin, and more particularly while Governor Sevier was recruiting an army to co-operate with Georgia in the invasion and subjugation of the Creek Indians, some restles spirits in the country contemplated the seizure of the Spanish posts at Mobile, Natchez and New-Orleans. It was well known, that by the stipulations of the treaty at Pensacola, in 1784, the authorities of Spain considered themselves bound to treat the Creeks as friends and allies, and that they furnished them supplies of ammunition, if they did not excite them to hostilities against the western settlements. This engendered a feeling of resentment against Spain, which was exasperated when Congress consented to deliberate upon the proposal of Mr. Jay to surrender, for a term of years, the right of navigating the Mississippi river. It is not strange that, under these circumstances, the western people should consider the Spaniards and Creeks alike as enemies to them and to their interests ; nor that they should agitate the subject of redressing their grievances and maintaining their rights, by their own arms. This subject was agitated in Franklin, and one of the agents of North-Carolina, in criminating the new government, took occasion to impute to Governor Sevier designs unfriendly to the Union. At this conjuncture it was, that a letter came into the possession of the Federal authorities, pointing out unequivocally machinations and designs against Spain on the part of Franklin. The letter alluded to, was written Sept. 24, 1787, from Charleston, South-Carolina, by John Sullivan, and was addressed to Major Brown, late of the Maryland artillery. The writer, speaking of the Tennessee River, said : " There will be work for you in that country. I want you much. Take my word for it, we will be speedily in possession of New-Orleans." This letter, written about the time the Legislature of Franklin contemplated and authorized the erection of garrisons in the Bend of Tennessee, and at the time, too, when the alli-

ance was matured between them and Georgia, alarmed the Federal Government, then negotiating with Spain. The War Office at once directed General Harmar to institute the strictest enquiry into the subject. No formal conspiracy could be detected. Those engaged in it, were probably too few, and the embarrassments nearer home too pressing, to allow the execution of their plans, which, under other circumstances, they could have easily effected. Cumberland, Kentucky and the whole West, could have co-operated in preventing the occlusion of the Mississippi River against their commerce. The inhabitants left the subject to the negotiation of the Federal Government, and chose not to disturb its foreign relations.

Having thus presented in detail the foreign affairs of the State of Franklin, we return to its domestic transactions. Pending the negotiations for obtaining auxiliaries from abroad, the new government was every day losing an adherent at home, who, by transferring his allegiance to North-Carolina, sensibly diminished the influence and authority of Sevier. In 1787, there scarcely remained in the Commonwealth of Franklin vitality enough to give it a nominal existence; its substance and strength were absorbed into the Carolina *Regime*, and the pangs of political annihilation having thus come, little more was left of the skeleton of the government, than its head. That still, under all the debility which affected the body, retained its wonted vitality and vigour. The Council of State had participated in the general disaffection, and some of its members had accepted office under North-Carolina, while others had failed to meet their colleagues in the Board, or had formally withdrawn from it. The judiciary, in its highest department, was annihilated by the election of Judge Campbell to a seat in the Tarborough Legislature, by which he was soon after appointed Judge of the Superior Court for the District of Washington, at Jonesboro'. The Legislature of Franklin suffered also from the prevalent disintegration, and manifested a strong tendency to dismemberment. From some of the old counties there was no representation, while the delegates from others exhibited indecision or discordance. In September, of this year,

a quorum was got together, and constituted, at Greeneville, the last session of the Legislature of Franklin. Of this body, John Menifee was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Charles Robinson, Speaker of the Senate. Their legislation was chiefly confined to unimportant amendments of the laws of North-Carolina. The Governor was scarcely able to secure the passage of an act, to provide ways and means to carry into effect his negotiation with Georgia, and for descending the Tennessee River with his troops, and taking possession of its Great Bend. This bill was passed by a compromise. The *quid pro quo* given to the dissentients, was the appointment of two delegates, to attend the Legislature of North-Carolina, to make such representations of the affairs of Franklin as might be thought proper. Under this final adjustment, Judge Campbell and Landon Carter were elected delegates—the former of whom, as has been already stated, was, at the same time, a member of the Tarborough Assembly. The Greeneville Legislature also passed an act, creating a land office in Franklin, with a provision, that peltry should be taken by the Entry-taker instead of money.

It is not known that the State of Franklin issued grants for lands. It had acquired by treaty with the Cherokees, the country south of French Broad, and west of Pigeon. It is probable that only incipient measures were adopted for appropriating it to specific purchasers. Each county had its Entry-taker's office, and its Surveyor.

A copy follows, of a Franklin Land Warrant:

STATE OF FRANKLIN, CASWELL COUNTY, }
No. 17, April 20, 1787. }

To the Surveyor of said County, GREETING:

WHEREAS, James Ruddle hath paid into the Entry-taker's Office of this County, ten shillings, for one hundred acres of land in said County; you are hereby required to receive his location for the same, and to lay off and survey the above quantity of land, and make return thereof to the Secretary's Office, agreeable to law.

Given under my hand, at office, this 20th September, 1787.

JOHN SEHORN, E. T.

No grant has been found on record, conveying land from the State of Franklin. Indeed, few of its official papers have survived the ravages of time, and the accidents to

which the partizan and rival conflicts, of the respective officers of the old and new jurisdiction, exposed them. It is tradition, that one of the married daughters of Governor Sevier concealed them, on one occasion, in a cave. A portion of the Docket of Washington County Court, now before this writer, seems to have undergone such an exposure. From one of its mutilated pages, he is able to decipher:

"On motion being made by the Attorney for the State, and at the same time exhibited a handbill containing an 'Address to the Inhabitants of Frankland State,' under the signature of a citizen of the same, the Court, upon the same being read publicly in open Court, adjudged it to contain treasonable insinuations against the United States, and false, ungenerous reflections against persons of distinction in the Ecclesiastic department, fraught with falsehood, calculated to alienate the minds of their citizens from their government, and overturn the same.

"Upon mature deliberation, the Court condemned said handbill to be publicly burned by the High Sheriff of the County, as a treasonable, wicked, false, and seditious libel."

The defection had, in the meantime, extended further, and embraced the State Council. Its members were the last to yield to the force of that current in public affairs, which but too plainly they saw, was now setting against Franklin. They all continued the faithful and steadfast friends of Sevier. But the legislature, session after session, became smaller and smaller, and confining its action to subjects of immediate importance and urgency, failed to elect the State Council, and the Governor was left "alone in his glory." Some of the old Board, though no longer his constitutional advisers, dissuaded him from further effort to perpetuate the new government, and advised him to yield to the necessity which portended its fate, and threatened to overwhelm its Executive. Vestige after vestige of Franklin was obliterated; its judiciary was gone; its legislature reduced to a skeleton; its council effete, defunct, powerless; its military disorganized, if not discordant; and its masses confused and distracted, with no concert and unanimity among themselves.

Distraction extended likewise to the lower judicial tribu-

nals of Franklin. Discordant elements were found amongst the magistrates composing its county courts. The Franklin courts elected one set of county officers, while another set were chosen by such of the justices as had accepted commissions from North-Carolina. This conflict of jurisdiction was succeeded, in some instances, by unpleasant results. The possession of the records was, of course, desired by each incumbent. Force and stratagem were resorted to by both parties to obtain them. Courts were held in different places, and an unarmed body of men would suddenly enter the court-house of the adverse party, seize its records, and bear them off in triumph. An effort would then be made to regain them. A scuffle would ensue, ending sometimes in a general fight. Scenes of disorder took place, which were generally sources of merriment and pleasurable excitement, rather than causes of settled malice or revenge. The parties separated, and soon after were friends. In Washington county, however, the dispute became acrimonious, and at length generated a feeling of inappeasable malignity between the leaders of their respective parties. From the commencement of the Franklin revolt, this county had been the seat of a central influence, which, while it remained united, was able to repress any opposition to its authority. That central power was represented by two very numerous and most respectable families, the leading members of which were John Sevier and John Tipton—each alike brave, patriotic and ambitious. Each had been distinguished by martial exploits and patriotic services in civil life. They had conquered together at King's Mountain, and co-operated together, harmoniously, in all the incipient measures of the insurrectionary government. On one occasion, as has been mentioned, when Sevier hesitated and dissuaded from separation, Tipton was decided in support of that measure. Tipton became an officer under the new government. Sevier was its Governor. After the repeal of the Cession act, the former returned to his allegiance to the parent state, and was now a member of its legislature; the latter maintained his opposition to it. They were now implacable enemies. Each of them had political adherents and personal

friends. Neither of them had a personal enemy. Each of these leaders, it is reasonable to suppose, felt the ambition to supplant his rival, and prevent his supremacy.

1787 The Legislature of North-Carolina, at its session of this year, continued and extended its conciliatory policy towards the western people. The former acts of pardon and oblivion to such as had been engaged in the revolt, were re-enacted, and those who availed themselves of the advantages specified therein, were restored to the privileges of citizens. Suits were dismissed, which had been instituted for the recovery of penalties or forfeitures incurred by a non-compliance with the revenue laws, and those who had failed to list their property for taxation, for the current year, were allowed three months longer in which to comply with the law. These pacific and satisfactory measures were suggested and supported by the delegates from the western counties, then members of the North-Carolina Legislature, and went far to remove the remains of discontent and quiet the complaints of the citizens.

The Governor of Franklin still retained his elastic and sanguine temper. As late in his administration of Franklin, as January 24, 1788, Governor Sevier continued to inspire his adherents with hope. Under that date he writes to—

Hon. General Kennedy:

Dear Sir:—I have, lately, received some favourable news from Doctor Franklin, and other gentlemen; also, am happy to inform you that I find our friends very warm and steady—much more so than heretofore. My son can inform you of some late particulars. Any thing material your way, will thank you for a sketch of it by my son.

I am, sir, your most obdt.,

John Sevier.

"Very warm and steady" were, indeed, the friends of John Sevier, but not of the Governor of Franklin, now tottering into ruins. In little more than one month, Franklin had ceased to be.

1788 At the return of the members, early in January of this year, from Tarborough, it was announced that the parent state had no intention of acceding to the views of those who favoured the establishment of the Franklin government.

The County Court of Washington still held its sessions at Davis's, under the authority of North-Carolina; that of Franklin, at Jonesboro'. Of this court, James Sevier, a son of the Governor, was clerk. Of the court at Davis's, John Tipton was clerk. An extract from his docket is here given:

"1788, FEBRUARY TERM.—*Ordered*—That the Sheriff take into custody the County Court docket of said county, supposed to be in possession of John Sevier, Esq., and the same records bring from him or any other person or persons in whose possession they now are or hereafter shall be, and the same return to this or some succeeding court for said county."

A fit opportunity soon after occurred, of testing the supremacy of the new and old dynasty. We copy from Haywood:

A *fieri facias* had issued in the latter part of the year 1787, and had been placed in the hands of the sheriff, to be executed against the estate of Governor Sevier, in the early part of 1788. The sheriff, acting under the authority of North-Carolina, by virtue thereof, seized all or the greater part, of Governor Sevier's negroes, to satisfy it, and removed them, for safe keeping, from his farm, on Nollichucky River, to the house of Colonel Tipton. Sevier was, at this time, on the frontiers of Greene county, devising means for defending the inhabitants against the incursions of the Indians, whose conduct of late, had given room for the apprehension of a formal renewal of hostilities. Hearing of the seizure of his negroes by virtue of an unlawful precept, as he deemed it, and by an officer not legally constituted, he resolved immediately to suppress all opposition to the new government of Franklin, and to punish the actors for their audacity. He raised one hundred and fifty men, principally in Greene county, but partly in Sevier, and what is now called Blount and marched directly to Tipton's house, near to which he arrived in the afternoon. Not more than fifteen men of Tipton's party were then with him. Sevier halted his troops two or thre hundred yards from the house, on a sunken piece of ground, where they were covered from annoyance by those in the house. Sevier was also incited to action by another incident. Tipton, it was said, in order to get possession of

his person, had collected a party of his adherents, some time before, and had sent them off with orders to make Sevier a prisoner. The latter happened to be on the frontiers, and Tipton's emissaries missed their aim. When Sevier came home and was informed of this attempt, he burned with indignation at the ingratitude of it, and at the unrelenting temper which he considered to have prompted it. Hence, he received an additional motive to action, and resolved, in turn, to look for the Saul who searched for him in all the dens and hiding places of the country. Tipton had gained some intimation of Sevier's design, and had but just time to call for the aid of fifteen of his friends, who were with him at the time of Sevier's arrival. With them he kept possession of his house, and barricaded it against the expected assault, as well as he could, and, with undismayed steadiness, waited the arrival of the Governor. The house of Colonel Tipton was on Sinking Creek, of Watauga River, eight or ten miles east of Jonesboro'. The Governor was not dilatory in making his appearance. He presented himself and his troops, with a small piece of ordnance, and took post in front of the house. He demanded the unconditional surrender of Tipton, and of all who were with him in the house. Tipton, with the earnest language which he sometimes employed on emergent occasions, sent word to him "to fire and be damned." He sent to Tipton a written summons. This, with a letter calling for assistance, Tipton immediately sent to Colonel Maxwell, of Sullivan, who was commandant of militia in that county, and a representative of the county in the General Assembly of North-Carolina. For some time, Tipton would not permit any communication with Sevier. Early the next day, however, he consented that Robert Love, Esquire, one of the fifteen who had come to his assistance, might correspond with him. Mr. Love wrote to him through the medium of his own flag, and directed his letter to *Colonel Sevier*. In reply, it was said, that Colonel Sevier was not in camp, alluding to Valentine Sevier, a brother of the Governor, who bore the title of colonel. Mr. Love answered them, and strongly recommended to the troops to withdraw and disband themselves, which, he said, would enable those who

supported the government of North-Carolina to countermand the orders for levying troops in Sullivan county, and other places. The reply made to this recommendation was, that Governor Sevier could countermand the orders for their march. Here the correspondence ended. A few of the most influential persons then with Tipton, were sent out to collect reinforcements from the neighbourhood and from the settlements above. Two or three were also sent to Sullivan county, for the same purpose. On the next day a few men joined Tipton, and, in the course of the day, a woman, coming to the house on some occasion, in company with another woman, was shot in the shoulder.* Some of Sevier's troops occupied an eminence of limestone rocks, within shooting distance of the house, and from that quarter the woman was wounded. On the next night Mr. Robert Love went out with one man, for the purpose of getting aid from the quarter of the country where he resided. On his way home, he met his brother Thomas, now General Love, with ten or twelve men, going to join Tipton, whom he informed of the guard, at the eminence of rocks, which lay near the road that led to the house. Mr. Thomas Love, before it was light, approached the rocks on a prancing horse, himself hemming and coughing. Not being hailed, he went to the rocks, at which the guard had been stationed, and found that the whole guard was absent. The weather being excessively cold, they had retired to the main body, to warm themselves by their fires. Mr. Thomas Love returned to his companions and informed them of the absence of the guard from their post, whereupon, raising a whoop, they went in full gallop to Tipton's house, and by their junction with the besieged, infused fresh vigour into their resolutions.

Elholm, second in command to the Governor, in order to make short work, and to escape from the danger of delay, proposed the erection of a light movable battery, under cover of which the troops might safely advance to the walls of the house. In the meantime, those coming in and going out of the house of Tipton, were fired upon, and one, whose

* This was purely accidental.

name was Webb, was killed; another, whose name was Vaun, was wounded in the arm. Maxwell, with all possible expedition, raised one hundred and eighty men, and marching with them, he had halted at Dungan's Mill, and had stayed there in the fore part of the night, till they could have just time to reach the camp of Sevier by morning. Whilst they were lying there, Sevier's scouts came within a mile of them, and not discovering any advancing enemy, returned to their main body. The night was cloudy and dark, and in the morning of the 3d of February,* just after day-break, which was the time of the attack made by Sevier, the snow poured down as fast as it could fall from the clouds. Sevier had placed, in the road leading from Sullivan county, by the place of his encampment, sentinels to watch the approach of the reinforcement to Tipton, which was expected from Sullivan. The cold weather was so extreme that it had forced them into camp to warm themselves for a few minutes. Maxwell and Pemberton advanced cautiously, with their men well formed in a line, within gunshot of Sevier's camp, having passed the spot where the sentinels were stationed, unobserved. Here they awaited the approach of daylight. As soon as objects had become visible, the snow falling, and Sevier's men advancing to the attack on the house, the troops under Maxwell fired a volley and raised a shout which seemed to reach the heavens, and communicated to Tipton and his men in the house, that deliverance was at hand. From the house they re-echoed the shout, and instantly sallied out upon the besiegers. In the midst of these loud rejoicings, a tremor seized the dismayed troops of Sevier, and they fled in all directions, through every avenue that promised escape from the victors. Tipton and Maxwell did not follow them more than two hundred yards. Within one hour afterwards, Sevier sent in Robert Young with a flag, proposing terms of accommodation. They left, in their flight, to be taken by the victors, the small piece of ordnance which Sevier had caused to be planted upon a battery. Pugh, the high sheriff of Wash-

* This date is an error. It was the 28th of February, 1788.

ington county, was mortally wounded. Divers persons were made prisoners who belonged to Sevier's corps, and amongst them two sons of Sevier, James and John. Tipton forthwith determined to hang both of them. Apprised of the rash step he intended to take, the young men sent for Mr. Thomas Love, and others of Tipton's party, with whom they had a good understanding, and solicited their intercession with Tipton. Those persons went directly to him and represented, in strong terms, the rashness, illegality and impolicy of the intended execution. They urged their arguments so effectually, that, with tears flowing down his cheeks at the mention of his own sons, supposing them to be in the possession of Sevier, about to be executed by him for offences imputed to the father, he pronounced himself too womanish for any manly office, and desisted from his purpose.

This is the account usually given of the affair between Tipton and Sevier. It is believed to be mainly correct. The declaration put into the mouth of Governor Sevier, that he would suppress all opposition to the government of Franklin, needs confirmation, or should be qualified. From the commencement of the difficulties between the parent state and her revolted counties, Sevier had determined to avoid and intended to prevent violence and bloodshed. His moderation and his good temper, have been attested by the narrative of every pioneer this annalist has had an opportunity to examine. The Governor, in every instance, dissuaded his adherents from violence or even tumult. His own letters, official and private, breathe the same spirit. The reader will recollect how much, and how pathetically, he deprecated a resort to force in his letter to Governor Matthews, of June 24, in which he also speaks of the mother state with affection and regard—indeed, in a tone of filial piety, which cannot be too much admired. His conduct during the siege of Tipton's house, and until he withdrew from it, demonstrates, what is intended here to be said, that Governor Sevier did not intend to maintain the authority of Franklin by force. It is known, that in undertaking to recover his property, then in the custody of Tipton's adherents, and confined in his house, the determined spirit of that brave man defied Sevier.

Major Elholm advised an immediate assault, and offered to lead it. The Governor restrained the ardour of his adjutant, and declared that not a gun should be fired. Elholm renewed his application for leave to storm the house, when he was silenced by the remark from Sevier, that he came not there to kill his countrymen, and that those who followed him had no such wish or design. Sevier himself, and most of his adherents, were too patriotic not to be dissatisfied with the position which surrounding circumstances had forced him to assume, and which he almost reluctantly now occupied, at the head of insurgents, and prompted to engage them in a fratricidal warfare. His sword had been often drawn for his country—his heart had never quailed before its enemies. Over these he had often triumphed; but now he refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of patriotic countrymen and friends. The patriot prevailed over the officer—the citizen over the soldier. The sternness of the commander yielded to the claims of duty and a common citizenship. His demeanour during the siege, and especially on the night before the assault, is represented by those of his party who served under him, before and after this occasion, to have been very different from that which he usually manifested. The men under his command exhibited the same altered behaviour. In all their campaigns, ardour and enthusiasm attended the march—care and vigilance the bivouac—the mirthful song and the merry jest, were heard in every tent. On these occasions, it was the custom of Sevier to visit every mess, and to participate in their hilarity. He spoke of enemies and danger before, and friends and home behind them. He was thus the companion, and friend, and idol of his soldiery. But now the camp of the Governor of Franklin was dreary and cheerless. No merry laugh was heard—nor song—nor jest. Little care and less vigilance was taken in placing out the sentinels. Sevier was silent, appeared abstracted, thoughtful, and, at this time only in his whole public life, morose and ascetic. Elholm's vivacity failed to arouse him. He communicated little to that officer; he said nothing to his men. He took no precaution, suggested no plan, either

of attack or defence. The enemies of his country were not before him, and the patriot Governor repressed the aspirations of the "commander-in-chief of the army of the State of Franklin." In no other instance has he given a livelier exhibition of the true moral sublime of patriotism.

The example of Sevier was contagious. The energy and skill of Elholm effected nothing. They could not convert American citizens into fratricides.

A similar spirit actuated the adverse party. Their courageous leader acted only on the defensive. When the siege was raised, no immediate pursuit was made. The besiegers and the besieged, were soon after friends, and peaceable neighbours. It is still strange, under all the circumstances, that so few of both parties were killed or wounded. This has sometimes been ascribed to and accounted for, by the heavy snow storm which occurred during the siege. One of the besieged, the late Dr. Taylor, of Carter county, may explain it in his own words. "We did not go there to fight. Neither party intended to do that. Many on both sides were unarmed, and some who had guns, did not even load them. Most of us went to prevent mischief, and did not intend to let the neighbours kill one another. Our men shot into the air, and Sevier's men into the corners of the house. As to the storm of snow keeping the men from taking a sure aim, it is all a mistake. Both sides had the best marksmen in the world, who had often killed a deer, and shot it in the head too, when a heavier snow was falling. The men did not try to hit any body. They could easily have done so if they had been enemies."

The late Colonel Joseph Hamilton, senior, speaking of this affair, says:

Col. Pemberton, of Sullivan, to whom an express had been sent by Tipton, soliciting relief, arrived with thirty men. These he stationed in front of Sevier's camp, unperceived by the latter. Pemberton ordered a general discharge of the rifles of his party. The discharge was made intentionally, to avoid shooting any of Sevier's men.

On the approach of Sevier's troops, Captain John Cowan was sent in with a flag, proposing some terms of compromise. This was refused the first, second and third times. After the reinforcement from Sulli-

van, Captain Cowan was taken prisoner; and refusing to give bail for his appearance before a civil court, was retained in custody of Colonel Tipton several days. Captain Handley, at length, prevailed with Tipton, and Cowan was released.*

The date of the affair before Tipton's house, as given in the account of it taken from Haywood, is the third of February. This is incorrect. It was, certainly, several days later than the twenty-fifth of February. The writer has in his possession, a military despatch from Governor Sevier, which is here given:

MAJOR TAYLOR'S,† 15th February, 1788.

Dear Captain:—I am informed that the Tipton party have got very insolent, and have been guilty of several cruelties and barbarous actions. I have ordered fifteen men out of each company, to turn out; and I am well satisfied that the men of Sevier county will turn out bravely. I beg you will use your influence to get as many men out of your neighbourhood to turn out, as may be in your power. I shall expect your company up. I am satisfied that a small exertion will settle the matter to our satisfaction. Pray speak to Mr. Allen, and let us raise as many men as in our power. For further particulars, I beg leave to refer you to the bearer.

I am, dear sir, your most obdt. humble servant,

JOHN SEVIER.

Captain John Zahaun, Caswell County, Franklin State.

Favoured per James Sevier.

It would require two or three days for the Governor's messenger to reach Captain Zahaun's‡ residence; fully as many to notify to the militia the purport of the despatch, and to assemble them together; and as many more to reach the Governor's head-quarters, ten miles above Jonesboro'. Sevier county, on whose military ardour the Governor so confidently relied, embraced much of the present county of Blount, a distance of more than one hundred miles from Jonesboro'. It is known that Colonel Weir and others from that county, were present at the siege, and it is not probable, that from the date of the despatch to the time of the arrival of the troops at head-quarters, less than two weeks had elapsed. It was, certainly, very late in February, or perhaps, early in March, when the engagement took place. The late James Sevier,

*Manuscripts before me.

† Near Jonesboro'.

‡ Since known as Sehorn's Ferry, above Dandridge.

of Washington county, believed the date was February 28. This accords with the following despatches from Colonel Tipton, and with a letter to be hereafter given, from Governor Sevier himself.

On Monday, February 25th, Colonel Tipton, writing to Colonel Robert Love, says:

"The rebels are again rising; Sevier is now making his last effort; he has given orders to his officers below, to draft fifteen men out of each company, and take property from those that will not serve, and give to those that will. This day they are to meet at Greene; to-morrow at Jonesboro'; and Wednesday, if not before, make the push here. I therefore request you to give orders to the officers in the Cove, to collect their men with the greatest expedition, and march to my house to-morrow, fixed in ample manner; as I purpose to defend this quarter, without making any excursions, unless I can get further information.

I am, sir, with respect, yours to serve,

JOHN TIPTON.

N. B.—Let no time be lost.

Though now no longer the Governor of Franklin, and indeed without office and authority, and a mere private citizen, Sevier continued to correspond with his quondam allies in Georgia. He still dates from

FRANKLIN, 10th April, 1788.

Sir:—Yours, of the 19th of February, I had the honour to receive. In our present confused situation of affairs, I am not able to reply with that accuracy and satisfaction to your Excellency I could wish. Our country is, at this time, almost in a state of anarchy, occasioned, as we suggest, by the North-Carolinians stimulating a party to act in a hostile manner against us.

Agreeable to our Constitution, my duration in office continued no longer than the 1st of March last, and, in our present embarrassed condition, our Assembly have, as yet, failed to make any new appointment.

It is with great pleasure I inform you that a great number of the people of this country discover a ready disposition to aid your state against your savage enemies; and let matters occur as they may, if I am spared I purpose joining your army with a considerable number of volunteers, to act in concert with you against the Creeks, though many of our enemies are making use of every diabolical plan in their power, in order to destroy our laudable intention.

I beg your Excellency will be so obliging as to advise us, from time to time, of your intended operations, and should your campaign be procrastinated until the fall season, I am of opinion you will get a much greater number of men from this country.

During the time Governor Sevier administered the affairs of the Franklin Government, little disturbances existed upon

the frontier. The Cherokees had learned, by past experience, the danger of hostilities with the Franklin people, when commanded by an officer of such vigour and capacity, as in all his campaigns had been manifested by Sevier. The Indians, until his government was overthrown, stayed, for the most part, quietly in their villages, and permitted the settlements to be extended rapidly, and with little interruption, from the lower parts of Greene and Spencer counties, to the western limits of what is now Knox county, north of Holston, and Blount county, south of it. But from the commencement of this year, the Cherokees having constant information of the difficulties existing amongst their white neighbours, had manifested evident tokens of dissatisfaction, and a general desire for a renewal of hostilities. During the short absence of such of the gunmen as had gone from the lower settlements to Sevier's head-quarters, some mischief was done on the frontier, and the traders all reported an approaching Indian invasion. Messengers were immediately despatched to the upper counties after Sevier, carrying with them representations of the impending danger, and urging his immediate return to the exposed border settlements. These he received just after his fruitless siege of Tipton's house, and when the disasters of the day hung like a pall around him, and ulcerated his wounded spirit. In a moment Sevier was himself again ; elastic, brave, energetic, daring and patriotic. At the head of a body of mounted riflemen, he was at once upon the frontier to guard and protect its most defenceless points.

After the departure of Sevier and his adherents, Col. Tip ton, on the 11th March, issued again to Col. Robert Love this order :

"You will cause the men of the Greasy Cove to be notified to appear at my house on Saturday evening next, well equipped, with arms and ammunition, and six days provision. Those that have arms, etc., and do not comply, take and give to those that will serve."

Colonel Tipton, with a number of troops, were, on the 16th of March, collected at Abednego Inman's. From that place, he wrote to General Kennedy, a friend of Sevier's, that " my business is not to disturb or molest the inhabitants, but

rather to protect them; and, sir, as I am persuaded that you have the interest of the country at large at heart, if it should coincide with your approbation, that you should bring the Commissions to Greene Court-House to-morrow, for the purpose of establishing a court, so that the inhabitants may be exempted of the penalty prescribed by law."

General Martin, who now commanded the brigade of North-Carolina militia west of the mountain, also wrote to General Kennedy, March 21, 1788.

"I am greatly distressed and alarmed at the late proceedings of our countrymen and friends, and must beg your friendly interposition, in order to bring about a reconciliation, which, you well know, was my object in accepting the brigadier's commission. I am, perhaps, as little afraid of stepping forth in the field of action as any other man; but I would be sorry to imbrue my hands in the blood of my countrymen and friends, and will take every method in my power to prevent any thing of that nature. In our present situation, nothing will do but a submission to the laws of North-Carolina, which I most earnestly recommend to the people. You well know this is the only way to bring about a separation, and also a reconciliation for our worthy friend, whose situation at this time is very disagreeable. I most sensibly feel for him, and will go very great lengths to serve him. Pray see him often, and give him all the comfort you can.

"I am told that a certain officer says, that if I issue an order for a reconciliation, that it shall not be obeyed; but I shall let that gentleman know that I am not to be trifled with. Pray write me all what the people will do, and whether you will accept your commission, which I hope you will. Have the militia immediately officered and prepared for action, as I expect a general Indian war shortly. Please give my best respects to the people in general. Tell them my object is reconciliation, not war."

There were few—perhaps none—even of the adherents of the old state, whose feelings and wishes, in reference to Sevier, were not in exact consonance with those expressed by General Martin in this letter. Its tone, its moderation, its wisdom, its sympathy for a soldier and a patriot, constitute the highest eulogy upon his own good sense, his patriotism and his good feelings. They cannot be too much admired or imitated. They saved the country from further tumult and violence, and all opposition, on the part of Franklin to North-Carolina, ceased.

At this moment of impending tumult and civil discord, a missionary of the Christian religion appeared, unexpectedly,

in the midst of these conflicting elements of excited passion and social and political disorganization. We extract from Bishop Asbury's Journal: "April 28, 1788.—We reached the head of Watauga ; came to Greer's. The people are in disorder about the Old and New State; two or three men have been killed. At Nelson's, I had a less audience than was expected; the people having been called away on an expedition against the new-state-men. Preached on Hebrews, vi. chapter, 11th and 12th verses." Shortly afterwards, he preached "at Owens's, on Psalm 148, verses 17, 18, 19, with some fervour. Came to Huffacre's and Keywood's, where we held Conference three days; and I preached each day. The weather was cold; the room without fire, and otherwise uncomfortable. We, nevertheless, made out to keep our seats until we had finished the essential part of our business." This first Conference west of the mountain—the novelty of such an assemblage in the wilds of Watauga—its mission of benignity and peace—the calm dignity and unpretending simplicity of the venerable Bishop, all conspired to soothe, quiet and harmonize the excited masses, and to convert partizans and factionists into brothers and friends.

In the meantime, Governor Caswell's term of office having expired, Samuel Johnston was elected his successor. His administration, it was hoped, might effect the restoration of harmony in the revolted counties, which the conciliatory policy of Governor Caswell had failed to do. He was kept advised of the state of affairs, west of the mountains, and in the following letter from Colonel Martin, it was recommended to send troops from North-Carolina, to quell existing disturbances in Franklin:

LONG ISLAND, 24th March, 1788.

Sir:—The confusion of this country induces me to lay before your Excellency, by express, our present situation, which is truly alarming.

I sent, on Saturday last, to Sevier and his party, requiring them to lay down their arms, and submit to the laws of North-Carolina, but can get no answer, only from Colonel Joseph Hardin, which I forward; though I know, that on Friday last, they met in Convention, to concert some plan. The bearer of my express to them, informs me, that he understood that Sevier had gone towards French Broad, since the 10th instant; that Colonel Kennedy, with several others, had gone the same way, to carry on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, which, I

am well assured, wish to be at peace; except the Chickamauga party, which could be easily driven out of that country, if your Excellency should recommend it. I am somewhat doubtful, that Sevier and his party are embodying, under the colour of an Indian expedition, to amuse us, and that their real object is, to make another attack on the citizens of this state; to prevent which, I have ordered the different colonels to have their men in good order, until I can hear from your Excellency; at which time, I hope, you will give me directions in what manner to proceed, in this uncommon and critical situation; for which I shall wait, till the return of the express, before I shall take any decisive steps.

Should the Franks still persist to oppose the laws of this state, would it not be well to order General McDowell to give some assistance? as a few men from there will convince them, that North-Carolina is determined to protect her citizens.

Representations continued to be made to Governor Johnston unfavourable to Sevier's conduct and motives, which induced him to issue to Judge Campbell, the instructions following:

HILLSBOROUGH, 29th July, 1788.

Sir:—It has been represented to the Executive, that John Sevier, who styles himself Captain-General of the State of Franklin, has been guilty of high treason, in levying troops to oppose the laws and government of this state, and has with an armed force put to death several good citizens. If these facts shall appear to you by the affidavit of credible persons, you will issue your warrant to apprehend the said John Sevier, and in case he cannot be sufficiently secured for trial in the District of Washington, order him to be committed to the public gaol.

At the same time an order was forwarded to General Martin, to assist the sheriff in the apprehension of Sevier. Governor Johnston says further, to General Martin:

"Sevier, from the state of his conduct, set forth in your letter, appears to be incorrigible, and I fear we shall have no peace in your quarter, till he is proceeded against to the last extremity."

These repeated accusations of Sevier and of those implicated with him, in the charges of barbarous and cruel conduct, are to be ascribed, in some instances, to political animosity—and in others, to exaggeration of his conduct, and a misapprehension of his designs. He was now really a private citizen, without command or authority, and yet, as will be hereafter seen, he was constantly at the head of troops—volunteers, who selected him as their commander, and

who followed his standard and obeyed his orders, as fully and as cheerfully, as if he were yet in power. The frontier people knew that they could not be safe, but by their own exertions and military services. They needed a leader to combine their strength, discipline the troops, project expeditions, secure their exposed stations, expel their Indian enemies, and give quiet and safety to a scattered and defenceless people. This responsible duty they imposed upon Sevier. He could not decline the position thus assigned him by acclamation. He assumed it cheerfully, and executed its duties well.

Sevier was now on the frontier, and though invested with no official power, the Ex-Governor and one of his Franklin officers, issued this address.

"MAJOR HOUSTON'S STATION, 8th of July, 1788.

"*To the Inhabitants in general:*—Yesterday we crossed Tennessee with a small party of men, and destroyed a town called Toquo. On our return we discovered large trails of Indians making their way towards this place. We are of the opinion their numbers could not be less than five hundred. We beg leave to recommend, that every Station will be on their guard; that also, every good man that can be spared, will voluntarily turn out and repair to this place, with the utmost expedition, in order to tarry for a few days in the neighbourhood and repel the enemy, if possible. We intend waiting at this place some days with the few men now with us, as we cannot reconcile it to our own feelings, to leave a people who appear to be in such great distress.

JOHN SEVIER,
JAMES HUBBERT.

N. B. It will be necessary for those who will be so grateful as to come to the assistance of this place, to furnish themselves with a few days provisions, as the inhabitants of this Fort are greatly distressed with the Indians.

J. S.
J. H.

A minute account of Sevier's further services is given by Haywood, from which we copy or condense:

"The Cherokees still burned with a desire for war. It seemed, indeed, as if nothing could ensure peace but their total extinction. The knowledge of their hostile designs was made public by their massacre of Kirk's family. In the month of May, 1788, Kirk lived with his family on the south-west side of Little River, twelve miles south of Knoxville; whilst he was absent from home, an Indian by the name of Slim Tom, known to the family, came to them and requested to be supplied with provisions, which they gave him, and he withdrew; having seen who were there, and the situation they were in with regard to

defence, he soon after returned from the woods with a party of Indians, and fell upon the family—massacred the whole of them, eleven in number, and left them dead in the yard. Not long afterwards, Kirk coming home, saw his dead family lying on the ground; he gave the alarm to the neighbourhood, and the militia assembled under the command of Colonel Sevier, to the number of several hundred; they met at Hunter's station, on Nine Mile Creek, which runs into Holston on the south side; thence they marched under the command of Colonel Sevier to the Hiwassee River, and early in the morning came upon a town which had been burnt in 1779; the Indians who were in it, fled, and took to the river; many were killed in the town; some were made prisoners, and many were fired upon and killed in the river; they burnt the town, and returned to Hunter's station. On the next day they went up the Tennessee, to the towns on that river, killed several Indians, burnt the towns, and returned to the station. Tallassee, upon the upper part of the Tennessee, was one of these towns. The Indians fled from their different towns into the mountains, were pursued by the troops and many of them killed. Abraham, a friendly Indian, with his son, who lived on the north side of the Tennessee, had declared publicly, that if the Indians went to war, he would remain at his own house, and never quit it. When the troops came to the south side, Hubbard sent for Abraham and his son to come over the river to the troops; they came accordingly; he directed them to return and bring with them the Tassel and another Indian, that he might hold a Talk with them; they also held up a flag inviting those Indians to come to them; they did so, and were put into a house. Sevier was absent for some time on the business of his command; in the time of hia sbsence, those who were left behind, permitted young Kirk, the son of him whose family was killed, to go with a tomahawk into the house where the Indians were enclosed, Hubbard being with him; there Kirk stuck his tomahawk into the head of one of them, who fell dead at his feet, the white people on the outside of the house looking in upon them. The other Indians, five or six in number, seeing this, immediately understood the fate intended for them; each man cast his countenance and eyes to the ground, and one after the other received from the hands of Kirk, upon the upper part of the head, the fatal stroke of the tomahawk, and were all killed. Sevier returning, saw the tragical effects of this rash act, and on remonstrating against it, was answered by Kirk, who was supported by some of the troops, that if he had suffered from the murderous hands of the Indians, as he (Kirk) had, that he (Sevier) would have acted in the same way. Sevier, unable to punish him, was obliged to overlook the flagitious deed, and acquiesced in the reply.

"It is much to be regretted, that history, in the pursuit of truth, is obliged to record, to the shame and confusion of ourselves, a deed of such superlative atrocity, perfidy, cowardice and inhumanity. Surely something is due to wounded feelings, and some allowance is to be made for the conduct of men acting under the smart of great and recent suffering. But never should it be forgotten by an American soldier, that his honour must be unspotted; that a noble generosity must be the regulator of his actions; that inviolable fidelity, in all that is promised an

enemy, is a duty of sacred obligation, and that a beneficent and delicate behaviour to his captive, is the brightest ornament of his character.

"Suspicion, ever alive toward the conduct of military commanders, attributed to Colonel Sevier a voluntary absence, whilst many of those who were present, acquitted him of all presentiment of the horrid act. Colonel Sevier never acted with cruelty before or since; he often commanded; he was never accused of inhumanity; he could not have given his consent on this occasion. Considering existing circumstances, he could not maintain as much authority now, as at other times; he was routed, proscribed and driven from his home; he took shelter amongst the frontier inhabitants, who now composed his little army; he relied upon them for safety; they consulted only the exasperated feelings of the moment, and had never been instructed in the rules of refined warfare.

"Captain Gillespie, on arriving at the river, had also gone off with his company in search of the enemy, by order of the commanding officer; he went up the river on the south side, and crossed where the Indians were on the north; he pursued them several miles and took some packhorses; on his return the Indians were everywhere in motion; he recrossed the river to the south side, at the place where he had just before crossed. As he ascended the bank on the south side, he saw an Indian named Alexander Mayberry, and hailed him, who stopped and gave up his gun, and surrendered himself a prisoner. Captain Gillespie then went towards the army which he had left, and as he proceeded, was met by a company of soldiers who insisted upon killing his prisoner. Captain Gillespie told them that he had taken the Indian a prisoner, and that he should not be killed whilst in his possession; they, still persisting, and manifesting a determined purpose to put the prisoner to death, Gillespie dismounted from his horse, and placing himself between them and the Indian, cocked his gun, and gave them the most positive assurances that he would instantly pour the contents of it into the heart of that man who dared to fire upon the Indian. The resolute air of his countenance convinced them that he intended what he said; they desisted and went off; he led his prisoner into camp, and delivered him to Colonel Sevier, who removed him to Hunter's station, whence he was sent home in safety.

"The massacre of Kirk's family was followed in quick succession by that of many others. A man of the name of English, was killed near Bean's station, and James Kirkpatrick between Bean's station and Holston; some were killed in the neighbourhood of Bull Run, and others at places north of Knoxville, and many others on the roads to West Tennessee and Kentucky. The people were compelled to live in forts; they built Houston's station, sixteen miles south of Knoxville, not far from the place where Maryville now stands. General Martin sent a party to protect the inhabitants of the station, under the command of Major Thomas Stewart, which went to the station and garrisoned it.

"Captain John Fayne, with some enlisted men who composed a part of the guard under the command of Captain Stewart, and some of the settlers who turned out with them, were sent out as scouts to reconnoitre the adjacent country; they crossed the Tennessee River, and entered into

an apple orchard, where carelessly they began to gather the fruit; the Indians were lying in wait, and had suffered them to march into the orchard without molestation. Whilst in the act of gathering fruit, the Indians surrounded them, drove them into the river, killed sixteen of the whites dead on the ground, took one prisoner, and wounded four, who, with difficulty, effected their escape. The scene of this tragedy was at a town called Sitico. Captain Evans raised thirty men, who, with himself, lived a considerable distance from the place, and was at it in the evening of the third day. That night, being on the north bank of the Tennessee, they buried the dead whom they found on that side of the river, marched back about one mile and encamped on high ground; Major Stewart came in also with the enlisted men of the station; these were under his command, but the volunteer company was exclusively under that of Captain Evans. Next morning they crossed the river at the upper end of Chota, and thence to Sitico, where the massacre took place; there they found one white man lying on his back with his belly ript open; four men lying on a sand bar with their bellies also ript up, and their bowels floating on the water; the head of one man was cut off, and his heart and bowels were torn out and strewed about on the ground; after burying the dead, they returned home. Such of the company in the orchard as survived the massacre, had fled towards Knoxville; these the Indians had pursued to within five miles of that place, and in the pursuit killed a great part of them. They then determined to attack Houston's station, and with that view marched to it, but were beaten off by the garrison. Colonel Sevier was at this time within twenty-five miles of the mouth of Holston, and was marching diligently to the defence of Houston's station, which he had been informed the Indians intended to reduce, but he had not yet heard of the attack which they had actually made upon it. He unexpectedly met one hundred of the retreating Indians, fired upon them, compelled them to give way, and continued his march to the station; thence he immediately went home, and without delay convened Captain John Craig and his company, and one or two other companies, and at the special request of Colonel Sevier, he was joined also by Captain Evans and his company, who was requested to do so by an express sent for the purpose. Captain Evans took post in the rear of the front guard: as the army passed through Sitico, Evans seeing an old Indian slip into a house between daylight and sunrise, took with him John Ish, and rode up to the house, in which he saw sitting an old man, and upon dismounting and going into the house, saw in it two young Indian fellows, both of whom he and Ish killed, and rejoined the army. It marched constantly, and arrived at Chilhowee; at this place they found Indians, had a skirmish with them, killing thirteen dead on the ground; the whites receiving no damage on their side; they all returned home in safety. A few weeks after this, Evans raised a volunteer company, and other Captains also raised companies to make an expedition into the Indian nation; at their solicitation Colonel Sevier took the command of them; they crossed the Tennessee River and went through Big Tellico town; thence crossing the Unaca mountain, they entered the Valley towns; whilst the army marched on, Captain Hubbard took ten men with him, and following a small path,

they came to a house where were seven or eight Indians, who ran out of the house, when the whites killed five of them, took one small prisoner, and returned to the army. When the army halted at noon, Captain Evans discovered an Indian coming down the ridge; he mounted his horse, and taking two or three men with him, rode towards the Indian; he fired upon Evans and his men, the ball passing through the hunting shirt of one of them, and then ran to the foot of the hill, and charging his gun, gave them a second fire; one of the white men fired at him, and shot off his fore-finger; the Indian again charged his piece, but when he attempted to prime, the blood ran so fast into the pan of the fire-lock that he could not effect it; the whites rode up to him and shot him down. Marching four miles further, they encamped in hearing of the crowing of a cock, from a town that was six miles long; but perceiving that the enemy had left it at the approach of the army, Sevier, with the army, in the morning took a different route, which led them to the upper end of another town, where the corn was in the silk; the whole of this the army cut down before them. The Indians kept up a constant fire, but the distance was too great to do it with any effect. After encamping here all night, Evans, with ten men, was sent to reconnoitre the confines of the camp; on the top of a ridge he discovered the signs of Indians; a large body of them had been there, and had thrown off their old moccasins and put on new ones; he immediately gave intelligence of this to the Colonel, and was ordered by him to keep the ridge till the main body should be ready to march. About one hundred Indians had turned back, and others went on, to form an ambuscade in a narrow passage; the army followed upon their trail till it came in view of the place where it was thought they lay concealed; the passage which the army had to pass through, was one where the path was on the bank of the river, under a large cliff of rocks, for one quarter of a mile, which did not admit of more than one man abreast, followed by the others in Indian file; they had placed two hundred men on the south side of the river, ready to receive the whites had they attempted to cross; one hundred in the front, one hundred in the rear, and three hundred amongst the rocks and cliffs; of the whites, the number was not more than one hundred and forty. The danger of marching through this passage was judiciously considered by Colonel Sevier as too great to be encountered for the advantage to be attained, and he marched for the foot of the mountain, where he crossed as he went out. The army drove before it three head of neat cattle, and proceeded with so much haste that one of the cattle tired and would go no further. Captain Evans marched in the rear, and having passed the summit of the mountain and proceeded about two hundred yards down the other side of it, one of his men said that he had left his knife just before he crossed the top of the mountain, and he ran back for it; when he got to the mountain top, he heard the Indians ascending on the side of the mountain up which the whites had just before come. Intelligence of their vicinity was immediately given to the Colonel: it was now between sunset and dark, and the army, before it could encamp safely, was obliged to travel ten miles to Big Tellico, where, on the plains, it encamped. Five hundred Indians followed until they came in view of the camp, and there, their courage fail-

ing, they retired. The next day the troops crossed Tennessee, and returned home."

The order given by Governor Johnston to Judge Campbell, to issue a bench warrant against Sevier, was not obeyed by that officer. His past relations with the Governor of Franklin, and his own agency in several transactions of that government, made him unwilling, if he was not otherwise incapacitated, to execute that duty. But Spencer, one of the principal Judges of North-Carolina, held, by authority of that state, in conjunction with Campbell, a Superior Court at Jonesboro', and there issued the warrant against Sevier, for the crime of high treason. Ever since his defeat at Tipton's, that brave and patriotic citizen had been in the constant performance of the most brilliant actions, of great utility to his countrymen. He was amongst the frontier people who adored him. He had, by nature, a talent for acquiring popular favour. It was natural for him to travel in the paths which led to it. To him it was no secret, that in a republican government, where the democratic principle is a main ingredient in its composition, the love of the people is substantial power. He had a friendly demeanour, a captivating address, and, to crown all, he was a soldier. With such qualities, he could not fail to catch the prepossessions of the people; to attach them to his interests, and to mould them to the furtherance of his designs. The beloved man of the populace is always distinguished by a nick-name; *Nollichucky Jack* was the one they gave him. Whenever, at future elections, that name was pronounced, it had the effect of electrical power, in prostrating the pretensions of every opposing candidate. Sevier was generous, liberal and hospitable. The people of North-Carolina valued his good qualities, and had no disposition to dwell upon his late errors with any malevolence. As the government of North-Carolina was now submitted to universally, they wished not to inflict punishment upon any for the part they had taken in the late troubles. As he easily forgave in others, the offences committed against him, he had not any suspicion that he was not as readily forgiven. He was elevated, by his merits, in the public esteem; he knew not what it was

to repine at the prosperity of others. But he had not learned that he, who was rendered eminent by his services, is the last to be pardoned for his faults; and that a repetition of meritorious actions, like oil thrown upon the fire, so far from extinguishing, actually aggravates the angry passions which are roused against him.*

Sevier, in the meantime, after his return from the frontier, appeared openly in all public places, and was present at Jonesboro, where General Martin held a council of the militia officers. During the day, some of the court, and Sevier, had an altercation, which revived past difficulties between some of the officers and the ex-governor. They had separated and left town. After Sevier started, Caldwell, with whom he had quarrelled, went to Tipton, and in going and returning, collected eight or ten men, with whom he went in pursuit of Sevier. Arriving at the house where Colonel Love lodged, he went with them to Colonel Robinson's, where General Martin and Major King were. Tipton there had a close search made for Sevier, supposing that, as there was a good understanding between Robinson and him, the latter might be there. The pursuers then went to the widow Brown's, where Sevier was. Tipton and the party with him, rushed forward to the door of common entrance. It was about sunrise. Mrs. Brown had just risen. Seeing a party with arms at that early hour, well acquainted with Colonel Tipton, probably rightly apprehending the cause of this visit, she sat herself down in the front door, to prevent their getting into the house, which caused a considerable bustle between her and Colonel Tipton. Sevier had slept near one end of the house, and on hearing a noise, sprung from his bed, and looking through a hole in the door-side, saw Colonel Love; upon which, he opened the door and held out his hand, saying to Colonel Love, *I surrender to you.* Colonel Love led him to the place where Tipton and Mrs. Brown were contending about a passage into the house. Tipton, upon seeing Sevier, was greatly enraged, and swore that he would hang him. Tipton held a pistol in his hand, sometimes swearing he would shoot him, and Sevier was really afraid that he would put his threat into execution. Tipton at length be-

*Haywood.

came calm, and ordered Sevier to get his horse, for that he would carry him to Jonesboro'. Sevier pressed Colonel Love to go with him to Jonesboro', which the latter consented to do. On the way, he requested of Colonel Love to use his influence that he might be imprisoned in Jonesboro', and that he might not be sent over the mountains into North-Carolina. Colonel Love remonstrated to him against an imprisonment in Jonesboro', for, said he, Tipton will place a strong guard around you there; your friends will attempt a rescue, and bloodshed will be the result. Sevier urged that he would persuade his friends to peaceable measures, and expressed great reluctance at the idea of being taken from his family and friends. As soon as they arrived at Jonesboro', Tipton ordered iron hand-cuffs to be put on him, which was accordingly done. He then carried the Governor by the residence of Colonel Love, and that of the widow Pugh, whence he went home, leaving Sevier in the custody of the deputy sheriff and two other men, with orders to carry him to Morganton, and lower down, if he thought it necessary. Colonel Love travelled with him till late in the evening, and was requested by the Governor to send down to his wife, and let her know of his situation, with a request to her to send some clothes to him, and some money. Next morning, James Love, the brother of the colonel, was dispatched with this message to Mrs. Sevier; she transmitted to her husband the necessaries he wanted. A few days afterwards, James and John Sevier, sons of the Governor, together with Mr. Cozby, Major Evans, and some few others, were seen by Colonel Love, following the way the guard had gone. Before Colonel Love had left the guard, they had, at his request, taken off the irons of their prisoner. The next morning he attempted to make his escape, but the guard overtook him, and one of them, George French, shot at him with a pistol as the horses were running, before they stopped him. The friends of Sevier say that French had it in charge to kill him, and intended to execute his commission, and that on the Iron Mountain, on their way to North-Carolina, Gorley, another of the guard, informed Sevier of the order and intention of French, upon which he endeavoured to make

his escape; that in his flight, he became entangled in trees and brush, thrown down by a hurricane, and could proceed no further, when French came up, and fired a pistol at his face, which fortunately did him no harm, except burning him with the powder. The bullet had slipped out of the pistol unknown to French. The guard proceeded with him to Morganton, where they delivered him to William Morrison, the then high sheriff of Burke county. As the guard passed through the settlement of the McDowells, in Burke county, General McDowell and General Joseph McDowell, the latter of whom had been in service with him, and fought by his side in several perilous battles, and the former of whom had, a few years since, fled from the enemy in his own neighbourhood, and taken shelter under the roof of Sevier, both followed him immediately to Morganton, and there became his securities for a few days, until he could go down and see a brother-in-law, who lived in that county. Agreeable to his promise, he returned punctually. The sheriff then, upon his own reponsibility, let him have a few days more to visit his friends and acquaintances. By this time, his two sons, with Cozby, Evans, and others, came into Morganton, without any knowledge of the people there, who they were, or what their business was. On striking the settlements on the east side of the mountains, they had separated, and had come into town singly. Court was, at that time, sitting in Morganton, and they were with the people, generally, without suspicion. At night, when the court broke up and the people dispersed, they, with the Governor, pushed forward towards the mountains with the greatest rapidity, and before morning arrived at them, and were beyond the reach of any who might think proper to pursue them.

To this account of the capture and rescue of Sevier, as copied from Haywood, it may be added, that besides James Sevier, John Sevier, Doctor James Cozby, and Major Evans, as above mentioned, Jesse Greene and John Gibson made up the party who pursued and re-captured their old commander, and effected his restoration to his incensed countrymen. Evans had been one of the Governor's favourite military officers; all the rest had been comrades in arms, and

were warm personal friends. Cozby, in all his campaigns, had served with, or under him; not only as a tried soldier, but as the bold and skilful surgeon. Further particulars in the rescue of Sevier, are derived from one conversant with all the actors:

"In a luckless hour, the puissant Governor of the western wilds, whose prowess was known and acknowledged, from Watauga to the Chattanooga Mountain, was seized by an armed posse, and conveyed into the 'settlements,' on a charge of high treason against the State of North-Carolina. Had the destroying angel passed through the land, and destroyed the first born in every section, the feelings of the hardy frontiermen would not have been more incensed; had the chiefs and warriors of the whole Cherokee nation fallen upon, and butchered the defenceless settlers, the feeling of retaliation and revenge would not have been more deeply awakened in their bosoms. They had suffered with him; they had fought under him; with them, he had shared the dangers and and privations of a frontier life, and a savage warfare; and they were not the spirits to remain inactive, when their friend was in danger. The chivalry of the country gathered together; a number of men were selected to fly to the rescue; armed to the teeth, those dauntless sons of the woods crossed the mountains, determined to rescue their beloved commander, or leave their bones to bleach upon the sand-hills of North-Carolina, a proud memento of the children of the West. It was ascertained that the trial was to take place at Morganton, and thither this daring band bent their eager steps. Their plan was, to obtain his release by stratagem, and if that failed, the next step was, to fire the town, and in the hurry and confusion, burst the prison doors by force, and make their escape. Probably, at no time before, had the quiet town of Morganton assumed such an air of excitement and interest, as the present; for the fame of the unfortunate prisoner had gone before him, and the novelty of the scene had drawn together a large crowd.

"The Franks had approached as near to the town as they deemed it prudent, where four of them concealed themselves near the road, while two of their number, James Cozby and Nathaniel Evans, went forward into the town. They rode to a convenient distance from the court house, tied their horses to a limb of a tree, near to which they hid their rifles, and boldly entered the town, their capacious hunting shirts concealing the side-arms they had prepared in case of need. Soon they had mingled with the crowd, and easily passed off for countrymen, attracted there by common curiosity. Evans had taken charge of General Sevier's celebrated race mare, and led her up in front of the court house door, the bridle carelessly thrown over her head; he was, apparently, an unconcerned spectator of passing events. Cosby entered the house, and there, arraigned at the bar, sat the object of their solicitude; there he sat, as firm and undaunted as when charging the hosts of Wyuca on the Lookout Mountain.

Slowly he turned his head, and their eyes met; Sevier knew the res-

cue was at hand, but he was restrained from any outward demonstration, by a significant shake of Cozby's head; but it could not prevent the tear of gratitude, for he knew there were daring spirits near, that would peril their life's blood in his defence. During a pause in the trial, Cozby stepped forward in front of the Judge, and in that quick and energetic tone, so peculiar to him, asked the Judge if he was done with that man? The question, manner and tone, caused every person to start, to cast their eyes on the speaker, then on the Judge, all in amazement. In the meantime, Sevier had caught a glimpse of his favourite mare standing at the door; taking advantage of the confusion, he made one spring to the door; the next, he was safely in the saddle, and with the speed of thought, was borne from the wondering crowd. 'Yes,' cries a waggish voice, 'I'll be damned if you ain't done with him.' His comrades were not slow to follow in his wake, and, although immediate pursuit was made, a few minutes brought him to the main body, who, with one wild shout of victory, closed in the rear, and bore him on in triumph. That night they rested at the house of a friend, about twenty miles distant; from whence they made an easy journey to their homes, content that they had gained a bloodless victory."*

Morganton, the place where this rescue of the late Governor of Franklin was so gallantly made, was the seat of justice for Burke county, N. C., and had been selected for the trial of the prisoner, as being the most convenient and accessible court in that state, and beyond the limits of the late Franklin jurisdiction; the authorities wisely concluding, that at home Sevier could not be successfully prosecuted. The change of venue, however, operated nothing in favour of the prosecution. Burke had been a strong whig county in the revolutionary war, and nowhere were whig principles, whig sacrifices, and whig efforts, held in higher esteem, or more properly appreciated. The McDowell's, McGimpsie's, Alexander's, and all the whigs of that neighbourhood, had witnessed, and still gratefully recollected, the timely succour and substantial aid rendered to them, and to their cause, in the hour of trial, by Sevier and his countrymen. He was now a prisoner in their midst, charged with the highest offence known to the laws; they knew him to be a patriot, in exile and distress; they felt for his sufferings, and sympathized in his fallen fortunes. These noble patriots of North-Carolina, while sensible that the majesty of law had been offended, were yet unwilling that its penalty should be

*Manuscript of William Smith.

enforced, or that Sevier should be made its victim. They stood around the court yard in approving silence, witnessed and connived at the rescue, and discountenanced pursuit.

The capture and brief expatriation of Sevier, served only to awaken in his behalf the higher appreciation of his services, and a deeper conviction of his claims to the esteem and consideration of his countrymen. His return was everywhere greeted with enthusiasm and joy.

In the meantime, an amendment, or radical alteration of the existing Articles of Confederation, had become obviously necessary, and was demanded by the condition of things in all sections of the country. Apart from the general consideration of the ruined commerce and embarrassed revenues of the Confederacy, there were other and more local causes, which convinced Congress, and the American people, of the necessity of this reorganization of their form of government. Of these, none, perhaps, had had greater influence than the formidable insurrection in Massachusetts, which, in 1786, threatened not only the destruction of the government of that state, but of the Union. "The spirit of insurrection was not confined to Massachusetts alone, but was manifested by partial risings in New-Hampshire and Connecticut."

The withdrawal of some of the western counties of North-Carolina, from the jurisdiction of the parent state, had occurred previous to these insurrections in New-England. Arising as it did from other and far different causes, and resulting in the formation of a temporary state organization, it scarcely deserves to be classed with that of Massachusetts as an insurrection. Occurring, however, at a time when the foreign relations of the United States, and the negotiation especially with Spain, had produced a general discontent in the West, it served to render more evident the necessity of remodeling and enlarging the powers of the General Government. A Convention was held for this purpose, consisting of delegates appointed by the states, who convened at Philadelphia, May, 1787. Of this body George Washington was elected, unanimously, President. A new system of government was at length formed, which the Convention recom-

mended should be submitted for ratification to the respective states.

The new system encountered opposition formidable and persevering,—North-Carolina withholding her assent until
1787 { certain amendments could be obtained. This rejection of the Constitution was made by the Convention of North-Carolina, assembled at Hillsboro', in which the western counties were represented.

Another Convention was soon after called, to deliberate
1789 { upon the proposed constitution of the United States. All now saw the necessity of a radical reform. Deputies were elected favourable to the new constitution, and, on the 21st of November, 1789, it was adopted and ratified by the people of North-Carolina, in convention assembled at Fayetteville.

The Assembly of North-Carolina, which met at Fayetteville, extended the act of pardon and oblivion to such of those who had taken part in the Franklin revolt, as chose to avail themselves of its provisions. But, at the same time, it was distinctly provided, "that the benefit of this act should not entitle John Sevier to the enjoyment of any office of profit, of honour or trust, in the State of North-Carolina, but that he be expressly debarred therefrom."

An enactment of this kind may have been due to the supremacy of law. It was in exact conflict, however, with the wishes and voice and decision of the people. Public sentiment, even in high places, demanded its immediate repeal. Sevier was technically an insurgent. In all respects, he was a lover of his country, and had entitled himself to its highest honours and its richest rewards. His countrymen could not spare him from their military service; they would not refuse him employment in their civil affairs. At the time of the annual election in August, of the next year, after the legislative infliction of these disabilities, the people of Greene county called upon Sevier to represent them in the Senate of North-Carolina. He was elected, it need not be added, without difficulty. At the appointed time, November 2, 1789, he attended at Fayetteville, but waited a few days before he took his seat. During this interval, the Assembly

passed an act, repealing the clause of a former act, excluding him from holding any office of honour, profit or trust. During the debate on the resolution, acquitting Sevier of the alleged treason, and restoring him to the rights of citizenship, Mr. Amy, the member from Hawkins county, warmly urged the passage of the bill. In doing so, he gave offence to Colonel Tipton, the member from Washington county. A rencounter was prevented with difficulty, and the debate postponed till the following day. The evening was spent in reconciling the disputants, and Mr. Roddy, another member from Greene, reprimanded Amy for using language calculated to irritate Colonel Tipton, and begged him thereafter to pursue a course which would "soothe his feelings." It was finally concluded, that on the next day, Colonel Roddy should conduct the debate, as least likely to give offence. Accordingly, when the debate was resumed, Colonel Roddy began his speech, but had not proceeded far, when Colonel Tipton became infuriated, sprang from his seat, and seized Roddy by the throat. At this moment, Mr. Amy cried out to Roddy, "Soothe him, colonel, soothe him!" The parties were soon separated, but a challenge to mortal combat was the consequence. By the interference of mutual friends, the difficulty was honourably accommodated.* The resolution under debate was adopted, and Sevier took his seat, after having taken the usual oath of allegiance to North-Carolina. Some days after, General Davie introduced a resolution to enquire into the conduct of the senator from Greene. It was well known that the proposition would not be favourably received, and, to the great satisfaction of the mover, the motion for enquiry was laid upon the table.

During this session, Sevier was reinstated in the command he had held before the Franklin revolt, of brigadier-general for all the western counties, and laws were passed confirmatory of administrations granted by the Franklin courts, and legalizing marriages celebrated under the authority of that government.

The General Assembly, in apportioning the representatives

* Letter of Isaac Lane.

from North-Carolina to the Congress of the United States, divided the State into four Congressional Districts—the
1789 { westernmost of which, embraced all her territory west of the Alleghanies. From this district, John Sevier was elected, and he is thus the first member of Congress from the great Valley of the Mississippi. The election was to be held on the second Monday and Tuesday in March, and certificates of the returning officers were to be brought to the house of James White, in Hawkins county, now Knoxville, and be there compared by the Clerk of the Superior Court of Washington District, who was, for the convenience of these remote counties, to attend at that place for that purpose. His certificate to the candidate having the greatest number of votes, entitled the member to the commission of the Governor; and on this certificate, Ex-Governor Sevier was commissioned as the representative elect from Washington District, then embracing all the territory of the present State of Tennessee. It is believed that he was elected, without a competitor or rival. Every voter nearly, on Cumberland and Holston, knew him and voted for him.

"Wednesday, June 16th, 1790, John Sevier, another member from North-Carolina, appeared and took his seat."*

The government of Franklin had ceased to exist since
1788 { March 1st, of this year, and this might appear to be the place and point of time in these Annals, to suspend the history of settlements formed under that dynasty. Inasmuch, however, as lands acquired under its treaties and occupied under its laws, never did belong to the jurisdiction of North-Carolina, the incidents connected with their settlement, up to the treaty of Holston, may be better detailed here than in any other connection.

It has been heretofore mentioned, that the General Assembly of North-Carolina, at its session of 1783, had designated the boundaries of the Cherokee hunting grounds—making the Holston, the French Broad and Big Pigeon Rivers, a part of these boundaries. The next year, the people of Washington, Greene and Sullivan counties, withdrew from their

* Annals of Congress, by Jos. Gales, vol. ii, p. 1640.

allegiance to North-Carolina, renounced her jurisdiction over them, and formed themselves into a separate and distinct government. Under that organization, they proceeded to exercise all the functions of a sovereign state, and amongst others, that of negotiating with the Indian tribe adjoining, and of acquiring, by treaty with them, a large addition to their territory. The lands thus obtained by the treaty of Dumplin, and afterwards enlarged and confirmed by subsequent stipulations made at Coyatee, were soon taken into possession and settled under the authority of Franklin, which proceeded to organize the territory, thus acquired, into the new county of Sevier, with its courts, its military organization, and a representation in the Legislature, upon the same footing of the older counties. We have traced the rise, progress and fall of Franklin. At the period of its dissolution, we are presented with the strange spectacle of a county, settled, organized and governed, suddenly dissociated, and left beyond the jurisdiction and protection of any power known to the laws of North-Carolina—forsaken and disowned. The land embraced within the limits of Sevier county, of Franklin, had not been acquired by treaty or otherwise, under the laws of North-Carolina; the inhabitants, according to her law designating the Indian hunting grounds, were there contrary to her laws and to the provisions of her treaty stipulating the Cherokee boundaries. In a political point of view, Sevier county and its inhabitants were known only as part of the State of Franklin. That state no longer existed, and they were now considered as trespassers upon Indian lands, in violation of the laws of North-Carolina, beyond the pale of its government, the influence of its judiciary, or the protection of its military power. In this dilemma, the people gave another instance of their law-abiding character, and of their capacity to govern themselves. Sensible, that in their peculiar situation, they were exposed to the evils resulting from anarchy and violence, they determined to guard against and prevent them. Measures were at once adopted to frame a temporary form of government, suited to the exigencies of the occasion. It is not now known who were prominent in giving vitality to this new organization, who

was the President of the Board or its Clerk, nor to whom the other principal offices under it were assigned. It is well ascertained, however, that under its provisions, order, law, right and justice, were maintained. Newell's Station had been the seat of justice for Sevier county, under the Franklin dynasty, and it is believed under the new order of things, became the seat of the Committee's authority, as it was the centre of the territory over which its jurisdiction extended.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION.

We, the subscribers, inhabiting south of Holston, French Broad and Big Pigeon Rivers, by means of the division and anarchy that has of late prevailed within the chartered limits of North Carolina, west of the Apalachian Mountains, being at present destitute of regular government and laws, and being fully sensible that the blessings of nature can only be obtained and rights secured by regular society, and North-Carolina not having extended her government to this quarter, it is rendered absolutely necessary, for the preservation of peace and good order, and the security of life, liberty and property to individuals, to enter into the following social compact, as a temporary expedient against greater evils:

Article I. That the Constitution and Laws of North-Carolina shall be adopted, and that every person within the bounds above mentioned, shall be subject to the penalties inflicted by those laws for the violation thereof.

Article II. That the officers appointed under the authority of Franklin, either civil or military, and who have taken the oaths of office, shall continue to exercise the duties of such office, as far as directed and empowered by these Articles, and no further, and shall be accountable to the people or their deputies for their conduct in office.

Article III. That militia companies, as now bounded, shall be considered as districts of the above territory, and each district or militia company shall choose two members to represent them in a General Committee, who shall have power to choose their own president and clerk, to meet on their own adjournments, and the president shall have power to convene the Committee at any time when the exigencies of affairs require their meeting, and shall have power to keep order and to cause rules of decorum to be observed, in as full a manner as the president of any other convention whatever. And in all cases of mal-administration, or neglect of duty in any officer, the party grieved shall appeal to the Committee, or a majority of them, who shall be competent to form a board for business. And upon such application, the Committee shall cause the parties to come before them, and after examining carefully into the nature of the offence, shall have power to deprive of office, or publicly reprimand the offender, as the demerit of the crime may deserve, or otherwise to acquit the party accused, if found not guilty.

Article IV. Where vacancies happen in the military department, the same shall be filled up by election, as heretofore used, and the officers

thus elected shall be the reputed officers of such regiment or company, as the case may be, and shall be accountable to the Committee for their conduct as other officers.

Article V. The civil officers shall have power to take cognizance of breaches of the peace or criminal offences, and where any person is convicted of an offence not capital, the officer before whom such offender is convicted, shall immediately inflict the punishment directed by law for such offence. But where the crime is capital, the officer shall send such criminal, together with the evidences for or against him or them, to the nighest justice of the peace for North-Carolina, there to be dealt with according to law; but no civil officer shall decide upon cases of debt, slander, or the right of property.

Article VI. Militia officers shall have power to collect their regiments or respective companies, emergencies making it necessary, and in case of invasion by the common enemy, shall call out their companies regularly by divisions, and each militia man shall give obedience to the commands of his officer, as is required by law, or otherwise be subject to the penalties affixed by law for such neglect or refusal, at the judgment of a court martial.

Article VII. And, whereas, it is not improbable that many horse thieves and fugitives from justice may come from different parts, expecting an asylum amongst us, as we are destitute of a regular government and laws by which they may be punished, each and every of us do oblige ourselves to aid and assist the officers of the different state or states, or of the United States, or any description of men sent by them, to apprehend such horse thief or fugitive from justice. And if any of the above characters should now be lurking amongst us, or shall hereafter be discovered to have taken refuge in this quarter, we do severally bind ourselves, by the sacred ties of honour, to give information to that state or government from which they have fled, so that they may be apprehended and brought to justice.

Article VIII. United application shall be made to the next session of the Assembly of North-Carolina to receive us into their protection, and to bestow upon us the blessings of government.

Article IX. The captains of the respective militia companies shall each of them procure a copy of these Articles, and after calling the company together for the purpose, shall read them, or cause them to be read, distinctly to said company; and each militia man, or householder, after hearing them read, if he approve of them, shall subscribe his name to the articles, as a proof of his willingness to subject himself to them; and said Articles shall be the temporary form of government until we are received into the protection of North-Carolina, and no longer.

In several of the provisions of these Articles there may be traced a strong resemblance to those of the Watauga Association. They were, probably, copied mainly from them. North-Carolina never took these people under her protection or jurisdiction, and the Association proved to be a good

substitute for a more formal and perfect system of government. This *régime* continued till after the country became the Territory of the United States south of the River Ohio, and was then provided for, as the county of Sevier, in 1794.

VINDICATION OF FRANKLIN.

1788 { This may be considered as the finale of Franklin, and the proper place, therefore, to introduce a closing remark upon that anomaly. In speaking of it, terms have been used requiring qualification, which, without interrupting the current narrative, could not be elsewhere given. Insurrection, revolt, dismemberment, defection, as here used, need to be explained, when applied either to those of the western people, who separated from the parent state, or those of them who afterwards renounced the new government. In either case, the action of the parties need not be ascribed to fickleness of purpose or bad faith, much less to disloyalty to their proper rulers, or insubordination to regular government and law. In vindication of those who once appeared on the side of Franklin, and now on the side of North-Carolina, it has been well remarked by Haywood: "That the face of affairs was quite different at the time of the Convention which resolved upon independence, and the Autumn of 1786. Before this juncture there was no governmental head to which the people of the western counties could carry their complaints. In 1784, it is true, the Assembly which passed the Cession act, retained the sovereignty and jurisdiction of North-Carolina in and over the ceded territory, and all the inhabitants thereof, until the United States, in Congress, should have accepted the cession. Yet, in reality, so long as the Cession act continued unrepealed, North-Carolina felt herself as much estranged from the inhabitants of the western counties, as she was to any other state or territory in the Union; until induced by the bonds of federalism, and a common interest so far as concerned their external relations with the other nations of the globe, but wholly unconnected, so far as regarded their internal regulations and engagements. And as any one state was not obliged, by the nature of her Federal duties, to advance monies for the main-

tenance of another in the possession of her rights, but through the intervention of all in Congress assembled; so neither did North-Carolina conceive herself bound to exert her strength and resources for the defence of the western counties, unless in the proportion for which she was liable to other Federal contributions. It was in vain, then, to solicit her interference in behalf of the western counties, so long as the Cession act subsisted, but when that was repealed, and the precipitancy of the western people obliterated, it cannot be a matter of surprise that well-meaning and intelligent people would, thenceforward, deem it their duty to return to their dependence on North-Carolina."

In behalf of those who sustained the separation from North-Carolina until 1788, it may be further added, that in withdrawing from the parent state and establishing a separate government, the secessionists believed that the course adopted by them would *least imperfectly preserve quiet and order*, under the circumstances in which the Cession act had placed them. Their course was pacific and conservative, and at first, united and harmonized all. Nothing destructive or revolutionary, much less belligerent, was intended or contemplated. In 1784, the Confederacy had demonstrated the inadequacy of that organization as a permanent system of General Government. The transfer by North-Carolina of her western counties to Congress, at that time imbecile and powerless, even over the original confederated states, and the novelty of the experiment, had produced alarm, excited apprehension and aroused a deep discontent in the new settlements. And, perhaps, these could have been quieted and appeased, as effectually, in no other way as the temporary assumption and exercise of the power of separate and distinct self government.

Again. Heretofore, no instance had presented itself, of the formation of an independent state from the territory embraced within the boundaries of a political sovereignty. The process of separation, and the mode of accomplishing it, were all new and unattempted, alike by the people, and the State and General Governments. Now, when the creation of these new political organizations has become matter of frequent

occurrence, and plain and easy by its successful trial and repetition, we can see little or no cause, why the subject should have then been viewed as embarrassed with inherent difficulties. But, let it be remembered, that " in the Articles of Confederation, no provision was made for the creation or admission of new *states*. Canada was to be admitted of right, on her joining in the measures of the United States; and the other *colonies*, at the discretion of nine states. The eventual establishment of new states, seems to have been entirely overlooked by the compilers of that instrument."* The inconvenience of this omission in the Articles of Confederation, was most apparent, and it may be well questioned whether the Congress of the Confederacy could, without an assumption of power, have given to the people of the territory, ceded in 1784, a form of state government, such as was guaranteed to them by the provisions of the constitution of North-Carolina.

Under this view of the subject, it is not strange that the Cession Act was followed by dissatisfaction and revolt in the western counties. Their people had been represented in the state convention of 1776, and it had been probably at the instance of their own delegates in that body, that the provision was then made, " for the establishment of one or more governments westward of this state, by consent of the legislature." Indeed, it may be well questioned, whether, with this provision in the Bill of Rights, preceding the Constitution itself, the act of Cession was not unauthorized and invalid.

Be that as it may, the cession of her western territory by North-Carolina to Congress, as it was, under the Articles of Confederation in 1784, was obviously inexpedient and impolitic. And it was not till the adoption of the Federal Constitution, of 1788, that this measure became either wise or practicable. This did not escape the discernment of the malcontent but virtuous and patriotic people of Franklin, when the new state ceased to be; and they returned to their allegiance to the mother state. This event was not unexpected by its most

* Mr. Madison, in the Federalist.

steadfast friends and supporters, nor were its effects to be deplored. It resulted from no legislative error or want of executive skill, no fickleness of popular sentiment, no defect of public virtue.

Every review of the conduct of both parties in the disaffected counties, from 1784 to 1788, reflects honour upon their patriotism, their moderation, their love of order and their virtue. No other instance is recollected, in which two antagonistic governments existed so long over the same people, with so little anarchy, so little misrule, so little violence. A period of nearly four years was passed, under two political systems of government, each having its separate Executive, State Council, Legislature and Judiciary; each its own county and military organizations, its own partizans and adherents. And amidst all the rivalry, and faction, and malcontent, and conflict, personal and official, which must have arisen from this unexampled condition of things, the annalist has to record but two deaths, almost no bloodshed, and little violation of the right of property. Private rights were held sacred and inviolable. If, in the collisions between the officers of the two governments, an occasional feat in pugilism occurred, resulting in a trifling mutilation of one or both of the combatants, there followed less of acrimony, unmanly revenge and pitiful spite, than is produced by the disreputable squabbles of the aspirants and functionaries of the present day—members of the same government, and united under the same constitution and laws. In all that was done in Franklin, we are unable to detect any tendency to radicalism. In their warmest aspirations for self-government and independence, there cannot be found one feature of modern agrarianism or the prostration of all law, but only a disposition to protect themselves from violence and aggression, and possible danger to their rights.

This is not the judgment of a partial annalist. It can be sustained by the testimony of competent tribunals, east and west of the Alleghanies. Their decisions shall be briefly stated.

The formation of a new state was only a question as to *time*. In all the letters, manifestos and proclamations of the Governor of the parent state, the *separation* is spoken of as not only right in itself, but desirable, and, at the proper time,

expedient. Governor Martin, in 1785, speaking of the separation, says: "Which, in time, no doubt, would have been granted by consent;" and again: "when a separation might take place to mutual advantage and satisfaction, on an honourable footing;" and again: "until the consent of the legislature be fully and constitutionally had for a separate sovereignty and jurisdiction." Governor Caswell, in his letter to General Shelby, in 1787, says: "Whenever unanimity prevails among your people, and their strength and numbers will justify an application for a separation, if it is general, I have no doubt of its taking place upon reciprocal and honourable terms." And again, in his letter to Governor Sevier, of April 24, 1787: "You may rely upon it, that my sentiments are clearly in favour of a separation, whenever the people to be separated think themselves of sufficient strength and abilities to support a government." And again, in his proclamation to the people of the seceding counties, in urging them to union amongst themselves, he reminds them that the "General Assembly have told you, whenever your wealth and numbers so much increase, as to make a separation necessary, they will be willing the same shall take place upon friendly and reciprocal terms. Is there an individual in your country who does not look forward, in expectation of such a day's arriving? If that is the case, must not every thinking man believe that this separation will be soonest and most effectually obtained by unanimity?" And adds: "I have no doubt the same may be obtained upon the principles held out by the Assembly. Nay, it is my opinion that it may be obtained at an earlier day than some imagine, if unanimity prevailed amongst you." And again: "I flatter myself that the Assembly will be disposed to do what is just and right, and what sound policy may dictate."

So general was the sentiment, even in North-Carolina, in favour of the separation, and so little inclination there, to prevent it by legislative interference, that the General Assembly, though convened by the Proclamation of the Governor and Council, "failed to meet." Such was the decision of the people of North-Carolina, east of the mountain, on the abstract question of a new state west of it. A like

opinion was entertained by Dr. Franklin, and other statesmen abroad. As to the *time* and the *mode* of a measure of such magnitude, there could not be expected to be entire unanimity—there never is—there never will be. Those adopted, in 1784, at first as has been seen, gave very general satisfaction, and harmonized the community most directly interested, as being the best time and manner of providing the least objectionable measures to quiet the discontented and aggrieved citizens of the ceded country. Was the revolt of 1784 justifiable—was it wise—was it patriotic—did it prevent greater evils—would a different policy have secured greater good, or produced better results? may be questions of difficult solution. However these may be answered, the verdict of the contemporaries of the revolters has ever been in their favour, vindicating their patriotism and asserting the integrity of their motives. Those most active, and determined, and steadfast in the revolt, were, and never ceased to be, the greatest favourites of their countrymen. General public sentiment is seldom wrong—it never condemns the innocent—it rarely vindicates the guilty. While it never screens the wilful offender, it excuses or palliates unintentional error. It always sustains good intentions and wise purposes, and rewards the faithful public servant. This was emphatically true as to the Franklin leaders. In 1789, its late Governor, Sevier, now a private citizen, and under trial for offences against North-Carolina—ineligible under her laws to any office—was triumphantly elected a member of her Senate—his disabilities were removed by a special enactment in his favour, and he allowed to take his seat. A new Congressional District is formed, embracing Cumberland, with the late revolted counties—the same Franklin leader is elected the member to the Congress of the United States. Her Western Territory is ceded again by North-Carolina to Congress, and the "Territory south-west of the River Ohio" is organized, and again "Sevier and his captains" are prominent, as will be hereafter seen, amongst its officers. The Territory becomes the State of Tennessee, and the Ex-Governor of Franklin is at once called upon to become its chief magistrate, in which the partiality of his countrymen con-

tinues him for twelve years, when he is transferred by the people of the Knoxville District to the United States Congress. He is then appointed by the President of the United States to establish an Indian boundary in Alabama; and, during his absence on that service, by the continued confidence of his constituents, he is elected the second time, and without his knowledge or consent, to Congress. This testimonial of the popularity of the leader of the Franklin revolt, was the last his grateful countrymen could bestow. He died in the Creek nation, during his absence on the public service, and was buried with the honours of war. What further and higher honours awaited him, may be inferred from the flattering vote and manner of his last election.

The associates of Governor Sevier, in the Franklin Government, received through life similar attestations of public regard and confidence. William Cocke, Esq., who belonged to the Legislature and the State Council of Franklin, and was its Commissioner to North-Carolina and to the United States Congress, a general of its militia, and one of its most enlightened advocates throughout its existence, retained, after the overthrow of Franklin, the uninterrupted confidence of the western people. A member of the first Legislature of Tennessee, he was by that body elected one of the representatives of her sovereignty in the Senate of the United States, and was afterwards elected the second time to the same position. At the expiration of his second term, he was transferred to a seat in the Judiciary. Although quite an old man, in the war of 1812, he became a volunteer in her militia, and was, to the end of his life, considered a public-spirited citizen and a patriot. James White, the father of the late Senator White, a member of the Franklin Legislature, and remarkable for the constancy of his devotion to its interests, even when forsaken by its earliest friends, retained, through a long life, the unwavering esteem of his fellow citizens. The founder of Knoxville is still recollected with fondness and respect. He was a member of the Territorial House of Representatives—of the Convention which formed the Constitution of Tennessee, and afterwards Speaker of its Senate, and Presiding Justice of Knox County Court—a general commanding, at an advanced age, a bri-

gade of militia in defence of the Independence, which, in his youth, he had assisted to gain. To extreme old age, he retained the esteem and affection of his fellow citizens, and never had a stain upon his unsullied good name.

In this enumeration of the Franklin leaders, it would be infidelity to historical truth, and, in this writer, it were a filial impiety, not to mention Colonel Francis Alexander Ramsey, the youthful Secretary of the Franklin Convention. Besides other civil and military offices held by him under that government, he was a member of its Council; and in that capacity, was entrusted with the delicate duty of negotiating with the parent state, the terms of separation and independence. As evidences of his trust-worthiness, capacity and patriotism, he had conferred upon him by the Territorial Government, as well as that of the State of Tennessee, offices which implied ability, probity, efficiency and zeal in the public service, and high personal character. One of the pioneers of Tennessee, in all the varied phases of political organization through which the state has passed, Colonel Ramsey not only held offices of honour and trust, but discharged their duties to the entire satisfaction of the people, and the authorities of government. Offices were showered upon him, and he proved himself competent and worthy of them.

To the names already mentioned, might well be added those of their associates, Doak, Carter, Reese, Houston, Newell, Weir, Hamilton, Conway and others: each distinguished afterwards for piety, public spirit, unobtrusive private worth, and military and political services to the country. Revolters in 1784, they were, nevertheless, the purest patriots and the best men of their day. It is singular and well worthy of remark, that not one of the master-spirits of Franklin, perhaps not one of its officers, in a long life of usefulness or distinction afterwards, ever forfeited the esteem, or lost the confidence, of his countrymen. They became the officers under the Territorial Government, and, soon after, the leading spirits of the proud State of Tennessee; a beautiful comment upon the purity of their principles, and the loftiness of their patriotism—a fit tribute of respect for their public services and their private virtue.

CHAPTER V.

CUMBERLAND—THE FRANKLIN COUNTIES.

A young Brave, at the treaty of Watauga, was overheard by the interpreter, to urge, in support of the Transylvania cession, this argument: that the settlement and occupancy of the ceded territory, by the whites, would interpose an impregnable barrier between the Northern and Southern Indians, and that the latter would, in future, have quiet and undisturbed possession of the choice hunting grounds south of the Cumberland. His argument prevailed against the prophetic warning and eloquent remonstrance of Occonostota. That aged chieftain, covered over with scars, the evidence of many a hard-fought battle for the Dark and Bloody Ground, signed the treaty reluctantly, and taking Daniel Boon by the hand, said, with most significant earnestness: "Brother, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it;" words of ominous import, as subsequent events too mournfully proved. These events, so far as the pioneers of Tennessee were engaged in them, will now be narrated. "Much trouble," indeed, was experienced in settling the ceded country, and that adjoining it. Instead of serving as a barrier between the common claimants, the settlers became a central point of attack—a target at which the surrounding tribes all aimed their deadliest shot.

We left the colony of Robertson and others, near the
1780 { French Lick, at the end of a protracted and severe win-
{ ter. The opening spring enabled the savages to resume hostilities. The whole line of frontier, from Pennsylvania to Georgia, was simultaneously assailed by marauding parties of Indians, distributed along its entire extent. Terror and consternation were only the precursors of havoc and desolation. The leading chiefs of the Shawnees tribe, which had once held possession of the Cumberland Valley, were unremitting in their efforts to bring about a general concert

of action among all the northwestern tribes, for a grand exterminating invasion, during the next summer. In this they had the approbation and encouragement of British agents and officers, at Detroit and on the Maumee, who assured them of the powerful aid of their great ally, George III.* Similar influences were constantly at work with the southern tribes; and in addition to these general causes of dissatisfaction and hostility, Fort Jefferson had been built, the previous year, in the territory of the Chickasaws, without their consent, and the chief, Colbert, prepared to repel the invaders by force. The proximity of this tribe to the Cumberland settlement, was cause of serious apprehension and alarm. But the first assault upon the Cumberland settlers was made by the southern Indians—the Cherokees and Creeks. They seized the first opportunity after the *hard winter* was over, to approach the "improvements" around the Bluff, and to carry amongst the settlers the work of massacre and devastation. We abridge from Haywood and "The Museum," an account of it:

1780 In the month of April, Keywood and Milliken, two hunters, coming to the fort, stopped on Richland Creek, five or six miles from the Bluff, and as one of them stepped down to the creek to drink, the Indians fired upon and killed Milliken. Keywood, escaping, brought intelligence of the affair to the fort. Mr. Rains then moved to the Bluff, where he continued four years before he could venture again to settle in the country. The Indians soon after killed Joseph Hay on the Lick Branch, and a party of them invested Freeland's Station, and finding an old man, Bernard, making an improvement, at what was then called Denton's Lick, killed him, cut off his head, and carried it away. With the old man were two small boys, Joseph and William Dunham, who escaped unhurt and gave the alarm to the people at Freeland's. A young man, Milliken, between the fort and Denton's Lick, not having heard the alarm, was surprised by the Indians, killed, and his head, also, wss cut off and carried away. The murderers were either Creeks or Cherokees.

*Monette.

Soon afterwards, in July or August, a party of Indians, believed to be Delawares, killed Jonathan Jennings, at the point of the first island above Nashville. Higher up the Cumberland River, on the north side, on the bluff where William Williams, Esquire, since lived, Ned Carver was killed; his wife and two children escaped, and came to Nashville. The same party, in a day or two after, killed William Neely, at Neely's Lick, and took his daughter prisoner.

At Eaton's Station, they also killed James Mayfield, near the place where, previously, Porter had been shot in the daytime by Indians in the cedars, in view of the station. In November or December, they shot Jacob Stump, and attempted to kill the old man, Frederic Stump, but he reached the station in safety, after being pursued by the Indians three miles. At Mansco's Lick, Jesse Balestine and John Shockley were killed. In the winter of the same year, David Goin and Risby Kennedy were killed at the same place, and Mansco's Station was broken up; some of its inhabitants went to Nashville, and others to Kentucky. At Bledsoe's Lick, or on the creek near it, two persons were killed: W. Johnston and Daniel Mungle, hunting together on Barren River, the former was killed, and the latter escaped by flight.

Late in this year, a company of Indians tried to intercept Thomas Sharp Spencer, returning to the Bluff with several horses loaded with meat, after a successful hunt. They fired at, but missed him. The horses were captured, and with their cargo, were taken up the river.

At Station-Camp Creek, the same Indians took other horses, that had strayed from a camp of white men near at hand, but which had not been discovered by the enemy.

At Asher's Station, two miles and a half from where Gallatin now stands, some white men were sleeping in a cabin; the Indians crept up at break of day, and fired, killing one man, whom they scalped. They also wounded another, Philips, and captured several horses. With these, they went off in the direction of Bledsoe's Lick, when they were unexpectedly met by Alexander Buchanan, James Manifee, William Ellis, Alexander Thompson, and other hunters, return-

ing to the Bluff. Buchanan killed one Indian; another was wounded, and the whole party dispersed, leaving, in their flight, the horses taken from Spencer and Philips.

In May of this year, Freeland's Station was visited by the Indians; one man, D. Lariman, was killed, and his head cut off. The whites pursued the retreating savages to the neighbourhood of Duck River, near the place since known as Gordon's Ferry, where they came in hearing of them preparing their camp-fires. The party of white men immediately dismounted, and marched upon the Indian camp, which was found deserted; the enemy escaped. Of the pursuers, who numbered about twenty, the names only of four are known: Alexander Buchanan, John Brock, William Mann, and Capt. James Robertson. This was the first military excursion in that direction, and reflects great credit upon the adventure and gallantry of those who made it. As it was bloodless, the enemy was not deterred from repeating their inroads and aggressions upon the feeble settlements on the Cumberland, and, in a short time after, Isaac Lefevre was killed near the fort on the Bluff, at the spot where Nathan Ewing, Esq., since lived. Solomon Philips went out, about the same time, to the place since called Cross's Old Field, and was shot at, and wounded, by the Indians. He survived till he reached the fort, but soon died. Samuel Murray, who was with him in the field, was shot dead. Near the mound, south of where the steam-mill since stood, Bartlett Renfroe was killed, and John Maxwell and John Kendrick were taken prisoners.

It has been already mentioned, that some of the emigrants that had come in boats down the Tennessee, had stopped at Red River, with the intention of there forming a settlement. Amongst these, were several families of the name of Renfroe, and their connexions, Nathan and Solomon Turpin. In June or July, their settlement was attacked by a party of Choctaws and Chickasaw Indians; Nathan Turpin and another man were killed at the station. The residue were forced to withdraw to the stronger settlement at the Bluff. The Renfroes took charge of the women and children, and conducted them in safely. They afterwards, in company

with others from the Bluff, went to the station on Red River, got quiet possession of some property they had left there, and were upon their return march. At night they encamped about two miles north of Sycamore, at a creek, since called Battle Creek. In the morning, Joseph Renfroe going to the spring, was fired at and instantly killed by the Indians, who lay concealed in the bushes. They then broke in upon the camp, and killed old Mr. Johns and his wife, and all his family. Only one woman, Mrs. Jones, escaped; Henry Ramsey, a bold and intrepid man, who had gone from the Bluff, took her off, and brought her in safety to the station. Eleven or twelve others, there at the time of the attack, were all killed; the Indians, taking possession of the horses and other property, went off towards the south.

The ostensible ground of these hostilities by the Chickasaws, was the erection, by General George Rogers Clarke, of Fort Jefferson, eighteen miles below the mouth of the Ohio, and on the east side of the Mississippi. All the territory west of the Tennessee, the Chickasaws pretended to hold by an undisputed claim. Offended at Clarke's intrusion upon their lands, these savages, till then neutral, became the allies of the British nation, and were so at the time this mischief was perpetrated. In 1782, Captain Robertson made peace with them.

1780 In the summer of this year, Philip Catron, riding from Freeland's Station to the Bluff, was fired on by the Indians, at the place since occupied by Ephraim Foster, Esquire. He was wounded in the breast, so that he spit blood, but he recovered. About the same time, as Captain John Caffrey and Daniel Williams were rising the bank, in going towards the Bluff, they were fired upon and wounded. They reached the station.

In the fall of this year, the Indians depredated further upon the settlers, by stealing horses from the Bluff. Leiper, with fifteen men, pursued and overtook them on the south side of Harper, near where Ellison formerly lived. They were encamped at night, and the evening was wet. Leiper and his men fired upon them, wounded one, regained their horses and all their baggage, and returned.

Nearly at the same time, Col. John Donelson had gone up the Cumberland to the Clover Bottom, with two boats, for the purpose of bringing to the Bluff the corn which he and others had raised there the preceding summer. They had laden the boats with the corn, and had proceeded a small distance down the river, when the Colonel, recollecting that he had forgotten to gather some cotton which had been planted at the lower end of the field, asked the men in the other boat to put to bank, for the purpose of picking out a part of it. They urged that it was growing late, and that they ought to go on. He waived the exercise of his authority, and had scarcely landed his own boat, when his companions in the other were suddenly attacked by a party of Indians, who lay in ambush to intercept the boats on their return. The fire of the Indians was fatal. All were killed except a free negro and one white man, who swam to shore, and wandered many days in the woods before he reached the Bluff. The next morning after the defeat, the people at the Station found the boat floating in the river. It was brought to the shore, and a dead man was in it. In this affair, Abel Gower, Senr., and Abel Gower, Junr., and John Robertson, son of Captain Robertson, were killed. Some others were wounded and taken prisoners. Col. Donelson escaped to Mansco's Station.

The only one of the settlers who died, the first year, a natural death, was Robert Gilkey.

Michael Stoner, this year, discovered Stoner's Lick and Stoner's Creek.

The woods abounded in game, and the hunters procured a full supply of meat for the inhabitants by killing bears, buffalo and deer. A party of twenty men went up the Cany Fork as high as Flinn's Creek, and returned in canoes with their meat, during the winter. In their hunting excursion they killed one hundred and five bears, seventy-five buffalo, and more than eighty deer. This source of supply furnished most of the families at the Bluff with meat A freshet, in July, had destroyed most of the corn on the lowlands and islands, and many suffered the want of bread The scarcity of this article, and the multiplied disasters and

dangers which every moment threatened the settlements with destruction, at length disheartened some of the inhabitants. A considerable part of them moved to Kentucky and Illinois. The severity of the winter and the want of horses, put a stop to this emigration, and all the remaining inhabitants collected themselves together into two stations—the Bluff and Freeland's.

1781 Forty or fifty Indians, at the still hour of midnight, January fifteenth, of this year, made an attack on Freeland's Station. Captain James Robertson had, the evening before, returned from the Kentucky settlements. Whilst on his journey through the intervening wilderness, he had accustomed himself to more vigilance than the residents of the fort felt it necessary, in their fancied security, to exercise. He was the first to hear the noise which the cautious savages made in opening the gate. He arose and alarmed the men in the station. But the Indians had effected an entrance. The cry of *Indians*, brought Major Lucas out of bed; he was shot. The alarm having become general, the Indians retreated through the gate, but fired in the port-holes through the house in which Major Lucas lived. In this house a negro of Captain Robertson was shot. These were the only fatal shots, though not less than five hundred were fired into that house; it was the only one in which the port-holes were not filled up with mud. The whites numbered only eleven, but they made good use of the advantage they possessed in the other houses in the fort. Captain Robertson shot an Indian. The whole body of them soon after retreated. The moon shone bright, otherwise this attack would probably have succeeded, as the fort was once in possession of the Indians. They had found means to loosen the chain on the inside, which confined the gate, and they were also superior in numbers.

After this repulse, the Indians received reinforcements from the Cherokee nation. They burnt up every thing before them, immense quantities of corn and other produce, as well as the houses and fences, and the unoccupied stations of the whites. The alarm became general. All who could get to the Bluff or Eaton's Station, did so, but many never

saw their comrades in those places; some were killed sleeping; some were awakened only to be apprised that their last moment was come; some were killed in the noon-day, when not suspecting danger; death seemed ready to embrace the whole of the adventurers. In the morning, when Mansco's Lick Station was broken up, two men who had slept a little later than their companions, were shot by two guns pointed through a port-hole by the Indians. These were David Goin and Patrick Quigley. Many of the terrified settlers moved to Kentucky, or went down the river. It is strange that all did not go out of the way of impending danger Heroism was then an attribute even with the gentler sex. Mrs. Dunham sent a small girl out of the fort, to bring in something she wanted, and the Indians being there, took hold of the child and scalped, without killing her. The mother hearing the cries of the child, advanced towards the place where she was, and was shot by the Indians and wounded dangerously. She and the daughter lived many years afterwards.

Late in March, of this year, Colonel Samuel Barton, passing near the head of the branch which extends from the stone bridge, was fired upon by Indians in ambush, and wounded in the wrist. He ran with the blood streaming from the wound, followed by a warrior in close pursuit. They were seen from the fort, and Martin, one of the soldiers in it, ran out to meet and assist his comrade. The pursuing Indian retreated.

On the second day of April, in this year, a desperate attempt was made by the Indians to take the fort and station at the Bluff. A numerous body of Cherokee warriors came there in the night and lay around in ambush. Next morning three of them came in sight, and fired at the fort on the Bluff and immediately retreated. Nineteen horsemen in the fort, at once mounted their horses and followed them. When they came to the branch, over which the stone bridge has since been built, they discovered Indians in the creek and in the thickets near it. These arose from their places of concealment and fired upon the horsemen. The latter dismounted to give them battle, and returned their fire with great

alacrity. Another party of the enemy lay concealed in the wild brush and cedars, near the place where Mr. De Mumbrune's house stood in 1821, ready to rush into the fort, in rear of the combatants. The horses ran back to the fort—the horsemen being left on foot. To guard against the expected assault from the Indians against those in the fort, its gates were closed, and preparations made for defence. In the meantime, the battle raged without. Peter Gill, Alexander Buchanan, George Kennedy, Zachariah White and Captain Leiper, were killed on the spot. James Manifee and Joseph Moonshaw, and others, were wounded before they could reach the fort. At the place where the stone house of Cross was afterwards built, Isaac Lucas had his thigh broken by a ball. His comrades had gotten within the fort, and the Indians rushed upon him to take his scalp. One of them running towards him, and being at a short distance from the supposed victim of his barbarous revenge, was fired upon and shot through the body by Lucas, who, with his rifle well charged, was lying unable to rise from the ground. The Indian died instantly. The people in the fort, in order to save Lucas, kept up a brisk and warm fire upon those parties of the assailants who attempted to get to him, and finally succeeded in driving them off. Lucas was taken and brought into the fort by his own people.

Amongst those who escaped towards the fort, was Edward Swanson, who was so closely pursued by an Indian warrior as to be overtaken by him. The Indian punched him with the muzzle of his gun, and pulled trigger, when the gun snapped. Swanson laid hold of the muzzle, and wringing the lock to one side, spilled the priming from the pan. The Indian looked into the pan, and finding no powder in it, struck him with the gun barrel, the muzzle foremost; the stroke not bringing him to the ground, the Indian clubbed his gun, and striking Swanson with it near the lock, knocked him down. At this moment John Buchanan, Sen., father of the late Major Buchanan, seeing the certain death that impended his comrade, gallantly rushed from the fort to the rescue of Swanson. Coming near enough to fire, he discharged his

rifle at the Indian, who, gritting his teeth on receiving its contents, retired to a stump near at hand. Buchanan brought off Swanson, and they both got into the fort without further injury. From the stump to which the wounded warrior retired, was found, after the Indian forces had withdrawn, a trail, made by a body dragged along upon the ground, much marked with blood.

When the Indians fired upon the horsemen at the branch, the party of them lying in ambush at DeMumbrune's, rose and marched towards the river, forming a line between the combatants and the fort. In the meantime, when the firing between the dismounted horsemen and the enemy had commenced, the horses took fright, and ran in full speed on the south side of the Indian line towards the French Lick, passing by the fort on the Bluff. Seeing this, a number of Indians in the line, eager to get possession of the horses, left their ranks and went in pursuit of them. At this instant the dogs in the fort, seeing the confusion, and hearing the firing, ran towards the branch, and came to that part of the Indian line that remained yet unbroken, and having been trained to hostilities against Indians, made a most furious onset upon them, and disabled them from doing any thing more than defending themselves. Whilst thus engaged, the whites passed near them, through the interval in the Indian line made by those who had gone from it in pursuit of the horses. Had it not been for these fortunate circumstances, the white men could never have succeeded in reaching the fort through the Indian line which had taken post between it and them. Such of the nineteen as survived, would have had to break through the line, their own guns being empty, whilst those of the Indians were well charged.

This attack was well planned by the Indians, and was carried on with some spirit. At length they retired, leaving upon the field the dead Indian killed by Lucas; another was found buried on the east side of the creek, in a hollow, north of the place since occupied by Mr. Hume. Many of the Indians were seen hopping with lame feet or legs, and otherwise wounded. Their loss could never be ascertained. It

must have been considerable.. They got nineteen horses, saddles, bridles and blankets, and could easily remove their dead and wounded.

On the night of the same day in which this affair took place, another party of Indians, who had not come up in time to be present at the battle, marched to the ground since occupied by Poyzer's and Condon's houses and lots, and fired some time upon the fort. A swivel, charged with small rocks and pieces of pots, was discharged at them. They immediately withdrew.

In the summer of this year, William Hood was killed by a party of Indians, on the outside of the fort, at Freeland's Station. They did not, at that time, attack the station. Between that place and the French Lick, about the same time, they killed old Peter Renfroe, and withdrew. In the fall, Timothy Terril, from North-Carolina, was killed.

As Jacob Freeland was hunting on Stoner's Lick Creek, at the place where John Castleman since lived, he was killed by the Indians. There, also, at another time, they killed Joseph Castleman. Jacob Castleman soon after, going in the woods to hunt, was surprised and killed.

Like atrocities marked the spring of this year. At the
1782 French Lick, three persons were fired upon by a party of Indians. John Tucker and Joseph Hendricks were wounded, and being pursued till in sight of the fort, they were rescued and their pursuers repulsed. The third, David Hood, the Indians shot down, scalped and trampled upon him, and believing him dead, they left him and gave chase to his wounded comrades. Hood, supposing the Indians were gone, wounded and scalped as he was, got up softly, and began to walk towards the fort at the Bluff. To his mortification and surprise, he saw, standing upon the bank of the creek before him, the same Indians who had wounded him, making sport of his misfortunes and mistake. They then fell on him again, and inflicting other apparently mortal wounds, left him. He fell into a brush heap in the snow, and next morning, search being made by the whites, he was found by his blood, and being taken home, was placed in an

out-house as a dead man. To the surprise of all, he revived, and after some time recovered, and lived many years.

The first mill erected was near Eaton's Station, on the farm since occupied by Mr. Talbot. It was the property of James Wells, Esq.; the next, by Colonel George Mansco; the third, by Captain Frederick Stump, on White's Creek; the fourth, by David Ronfifer, on the same creek; and the next, by Major J. Buchanan.

After their unsuccessful attempt against the Bluff, in 1781, the Indians continued occasional irruptions and depredations throughout the forming settlements on Cumberland. In that year little corn was raised. The scarcity of grain compelled the settlers to plant more largely, and raise more grain in 1782, and to procure subsistence by hunting. In both these pursuits, many became victims to the stratagem and cruelty of their savage enemy.

A settlement had been begun at Kilgore's Station, on the north side of Cumberland, on Red River. At this place Samuel Martin and Isaac Johnston, returning to the Bluff, were fired upon by the Indians. They took Martin prisoner, and carried him into the Creek nation. He remained there nearly a year, and came home elegantly dressed, with two valuable horses and silver spurs. It was said, afterwards, that he had concerted with the Indians the time and place of the attack made by them, and that he was a sharer in the plunder. Isaac Johnston escaped and came home.

Of the other settlers at Kilgore's, were two young men named Mason, Moses Malding, Ambrose Malding, Josiah Hoskins, Jesse Simons, and others. The two young men, Mason, had gone to Clay Lick, and had posted themselves in a secret place to watch for deer. Whilst they were thus situated, seven Indians came to the Lick; the lads took good aim, fired upon and killed two Indians, and then ran with all speed to the fort, where, being joined by three of the garrison, they returned to the Lick, found and scalped the dead Indians, and returned. That night John and Ephraim Peyton, on their way to Kentucky, called in and remained all night at the fort. During the night all the horses that

were there were stolen. In the morning pursuit was made, and the Indians were overtaken in the evening, at a creek, since called Peyton's Creek. They were fired upon. One was killed and the rest of them fled, leaving the stolen horses to the owners. The pursuers returned that night, in the direction of the fort, and encamped, and were progressing, next morning, on their way. In the meantime, the Indians, by a circuitous route, had got between them and the station, and when the whites came near enough, fired upon them, killing one of the Mason, and Josiah Hoskins, and taking some spoil. The Indians then retreated. Discouraged by these daring depredations, the people at Kilgore's Station broke up their establishment and joined those at the Bluff.

In this year, also, George Aspie was killed, on Drake's Creek, by the Indians, and Thomas Spencer, wounded. In the fall William McMurray was killed near Winchester's Mill, on Bledsoe's Creek, and General Smith was wounded. Noah Trammel was killed on Goose Creek. Malden's Station, on Red River, was broken up and abandoned.

Such were the difficulties and dangers that accompanied the infancy of the Cumberland settlements, that, from necessity, it became a custom of the country for one or two persons to stand as watchmen or sentinels, whilst others laboured in the field; and even whilst one went to a spring to drink, another stood on the watch, with his rifle ready to protect him, by shooting a creeping Indian, or one rising from the thickets of canes and brush that covered him from view; and wherever four or five were assembled together at a spring, or other place, where business required them to be, they held their guns in their hands, and with their backs turned to each other, one faced the north, another the south, another the west—watching, in all directions, for a lurking or creeping enemy. Whilst the people at the Bluff were so much harassed and galled by the Indians that they could not plant nor cultivate their corn-fields, a proposition was made, in a council of the inhabitants, to break up the settlements and go off. Captain Robertson pertinaciously resisted this proposition. It was then impossible to reach Kentucky; the In-

dians were in force upon all the roads and passages which led to it; for the same reason, it was also impossible, and equally impracticable, to remove to the settlements on Holston. No other means of escape remained, but that of going down the river in boats, and making good their retreat to the Illinois. And even to this plan, great obstacles were opposed; for how was the wood to be obtained, with which to make the boats? The Indians were, every day, in the skirts of the Bluff, lying concealed among the shrubs and cedar trees, ready to inflict death upon whoever should attempt to go to the woods. These difficulties were all stated by Captain Robertson. He held out the dangers attendant upon the attempt, on the one hand; the fine country they were on the point of possessing, on the other. To these he added, the probability of new acquisitions of numbers from the older settlements, and the certainty of being able, by careful attention to circumstances, to defend and support themselves till succour could arrive. At length, the parental advice and authority of Robertson prevailed. He finally succeeded in quieting the apprehensions of his co-colonists; and they gradually relinquished the design of evacuating the positions they occupied, now somewhat hallowed to them by the recollection of past dangers, endured toils, difficulties overcome, and triumphs achieved.

The expectations of Captain Robertson were, in part, soon realized. The revolutionary war was ended; an abatement of Indian hostility soon followed; and additional emigrants from North-Carolina and other states, gave renewed strength and animation and permanence to his settlement.

But, notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, offering, as they did, some alleviation of the suffering endured on Cumberland, still, in 1783, the offensive operations of the Indians were occasionally continued. One of the guard who came to the Bluff with the Commissioners from North-Carolina, Roger Top, was killed at the place where Mr. Deaderick has since lived. At the same time and place, Roger Glass was wounded. Within two days after these acts of hostility, a settler, passing the place where

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the stone bridge now is, was shot at and wounded by the Indians. He succeeded in reaching the fort, but died soon afterwards.

The Chickasaws, early in 1783, assembled in the vicinity of Nashville, at Robertson's Station, where a treaty was concluded, ceding and relinquishing to North-Carolina a region of country extending nearly forty miles south of Cumberland River, to the ridge dividing the tributaries of that stream from those of Duck and Elk.*

The policy of Spain, at this time, was, to secure the good feelings, if not the aid, of the southern Indians. The agents of that Power invited those tribes to meet and hold conferences with them, at the Walnut Hills. From these conferences they returned, as was believed, with dispositions less amicable to the new settlements on the Cumberland. No large body of them invaded that country, but small parties of Indians were constantly waylaying the paths and surrounding the corn-fields of the emigrants. Such of them as were exploring the country, and making locations, were closely watched, and some of them killed. . Ireson and Barnett, on a surveying excursion, were shot down and killed. On Richland Creek, near what has since been the plantation of Mr. Irwin, William Daniel, Joseph Dunham, Joshua Norrington, and Joel Mills, were all killed; and in a path leading from Dunham's Fort to Armstrong's, at the head of the same creek, where Castleman since lived, a soldier was killed as he passed from one fort to the other.

At Armstrong's Fort, as Patsy, the daughter of Mr. Rains, was riding on horseback, with a young woman, Betsey Williams, behind her, they were fired upon by the Indians, and the latter killed; the former escaped. A short time afterwards, near the same place, Joseph Noland was killed; and during the same summer, a son of Thomas Noland; and during the fall, the old man, himself, were also killed near this same place. About the same time, the Indians killed the father of Betsey Williams, above mentioned.

Buchanan's Station was upon Mill Creek, five miles from

*Monette, ii., 268.

the Bluff, not far from the farm at the present time owned by A. R. Crozier, Esq., on the Turnpike leading fron Nashville to Lebanon. There the Indians, in this year, killed Samuel Buchanan, William Mulherrin and three others, who were guarding the station. Going from the Bluff to Kentucky, William Overall was killed, and Joshua Thomas mortally wounded. The Indians having stolen horses from the Bluff, Captain William Pruett raised twenty men and pursued them to Richland Creek of Elk River, overtook them, and recaptured the horses on the waters of Big Creek. They fired upon, but did not kill any of the Indians. As they returned, they encamped near a creek on the north side of Duck River. As they began their march next morning, they were fired upon by the Indians in their rear. Moses Brown was killed in a cane-brake, and the ground being unfavourable, the whites retreated a mile and a half to more open ground, and there halted and formed. The Indians came up and an engagement ensued. Captain Pruett and Daniel Johnson were shot down, and Morris Shine was wounded. Being overpowered, the survivors of the party made good their escape to the Bluff, with the loss of their recaptured horses.

These repeated aggressions and depredations upon the lives and property of the settlers, were the more pertinaciously renewed and persisted in, from the fact, that North-Carolina had, in April of this year, appropriated the lands hitherto claimed by the Chickasaws and Cherokees, except those which, by the same act, were allowed to them for their hunting grounds. This unceremonious intrusion upon their supposd rights, together with the machinations of the agents of Spain, had the effect to exasperate their hostility to the settlements of the whites now beginning to expand and acquire permanence, by the additional strength of other emigrants from a different direction. Turnbull, a trader, came from Natchez with horses and skins procured in the Chickasaw nation. From the same place, Absalom Hooper, Thomas James, Philip Alston, James Drumgold, James Cole, James Donelson and others, also arrived. A station was this year established by Samuel Hays on Stone's River.

1784 Constantly harassed and alarmed by the continued currence of Indian hostility against his colony, Col. Robertson could no longer resist the conviction, that his savage neighbours on the south were instigated in their unfriendly conduct to the people on Cumberland by some foreign influence, and he suspected that influence might be from the agents of Spain. He entered into correspondence with one of them, Mr. Portell, assuring him of a disposition on the part of his countrymen to maintain with the Spanish colonists the most friendly relations. Mr. Portell, in reply, expressed his gratitude for the amicable behaviour of the Cumberland people, and promised to maintain the best relations on his side, and expressed a wish to be useful to the Colonel and his countrymen. Still, incursions for the purpose of murder and plunder, continued to be made by the Indians. Early in this year, Philip Trammel and Philip Mason were killed. As one amongst a thousand instances of the unequalled fortitude and gallantry of the first settlers, a recitation is here given of the conflict in which they ended their existence. These two men had killed a deer at the head of White's Creek, and were skinning it. The Indians stole up to the place and fired upon them. They wounded Mason and carried off the venison. Trammel got assistance from Eaton's Station, and followed the Indians. He came up with them; they fought, and he killed two of them. The Indians being reinforced, and Mason having received a second and mortal wound, the whites were once more obliged to retreat. Trammel found some other white men in the woods, and induced them to go back with him to the place where the Indians were. They found the latter, and immediately renewed the fight. They killed three Indians, and fought till both parties were tired. Trammel and Josiah Hoskins, enthusiastically courageous, and determined to make the enemy yield the palm of victory, gallantly precipitated themselves into the midst of the retreating Indians, where they fell by the hands of the foe. The rest of the white men maintained their ground until both parties were exhausted and willing to rest from their martial labours.

Another spirited affair, scarcely less heroic, deserves also

to be specially mentioned. Aspie, Andrew Lucas, Thomas S. Spencer and Johnston, had left the Bluff on horseback on a hunting tour. They had reached the head waters of Drake's Creek, where their horses had stopped to drink. At this moment a party of Indians fired upon them. Lucas was shot through the neck and through the mouth. He, however, dismounted with the rest, but in attemping to fire, the blood gushed from his mouth and wet his priming; perceiving this, he crawled into a bunch of briers. Aspie, as he alighted from his horse, received a bullet which broke his thigh; but he still fought heroically. Johnston and Spencer acquitted themselves with incomparable gallantry, but were obliged to give way, and to leave Aspie to his fate, though he entreated them earnestly not to forsake him. The Indians killed and scalped Aspie, but did not find Lucas, who shortly afterwards returned to his friends. Spencer, in the heat of the engagement, was shot, but the ball split on the bone and his life was spared. The whole Aspie family were superlatively brave. A brother had been previously killed in the battle at the Bluff. When he first fell, he placed himself in a position to reach a loaded gun, with which he shot an Indian running up to scalp him.

In this year also, Cornelius Riddle was shot by the Indians, near Buchanan's Station. He had killed two turkeys, and hanging them upon a bush, had gone off into the woods to hunt for more. The Indians hearing the report of his gun, came to the place, and finding the turkeys, lay in ambush where they were, and on Riddle's coming to take them away, they fired upon and killed him.

In the year 1785, Moses Brown was killed, near the place 1785 on Richland Creek afterwards occupied by Jesse Wharton, Esq., and then known as Brown's Station. Col. Robertson and Col. Weakly had gone, with Edmond Hickman, a Surveyor, to survey entered lands on Piny River. The Indians came upon them suddenly, and killed Hickman. The same year they killed a man living with William Stuart, on the plantation where Judge Haywood afterwards lived.

Notwithstanding these daring acts of hostility, the number of inhabitants steadily increased. James Harrison, William

Hall and W. Gibson, settled this year above Bledsoe's Lick, and Charles Morgan established a station on the west side of Bledsoe's Creek, five miles from the Lick. The Indians killed Peter Barnett and David Steele, below Clarkesville, on the waters of Blooming Grove. They also wounded William Crutcher and went off, leaving a knife sticking in him; he recovered.

On the second day of March, John Peyton, a Surveyor, Ephraim Peyton, Thomas Pugh and John Frazier, had commenced their survey upon a creek, since called Defeated Creek, on the north side of Cumberland, in what is now Smith county, and had made a camp. While they were sleeping around the camp about midnight, a great number of Cherokee Indians surrounded and fired upon them. All but one of them were wounded, but they ran through the Indian line, made their escape and got home, losing their horses, compass, chain, blankets, saddles and bridles. The Indians retreated immediately to their towns, and were not overtaken.

1786 The Commissioners of the United States, Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin, concluded a treaty with the Chickasaw Commissioners, Piomingo, head warrior and first minister, Mingatushka, one of the leading chiefs, and Latopoia, first beloved man of that nation, at Hopewell, January 10th, 1786. The boundary of the lands allotted to the Chickasaw nation to live and hunt on,

"Began on the ridge that divides the waters running into the Cumberland from those running into the Tennessee, at a point in a line to be run north-east, which shall strike the Tennessee at the mouth of Duck River; thence running westerly along the said ridge till it shall strike the Ohio; thence down the southern bank thereof to the Mississippi; thence down the same to the Choctaw line of Natchez District; thence along the said line, or the line of the district, eastwardly as far as the Chickasaws claimed, and lived and hunted on, the twenty-ninth of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two. Thence the said boundary eastwardly shall be the lands allotted to the Choctaws and Cherokees, to live and hunt on, and the lands at present in possession of the Creeks, saving and reserving for the establishment of a trading post, a tract of land, to be laid out at the lower point of the Muscle Shoals, at the mouth of Ocochappo."

Monette says, that the Chickasaws, by this Treaty, ratified

and confirmed that made in 1783, with Donelson and Martin, Commissioners of North-Carolina. This Treaty encouraged emigration to Cumberland.

1787 The settlements were now becoming stronger by annual arrivals of emigrants, but had not expanded much, except in the direction towards Red River. There the new settlers underwent the usual initiation from Indian outrage and aggression. Hendrick's Station, on Station-Camp Creek, was assaulted in the night; the house, in which were Mr. and Mrs. Price and their children, was broken into, the parents were killed and their children badly wounded. A boy named Baird, was killed in the day time, and several horses were stolen. Near the Locust-land, where General Hall now lives, above Bledsoe's Lick, the Indians killed William Hall and his son Richard, and another man. In May, the Indians came to Richland Creek, and in daylight killed Mark Robertson, near the place where Robertson's Mill was since erected. He was a brother of Col. Robertson, and was returning from his house.

During the summer, the Indians came to Drake's Creek, where William Montgomery lived, shot down and scalped his son, and wounded John Allen. In the same neighbourhood they killed Mr. Morgan, Sen., and were pursued by a party of white men under the command of George Winchester, who followed on their trail. Another party, commanded by Captain William Martin, also followed them by a nearer route, and not having found their trail, encamped near it. The other party, on the same night, came on the trail, and seeing the camp of Martin, fired into it and killed William Ridley, the son of George Ridley, late of Davidson county.

Considerable delay occurred before Evans's battalion could be recruited, equipped, provided with supplies, and sent forward to Cumberland, as provided for by the Assembly of North-Carolina. Impatient of this delay, Colonel Bledsoe asks permission of Governor Caswell to carry an expedition against the Chickamaugas. His letter is dated from Kentucky, whither he and Colonel Robertson had gone, to procure additional forces, with which to chastise the enemy.

KENTUCKY, June 1st, 1787.

Dear Sir:—At this place I received accounts from Cumberland, that since I last did myself the pleasure of addressing you, three persons have been killed at that place, within about seven miles of Nashville; and there is scarcely a day, that the Indians do not steal horses in either Sumner or Davidson counties; and I am informed, the people are exceedingly dispirited, having had accounts that several northern tribes, in conjunction with the Creek nation, have determined the destruction of that defenceless country, this summer; and their hopes seem blasted, as to Major Evans's assistance. Colonel Robertson has lately been to this country to get some assistance to carry on a campaign against the Chickamauga towns, and got some assurance from the several officers. The time appointed for the rendezvous, was fixed to the 15th instant, but, finding the men cannot be drawn out at that season of the year, I have thought it my duty to ask your advice in the matter: whether, or not, we shall have leave of government to carry on such a campaign, if we can make ourselves able, with the assistance of our friends, the Virgianians, as they promised us, immediately after harvest.

Soon after the date of Colonel Bledsoe's letter, that officer and Colonel Robertson addressed Governor Caswell, jointly, under date:

CUMBERLAND, June 12th, 1787.

Dear Sir:—Nothing but the distress of a bleeding country could induce us to trouble you on so disagreeable a subject. We enclose you a list of the killed in this quarter, since our departure from this country to the Assembly; this, with the numbers wounded, the vast numbers of horses stolen from the inhabitants, has, in a degree, flagged the spirits of the people. A report is now here, and has prevailed throughout this country, and we are induced to believe it is true, that the Spaniards are doing all they can to encourage the several savage tribes to war against the Americans. It is certain, the Chickasaws inform us, that Spanish traders offer a reward for scalps of the Americans. A disorderly set of French and Spanish traders are continually on the Tennessee, that, we actually fear, are a great means of encouraging the Indians to do us much mischief. We should wish to take some measures to remove these disorderly traders from the Tennessee, and wish your Excellency's advice in the matter.

At length, the Indian atrocities becoming so bold and frequent, it appeared necessary, for the protection and defence of the settlements, that offensive operations should be carried on against the Indians in their own towns. One hundred and thirty men, from the different settlements on Cumberland, volunteered for that purpose, and assembled at the house of Colonel Robertson. Of this force he took the command, assisted by Colonel Robert Hays and Colonel James

Ford, and marched for the Indian village, Coldwater, with two Chickasaws as pilots. They crossed at the mouth of South Harper; thence they went a direct course to the mouth of Turnbull's Creek, and up that stream to its head; thence to Lick Creek, of Duck River; thence down that creek seven or eight miles, leaving the creek to the right hand; thence to an old and very large Lick; thence to Duck River, where the old Chickasaw trace crossed it; thence, leaving the trace to the right hand, they went to the head of Swan Creek; thence to a creek then called Blue Water, running into the Tennessee River, about a mile and a half above the lower end of the Muscle Shoals. When within ten miles of these rapids, they heard the roaring of the falls. One of the Indian guides, with several of the most active soldiers, was ordered to go to the river. These, about midnight, returned, saying the river was too distant for them to reach that night and return to camp. In the morning, they pursued the same course they had done the day before. At 12 o'clock, they struck the river at the lower end of the Muscle Shoals, where it is said the road now crosses, and concealed themselves in the woods till night. On the north side of the river they discovered, on a bluff, a plain path leading along the river, which seemed to be much travelled; and on the south side, opposite to them, were seen several Indian cabins or lodges. Several of the soldiers went down secretly, took their station under the bank, and concealed themselves under the cane, to observe what could be seen on the other side. They had not long remained in their place of concealment, when they saw some Indians reconnoitering and evidently looking out for the troops of Col. Robertson. In doing this, they passed into an island near the south bank of the river, where they entered a canoe, and came half way over the stream. Not being able to see any of the invaders, the Indians returned to the island where they had started from, and fastened the canoe. When they left the river, Captain Rains was sent with fifteen men up the path, along the north bank, with orders from Col. Robertson to capture an Indian, if possible, alive. He executed the order, but did not see an Indian. He went nearly to the mouth of

Bluewater Creek, when about sunset he was recalled, having made no discoveries. It was determined to cross the river that night, and the soldiers, who had watched the movements of the Indians, swam over the river and went up to the cabins, but they found not a single living being in the village. They then untied the canoe and returned in it to the north bank. It was found to be a very large one, but old and having a hole in its bottom. This the men contrived to stop with their shirts. Into this frail and leaky barque, forty men, with their fire-arms, entered. They started from the shore, and the canoe sprang aleak and began to sink. Jumping into the water, the men swam back with the canoe to the northern bank. In these operations, some noise was necessarily made, and considerable time consumed, and the embarkation of the troops was delayed till daylight. With a piece of linn bark, the hole in the canoe was at length covered, and forty or fifty men crossed over in it, and took possession of the bank on the south side. The remainder of the troops swam over with the horses. Having all crossed the river in safety, attention was paid to drying their clothes and equipments. A rain came on and forced the men into the cabins. After the clouds cleared away, the troops mounted, and seeing a well beaten path, leading from the river out into the barrens, in a western direction, they dashed into it and followed it briskly. At the distance of five or six miles they came to corn fields, and a mile or two further they came to Coldwater Creek. This most of the troops crossed by a path so narrow that a single horse could only pass it up the bank. On the other side of the creek was a number of cabins, built upon the low grounds, which extended to the river about three hundred yards below. The people of the town were surprised by its sudden and unexpected invasion, and fled precipitately to their boats at the river, and were closely pursued by such of the men as had crossed the creek. Captain Rains had remained on its other side, with Benjamin Castleman, William Loggins, William Steele and Martin Duncan, and seeing the retreat and flight of the enemy, went down the east side of the creek to intercept them. The retreating Indians, as they ran down on the

other side, and had their attention drawn to those who pursued them on the same side of the creek, crossed over and came to the spot where Captain Rains and his men were, and were fired upon, while looking back at their pursuers, and not perceiving the snare into which they had fallen. Three of them dropped down dead. Three French traders and a white woman, who had got into a boat and would not surrender, but mixed with the Indians and seemed determined to partake of their fate, whatever it might be, were killed by the troops. They wounded and took prisoner the principal trader and owner of the goods, and five or six other Frenchmen, who lived there as traders. These had in the town, stores of taffia, sugar, coffee, cloths, blankets, Indian wares of all sorts, salt, shot, Indian paints, knives, powder, tomahawks, tobacco and other articles, suitable for Indian commerce. The troops killed many of the Indians after they had got into the boats, and gave them so hot and deadly a fire from the bank of the river, that they were forced to jump into the water, and were shot whilst in it, until, as the Chickasaws afterwards informed them, twenty-six of the Creek warriors were killed in the river. The troops immediately afterwards collected all the boats that were upon the river, and brought them up the creek, opposite to the town, and placed a guard over them. Each of the Indian guides was, next morning, presented with a horse, a gun, and as many blankets and clothes as the horses could carry, as their portion of the spoils, and despatched to their homes. The name of one of them was Toka, a chief.

After the departure of the Chickasaw guides, the troops buried the white men and the woman killed in the engagement of the day before, set fire to and burned up the town, and destroyed the domestic animals that were found in and around it. The goods of the traders had been removed from the stores, and with the prisoners, were now put into three or four boats, under the charge of Jonathan Denton, Benjamin Drake, and John and Moses Eskridge, to navigate them. They were directed to descend the Tennessee to some convenient point on its southern shore, where they were to meet the mounted troops, and assist them in crossing. At the time

the boats started down the river, the horsemen began their march by land, but being without pilots, and entirely unacquainted with the windings of the stream, they took a course that led them further from it than they intended, into the piny woods, where they encamped. The next day they went to the river, where they saw several persons at a distance on the islands, who proved to be their own boatmen. Neither knew the other till some of the boatmen, nearing the shore, made the agreeable discovery, that the horsemen on the land were their friends. The troops then moved down the river a few miles, and came to a place just above the point of an island, where the descent to the river was easy and convenient for embarkation, and where the bank on the opposite side afforded a safe landing. Here, with the assistance of the boats, they crossed over. The whole command encamped together on the north shore, and found they had not lost a single man, and that not one was wounded. The place at which the crossing was made, is near what has since been known as Colbert's Ferry.

The horsemen, after leaving camp on the Tennessee, marched nearly a north course, till they struck the path leading to the Chickasaw Old Crossing, on Duck River, where they had crossed going out, and pursuing their own trace, returned unmolested to the Bluff.

At the encampment on the Tennessee, the French prisoners were allowed to take all their trunks and wearing apparel, and an equal division was made of the sugar and coffee amongst the troops and prisoners. To the latter was also given a canoe, in which, after bidding farewell, they ascended the river.

The dry goods were ordered, under the care of the same boatmen, to Nashville. Sailing down the river some days, they met other French boats laden with goods, and having on board French traders, who, being greatly rejoiced at seeing their countrymen, as they supposed the Cumberland boatmen to be, returning home, saluted them by firing their guns. The latter, descending the river with their guns charged, came alongside of the French boats, boarded them and captured the boats and crews, and conducted them to a

place a few miles below Nashville. There the captors gave the Frenchmen a canoe, and dismissed them with permission to go down the river, which they did.

The spoils taken at Coldwater, were brought to Eaton's Station and sold, and the proceeds divided amongst the troops. They returned to Col. Robertson's on the nineteenth day after the commencement of the expedition at his house. From this place, Col. Robertson wrote Gov. Caswell under date—

"NASHVILLE, July 2d, 1787.

Sir:—I had the pleasure of receiving your Excellency's letter to Col. Bledsoe and myself, in which you were so obliging as to mention you would render every aid in your power to our country. Never was there a time in which your Excellency's assistance and attention were more necessary than the present. The war being exceedingly hot in the spring, I marched some men near the Chickamaugas; but wishing to avoid an open war, returned without doing them any mischief, leaving a letter containing every offer of peace that could be made on honourable terms; in consequence of which, they sent a flag to treat, though I have every reason to doubt their sincerity, as several persons were killed during their stay, and one man at my house, in their sight. They impute the mischief we suffer to the Creeks. A few days after their departure, my brother, Mark Robertson, being killed near my house, I, by the advice of the officers, civil and military, raised about one hundred and thirty men, and followed their tracks, near the lower end of the Muscle Shoals, where some Indians discovered us, fired on our back picket, and alarmed a small town of Cherokees. We found, where we crossed Tennessee, pictures of two scalps, made a few days before; which scalps, we were afterwards informed, were carried into said town by seven Cherokees, who were there when we attacked them. Though they constantly kept out spies, we had the good fortune to cross Tennessee, and go eighteen miles down the river, till in sight of the town, before the Indians discovered us. We made a rapid charge and entirely defeated them. The attack began at the mouth of a large creek; we forced them into the creek and river, and what escaped, either got off in boats or swam the river. About twenty were killed, and several wounded. The whole town, as we were afterwards informed by a Frenchman, whom we found there, had been councilling three days, at the instigation of a principal Creek chief, and had unanimously agreed to fight us, if we crossed Tennessee. From what passed at this consultation, I have every reason to believe the Creeks totally averse to peace, notwithstanding they have had no cause of offence. We have been exceedingly particular in giving them no reason to complain. Their force consisted of ten Creeks and thirty-five Cherokee warriors, together with nine Frenchmen, chiefly from Detroit, who had joined the Indians against us. Among the dead was the Creek chief before mentioned, a mischievous Cherokee chief, three Frenchmen and a

Frenchwoman, who was killed by accident, in one of the boats. In this action we lost not a single man; but a party of fifty men, who was sent to the mouth of Duck River, was there attacked by a large number of Indians, and we had one man killed and eight wounded. We were piloted by two Chickasaws, in this expedition; their nation seem, on every occasion, our friends, and if it were possible to supply them with trade, at the Chickasaw Bluff, there is no doubt but they and the Choctaws would find full employment for our enemies.

From the constant incursions of the Indians, I have been obliged to keep the militia very much in service on scouts, guards, &c., and have been under the necessity of promising them pay, without which, I am persuaded, the army would have totally broken up, as many have already done. I hope you will approve the promise I have made to the inhabitants. Sumner county seems to be in peace, compared with this, being more out of the range of the Indians. I have not an opportunity of seeing Col. Bledsoe, or I make no doubt he would join me in informing your Excellency that our situation, at present, is deplorable—deprived of raising subsistence, and constantly harassed with performing military duty, our only hope is in the troops promised us by the General Assembly; but, as yet, we have no news of them. I earnestly beg your Excellency to forward them with all possible expedition. I hope that your Excellency will, by express or otherwise, favour me with an answer.

This spirited invasion of the heart of the Indian country, and the success that had attended the assault against Coldwater, were followed by a short respite from savage aggression. Heretofore, there had not been an hour of safety to any settler on the waters of Cumberland, and offensive measures were adopted and energetically executed. The vengeance so long delayed, had, at length, fallen with most fatal effect upon those who had so frequently provoked it. At Coldwater, Colonel Robertson discovered the sources from which the Indians were supplied with the materials which enabled them to make inroads upon the new settlements; the means by which, and the channels through which, they received them; and the practicable modes of cutting them off, as well as the facility of seizing upon the stores, when deposited in villages near the place of disembarkation. The advantages acquired by his expedition were various and important, and by putting the Indians in danger at home, and making it necessary for them to act on the defensive, near their own villages, had greatly diminished the vigour of their enterprises against the feeble settlements.

These advantages, however, were somewhat counteracted by the unfortunate issue of another expedition, connected, in part, with that so gallantly carried on by Colonel Robertson, and undertaken about the same time, with the view of securing its success.

When the troops started on the campaign to Coldwater, David Hay, of Nashville, had the command of a company there, and determined to carry them, simultaneously, against the enemy, by water; not only to assist their countrymen in the assault upon the Indian villages, but to carry to them provisions and supplies, which, it was apprehended, they might need on their arrival at the Tennessee River, and, particularly, in case of the detention of the horsemen in that neighbourhood, for a longer time than was anticipated. Captain Hay and his men descended the river in three boats, and passing around into the Tennessee, had proceeded unmolested up that stream to the mouth of Duck River. When they had reached that stream, the boat commanded by Moses Shelby, entered into it a small distance, for the purpose of examining a canoe, which he observed there, fastened to the bank. A party of Indians had concealed themselves in the cane and behind the trees, not more than ten or twelve feet from the canoe, and from the boat itself, and poured in a most unexpected fire into the boat. John Top and Hugh Roquering were shot through the body; Edward Hogan, through the arm, the ball fracturing the bone; Josiah Renfroe was shot through the head, and killed on the spot. The survivors made great haste to get the boat off, but, having the prow up the small river, and several of the crew being wholly disabled, and some of them greatly dismayed by the sudden fire and destruction which had come upon them, acted in disorder, and with great difficulty got the boat again into the Tennessee, beyond the reach of the Indian guns, before they could reload and fire a second time. Had this movement been executed with less alacrity and despatch, the rash and unadvised act of going to the canoe, would have caused the whole crew to become victims to the stratagem of the Indians. As it was, their artful plot had too well succeeded, and the expedition, which promised so much, and

thus far had been prosecuted without interruption, was abandoned. Captain Hay returned, with his wounded men, to Nashville, where, alone, surgical and medical assistance could be procured.

The affair at Coldwater, and the capture of the French traders and their goods on the Tennessee, had involved Col. Robertson in a difficulty with a nation then at peace with the United States. That officer deemed it necessary, therefore, to make a written exposition of the causes and motives which led to the campaign which he had conducted, and in which citizens of France had been made to suffer. This communication he addressed to a functionary at the Illinois. He stated in it,

"That for some years past a trade had been carried on by Frenchmen from the Wabash, with the Indians on Tennessee. The trade had been formerly managed by a Mr. Veiz, and while he carried it on the Indians were peaceable towards us; but for two or three years past, these Indians had been extremely inimical, at all seasons killing our men, women and children, and stealing our horses. He had sufficient evidence of the fact also, that these Indians were excited to war against us by the suggestions of these traders, who both advised them to war, and gave them goods for carrying it on. The Chickasaws had told him that they had been offered goods by those traders if they would go to war against us. And one John Rogers declared, that he had seen a Creek fellow have on a pair of arm-bands, which he said were given to him by the French traders, for going to war against our people. Their incursions upon us this spring have been more severe than usual, and I determined to distress them. For this purpose, he stated that he had taken a part of the militia of Davidson county, followed the tracks of one of their scalping parties, who had just been doing murder here, and pursuing them to a town on Tennessee, at the mouth of Coldwater, had destroyed the town, and killed, as he supposed, about twenty of the Indians. The scalps of two of our people whom they had lately murdered, were found in the town. Some of the French imprudently put themselves in the action, and some of them fell. From that place he sent a party around to the River Cumberland by water. On the Tennessee they found five Frenchmen, with two boats, having on board goods to trade with those very Indians. The commander of the party captured the boats with the traders, and brought them round to the Cumberland, and gave them their choice, either to come up to the settlement and stand their trial for what they had done, thereby to try and regain their goods, or else they might go home at once without their goods; they chose the latter. The taking of these boats, said Col. Robertson, was without my knowledge or approbation. I am now endeavouring to collect the property which was in them, and I desire the

owners to be notified, that if they could make it appear that they were not guilty of a breach of the laws, and did not intend to furnish our enemies with powder, lead and other goods, for our destruction, on applying here at Nashville, they can have their property again. He declared that if those Indians would be peaceable, we should never attempt to deprive them of any trade they could procure. But whilst they continue at war, said he, any traders who furnish them with arms and ammunition, will render themselves very insecure."

The fearless irruption of the troops under Robertson, was followed by a temporary relaxation of Indian hostility. But soon after their route and discomfiture at Coldwater, they collected in small bodies, crossed the Tennessee, and commenced an undistinguishing carnage upon the settlers, of all ages and sexes. One of these was pursued by a small body of white men under Captain Shannon. The Indians had reached the bank of Tennessee River; some were in their camp, eating, others making preparations to cross to the opposite shore. The former were discovered by Shannon's men, who fired and rushed impetuously upon them. Castleman killed one. Another, proving too strong, took Luke Anderson's gun from him, but before he could discharge her, William Pillow, since a colonel, of Maury county, and the uncle of Gen. Gideon J. Pillow, of the United States Army, shot the Indian and recovered the gun. The remaining Indians, who were without the camp, were commanded by Big Foot, a leading warrior of determined bravery. Believing, from the report of the guns which had been fired, that the number of the assailants was inconsiderable, these resolved to attack the whites, and did so. A terrible conflict ensued. Victory, for some time wavering, at length declared against the Indians. Their leader and five of his followers were killed, the rest raised the yell and disappeared in the bushes.

1787 Late in July, of this year, two hundred Creek warriors, embodied for the purpose, as they said, of taking satisfaction for three Indians killed in an affair eighteen miles below Chota. Mr. Perrault met and delivered, and expounded to them a letter, written by Col. Robertson, and addressed to their nation. Perrault endeavoured to dissuade them from hostilities and to get them to turn back, but his mission was fruitless. They persevered in their march, adding to their

rejection of the overtures for peace, a threat, that if their territory should be again invaded, or another Creek should be killed after their present incursion, the whites might expect a merciless war.

Of the battalion ordered to be raised for the protection of Davidson county, Major Evans was appointed to take the command. These troops arrived on Cumberland in successive detachments, accompanying parties of emigrants, that were constantly augmenting the resources and defences of the country. Col. Robertson, to add further to the efficiency of Evans's battalion, was enabled, from the increased strength of the population, to select and detach a certain portion of it to act as patrols or spies. It was their business to go through the woods from the borders of the settlements—in every direction, and to every place where there was an Indian or a buffalo trace—to the crossing places on rivers and creeks, to look after the Indians, and to notice the trails they had made in their marches. At that time canes and weeds grew up so luxuriantly, in all parts of the country, that two or three men, even without horses, could not pass through without leaving a discernible trace, which might be followed with no risk of mistake. Amongst the patrols selected for the performance of this service, was Captain John Rains. Col. Robertson was led to this choice by the experience he had had in his prowess and diligence. His orders to him had always been executed punctually, promptly, and with a degree of bravery that was never exceeded. An occasion soon offered for the exercise of these eminent qualities. The Indians killed Randal Gentry, not far from the Bluff, at the place where Mr. Foster since lived. About the same time, Curtis Williams and Thomas Fletcher, with his son, were also killed near the mouth of Harper. Captain Rains was ordered to pursue the perpetrators of this mischief. He soon raised sixty men and followed them. Their trace was found and pursuit made; he passed Mill Creek, Big Harper, the Fishing Ford of Duck River, Elk River, at the mouth of Swan Creek, and Flint River. Not being able to overtake the enemy, he left their trace and went westwardly, and struck McCutchin's trace. Before he reached Elk River, he

discovered tracks of Indians going in the direction of Nashville. At the crossing of the river, he came to the camp which they had left the morning before. He went forward six miles and halted, sending forward a few of his men to see that the enemy was not so near as to hear his men forming their encampment. These returned without having seen any of the Indians. Next morning Captain Rains continued the pursuit, and in the afternoon found the place they had encamped the preceding night. The ground had been cleared of leaves and brush, and upon this the war dance had been celebrated. There were, moreover, evidences of a wary and deliberate invasion for hostile purposes, and of very cautious and watchful progress. The troops, after crossing Duck River, at the mouth of Globe and Fountain Creek, encamped at night on its north side. Renewing their march next morning, they came, at the distance of six miles on the waters of Rutherford's Creek, near where Solomon Herring has since lived, upon the camp of the Indians. It was fired upon, when the Indians immediately fled, leaving one of their number dead. Captain Rains, with his company, then returned to Nashville.

The same vigilant officer soon after received the orders of Colonel Robertson to raise another company, and scour the woods southwardly from Nashville, and destroy any Indians that might be found, east of the line dividing the Cherokee and Chickasaw nations. Sixty men constituted the command. They took the Chickasaw trace, crossing Duck River and Swan Creek, pursuing the Chickasaw path, which was recognized as the boundary. They then left the path, going south and east up the Tennessee River. After two days, they came upon an Indian trail, and made pursuit. They overtook them, killed four men, and captured a boy. Seven horses, guns, blankets, skins, and all the Indians had, were taken. The troop then returned to Nashville.

The boy, who had been taken prisoner in this engagement, was the son of a Chickasaw woman. His father was a Creek warrior. Mountain Leader, a distinguished chief of her nation, wrote, in behalf of the mother, to Captain Rains, and proposed to exchange, for his prisoner, the son of a Mrs.

Naine, who had been stolen by the Creeks from her, on White's Creek, and taken to the interior of their nation. Batterboo, a son of the Mountain Leader, had re-captured him from the Creeks. The exchange, as proposed, was agreed to and made.

In September, of this year, Captain Rains, being reinforced by a like number of men, commanded by Captain Shannon, made his third expedition. The troop passed Greene's Lick and Pond Spring, towards the head of Elk, scouring the woods in various directions. They came upon a fresh Indian trail, which they followed, and soon overtook the enemy. Captain Rains, and one of his men, Beverly Ridley, pursued one of them and killed him. John Rains, Jun., and Robert Evans, outran another, and made him prisoner. All the rest escaped by flight. In the camp of this party were found large quantities of skins and other plunder, which, with fifteen horses, fell into the hands of the whites.

Besides these excursions of Captain Rains, other companies made similar expeditions in every direction throughout the country. Of the troops sent over Cumberland Mountain, to protect the infant settlements, was a company of rangers, commanded by Captain William Martin. He remained in that frontier nearly two years; sometimes stationed in a fort, sometimes pursuing marauding parties of Indians, sometimes opening up channels of travel, by which emigrants could more easily reach the forming settlements.* The Indians soon became more wary in their invasions of the settlements, as the woods through which they had to pass were constantly traversed by armed bodies of men, endeavouring to find their trails and prevent their inroads. In addition to these companies raised from the settlers, a part of Major Evans's battalion was distributed over the country, and placed at the different stations, in such proportions as emergencies required. The command of Captain Hadley remained for nearly two years, and added alike to the population and security of the country. Scouts were sent out

* At the Talladega battle, after Colonel Pillow was wounded, his Lieutenant-Colonel William Martin, took command, and was conspicuous for his good conduct.

from Bledsoe's Lick to the Cany Fork, under the command of Colonel Winchester. They frequently fell upon Indian trails, and met war parties in the woods, with great variety of fortune, sometimes disastrous and sometimes successful.

But, notwithstanding all these measures of defence and precaution, the Indians occasionally succeeded in penetrating to the more exposed frontier stations, and murdering the inhabitants. In this way Samuel Buchanan was killed. The Indians came upon him, ploughing in the field, and fired upon him. He ran, and was pursued by twelve Indians, taking, in their pursuit, the form of a half-moon. When he came to the bluff of the creek, below the field, he jumped down a steep bank into the creek, where he was overtaken, killed and scalped. But the frontier, generally, was so vigilantly guarded by brave men, experienced in Indian fighting, that little success followed the incursions of the enemy—now more unfrequent, and conducted with timidity and caution.

1788 The settlements had received considerable addition of emigrants. Agricultural pursuits were rewarded by bountiful crops, and the implacable enmity of the savages was the only interruption to general prosperity. In February, the Indians came to Bledsoe's Station, in the night time, and wounded George Hamilton, and went off. Near Asher's Station, on the north side of Cumberland, they wounded Jesse Maxey; he fell, and they scalped him and stuck a knife into his body. Contrary to expectation, he recovered.

The Indians came to the house of William Montgomery, on Drake's Creek, in daylight, and killed, at the spring, not a hundred yards from the house, his three sons. In March, of the same year, a party of Creeks killed Peyton, the son of Col. James Robertson, at his plantation on Richland Creek, and captured a lad, John Johnston, and retained him in captivity several years. Robert Jones was killed, some time afterwards, at Wilson's Station, and Benjamin Williams, near the head of Station-Camp Creek. Mrs. Neely was killed, and Robert Edmondson wounded, in Neely's Bend, and in October following, Dunham and Astill were killed.

These repeated acts of hostility on the part of the Creek nation, were generally ascribed to Spanish influence. That tribe had no real cause of displeasure against the people of Cumberland. They claimed no territory upon which settlements had been formed; no encroachments upon their possessions had been made; no acts of offensive war been perpetrated by Robertson and his colonists, except in defence of themselves and their families. Under these circumstances, it was determined to inquire, in a formal manner, from the Chief of the Creek nation, what were the grounds of their offensive deportment towards the settlers. Colonel Robertson and Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, therefore, addressed a joint letter to the celebrated McGillevray, which was transmitted to him by special messengers, Mr. Hoggatt and Mr. Ewing. To this communication, the chief replied from Little Tallassee, April 4, 1788. In his reply, he mentioned that, in common with other southern tribes, the Creeks had adhered to the British interest during the late war. That after peace was made, he had accepted proposals for friendship between their people, but that while that accommodation was pending, six of his nation were killed in the affair at Coldwater; and these warriors belonging to different towns, in each of which they had connexions of the first consequence, a violent clamour followed, which had given rise to the expeditions that afterwards took place against Cumberland. The affair at Coldwater, he continued, has since been amply retaliated, and I will now use my best endeavours to bring about a peace between us. This friendly overture was scarcely received on Cumberland, when, on the twentieth of July, hostilities were again renewed.

Unfortunately for the country, the first victim was an individual prominent for his private virtues and for his public services, civil and military, rendered to the people on the frontier from the first settlement of Holston and Cumberland. Col. Anthony Bledsoe, having broken up his own fort, on what was known as the Greenfield Grant, had moved into the fort of his brother, Isaac Bledsoe, at Bledsoe's Lick, and occupied one end of his house. About midnight, of July 20th, after the families living in the fort had retired to

bed, James Clendening announced that the Indians were approaching near the houses. A party of them had formed an ambuscade about forty yards in front of the passage separating the houses of the two brothers, and, with the view of drawing out the inmates, a few of the Indians rode rapidly through a lane near the fort. Col. Anthony Bledsoe, hearing the alarm, immediately arose, and, with his servant, Campbell, went boldly into the passage. The night was clear and the moon shone brightly. The Indians fired; Campbell was killed, and the colonel received a mortal wound, being shot directly through the body. He died at sunrise next morning.

The fire of the Indians aroused William Hall, who was also at Bledsoe's Lick, and he made immediate preparation to resist a further anticipated attack. With some other gunmen, he went to the port-holes, and there remained till daylight. The Indians, seeing the fort was upon its guard, made no further assault, and withdrew.

At this period, it will be recollected, that the Union was in disorder, and on the point of dissolution from the imbecility of its own structure, and that North-Carolina betrayed both inability and disinclination to furnish her trans-montane counties any assistance. Col. Robertson adopted the policy of temporizing and amusing, for the time being, both the Creek chieftain and the agents of Spain, and to dissemble the deep resentment their conduct had excited. With this view, he replied to McGillevray on the 3d of August, and though the recent death of his friend Col. Bledsoe, must have greatly irritated him, he suppressed every feeling of resentment and asperity. He acknowledged the satisfaction McGillevray's letter had given to his countrymen, and even seemed to extenuate the recent aggressions of the Creeks upon the settlers. He mentioned, without comment, the death of Col. Bledsoe, and as a means of further conciliation, added, that he had caused a deed for a lot in Nashville to be recorded in his name, and begged to know whether he would accept a tract or two of land in our young country. "I would say much to you," he continued, "respecting this fine country, but am fully sensible you are better able to judge what may take place a few

years hence, than myself. In all probability, we cannot long remain in our present state, and if the British or any commercial nation, who may possess the mouth of the Mississippi River, would furnish us with trade, and receive our produce, there cannot be a doubt, but that the people west of the Apalachian Mountains will open their eyes to their true interests. I shall be very happy to have your sentiments on these matters." This piece of diplomacy was not, as will be seen hereafter, without its effect upon those for whose use it was specially intended.

Thus skilfully did the young diplomatist at the Bluff, conduct the negotiation for its safety. To a further complaint made by McGillevray, of encroachments by settlers upon Creek territory, Col. Robertson again replied: "He regretted the circumstances, and excused both himself and the people of Cumberland from blame, by remarking, that they were not a part of the state* whose people made the encroachments. The people of Cumberland, he avowed, only claimed the lands which the Cherokees had sold in 1775, to Col. Henderson, and for which they were paid. He had not expected to be blamed for his late expedition against the Indians below the Muscle Shoals, who were known to be a lawless banditti, and subject to the regulations of no nation. He had been subjected, recently, to the mortification of seeing one of his own children inhumanly massacred, a shock that almost conquered the fortitude which he had been endeavouring, from his earliest youth, to provide as a shield against the calamitous evils of this life. At the same time a neighbour's child was made prisoner, whom he requested the good offices of McGillevray to have restored. He had, last fall, stopped an excursion against the Cherokees, on hearing from Doct. White their friendly professions. He importuned McGillevray to punish the refractory part of his nation, as the only means of preserving peace." Here grief imperceptibly stole upon his mind, and poured forth itself in nature's simple strains. "It is a matter of no reflection," said he, "to a brave man, to see a father, a son, or a brother, fall in the field of action. But

*Alluding to Franklin.

it is a serious and melancholy incident to see a helpless woman or an innocent child tomahawked in their own houses."

To these strong and pathetic appeals of Col. Robertson, McGillevray replied, that he had endeavoured to get the Little Turkey and Bloody Fellow to refrain future hostilities against the whites, and that he would persist in measures most proper to keep the Creeks from further hostilities against Cumberland.

The people of Tennessee have reason to venerate the memory of James Robertson, alike for his military and civil services, and the earnest and successful manner in which he conducted his negotiations for peace and commerce. His probity and weight of character, secured to his remonstrances with Indian and Spanish agents, respectful attention and consideration. His earnest and truthful manner was rarely disregarded by either.

1788 One hundred men, raised in Davidson and Sumner, and commanded by Col. Mansco and Major Kirkpatrick, escorted twenty-two families, who came this year by the way of the future Knoxville to Cumberland. These guards, to escort emigrant families through the wilderness, were continued several years, and afforded them almost perfect security from Indian disturbance. But wherever a house or a station was allowed to remain defenceless, murder and depredation followed. The Indians, after they killed Bledsoe, murdered one Walters, near Winchester's Mill. They attacked the station of Southerland Mayfield, upon the head of the west fork of Mill Creek, four miles above its junction with the east fork. The party consisted of ten or twelve Creek warriors In the evening, they came to a place near the station where Mayfield, his two sons, Col. Jocelyn, and another person, were making a wolf pen. The Indians, unperceived, got between them and their guns. They fired upon and killed Mayfield, one of his sons, and another person, a guard at that station. They fired upon the guard and the son, as they went in the direction of the guns to bring to the pen something that was there, and jumped over a log, from where they had lain behind it, to scalp them, in the presence of Mayfield and Jocelyn. The latter ran for his

gun and got amongst the Indians, who fired upon him and drove him back, pursuing him in the form of a half moon. At length they drove him to a very large log, over which, if he could not have jumped, he was completely penned. Beyond his own expectation, Jocelyn leaped over the log and fell upon his back. Despairing of overtaking a man of so much activity, the Indians desisted from any further pursuit and left him. By a circuitous route he reached the station. Mayfield was wounded. He was not seen or pursued by the Indians, but was found next day dead. George Mayfield was taken prisoner, and held in captivity many years. Satisfied with the guns and the prisoner they had taken, the Indians made no assault upon the station, but made a hasty retreat. The people in the station then removed to Captain Rains, near Nashville. A mile below Mayfield's, the Indians attacked Brown's Station, and killed four boys—two the sons of Stowball, one a son of Joseph Denton, and the other a son of John Brown. Not long after, at the same station, James Haggard and his wife, John Haggard, and a man named Adams, were all killed. The people in this station then removed to Captain Rains.

On the 20th January, of this year, the Indians killed Capt. Hunter, and dangerously wounded Hugh F. Bell. A party of white men pursued, and, at the distance of two and a half miles, came upon them ambuscaded. They fired upon their pursuers, killed Major Kirkpatrick, and wounded J. Foster and William Brown. At Dunham's Station, in the spring, they killed —— Mills; in May, Dunham; and, in the summer, Joseph Norrington, and another Dunham, near the place where Joseph Irvin's house has since been built. J. Cockrill was fired at and his horse was killed. Besides these already mentioned, there were several others killed, whose names are not recollected. Hostilities continued throughout the summer, and Miss —— McGaughy, at Hickman's Station, and Hugh Webb, on the Kentucky trace, near Barren River, were killed by the Indians. Henry Ramsey was shot through the body, near Bledsoe's Creek, between Greenfield and Morgan's Station, three or four miles from Bledsoe's Lick.

In May, Judge McNairy, with several others, on their way
1789 { from Cumberland to what was then called *the settle-*
{ *ments*, encamped for the night in the wilderness west of Clinch River. Next morning a large company of Indians fell upon them, killing one white man named Stanley, a Chickasaw chief called Longhair, and his son. The whites were entirely routed, and escaped only by swimming across the river. They lost all their horses, and the most of their clothing.

In June, the Indians made a bold attack on Robertson's Station. It was made in the day time, while the hands were at work in the field. In their escape to the fort, Gen. Robertson was wounded. He gave orders to Col. Elijah Robertson to send a force immediately against the Indians who had retreated. To Captain Sampson Williams was this service assigned, who, with sixty or seventy men, convened at Gen. Robertson's, marched at once, pursuing the enemy along McCutchin's trace, up West Harper, to the ridge of Duck River. Here they discovered that the Indians out-travelled them. Twenty men were ordered to the front, to leave their horses, and to make forced marches upon the trail. Captain Williams and the twenty men, one of whom was Andrew Jackson, pushed forward and soon came in view of the Indian camp, on the south side of Duck River. They then went up the river a mile and a half, crossed over it in the night, and went down its bank to the place the Indian camp was supposed to be. The cane was so thick that they could not find the camp, and they lay on their arms all night. In the morning, Captain Williams advancing about fifty yards, descried the Indians repairing their fires, at the distance of one hundred yards from him. He and his men rushed towards them, fired at sixty yards distance, killed one, wounded five or six, and drove the whole party across the river to the north side. The Indians carried off their wounded and escaped, not taking time even to return the fire. In their flight they left to the victors sixteen guns, nineteen shot-pouches, and all their baggage, consisting of blankets, moccasins and leggins. They were not again overtaken.

Near the mouth of the Sulphur Fork of Red River, the In-

dians fell upon the families of Isaac and John Titsworth, moving to the country. They, their wives and children, were all killed.

Evan Shelby, Abednego Lewellen, Hugh F. Bell, and Colonel Tenen, were in the woods hunting. The two former were killed; the two last escaped.

In September, the Indians came to Buchanan's Station. John Blackburn, standing on the bank of the creek near the spring, was fired upon by ten or twelve of them at the same time. He was killed, scalped, and left with a spear sticking in his body.

Among other emigrants from North-Carolina to Cumberland, was the father of Colonel William Pillow. He came through the wilderness with the guard commanded by Captain Elijah Robertson, and settled four miles south of Nashville, at Brown's Station. The son, William Pillow, was in most of the expeditions carried on against the Indians, from the time of his arrival in the country to the close of the Indian war. He was under Captain Rains in the tour to Elk River, already mentioned. He also accompanied Captain John Gordon in pursuit of the Indians who had killed a woman near Buchanan's Station. Only one of the savages was killed; the rest effected their escape in the cane, and at night. He was also one of Captain Murray's company, who gave pursuit to the Indians, who, in February, killed John Helin at Jonathan Robertson's Station, six or seven miles below Nashville, and had also stolen several horses in that neighbourhood. Murray's company crossed Duck River, five miles below the place where Columbia now stands, and continued a rapid march, day and night. The smoke from the enemy's camp was discovered, and four or five spies were sent forward. Captain Murray charged obliquely to the right of the camp, which was on the bank of Tennessee River. His left charged obliquely to the left, and struck the river above the Indian camp. The spies fired and killed one; the other Indians ran down the river into Capt. Murray's line, when, finding their flight intercepted in that direction, they jumped into the river, and were shot. Mr. Maclin shot one before he got into the water. William Pil-

low, hearing a gun fire at a place which he had just passed, pushed his horse up the steep second river bank, and discovered Davis running towards him, pursued by four Indians. Pillow dashed forward, and the Indians, discontinuing the pursuit of Davis, ran off in the opposite direction. Pillow, pressing the pursuit too eagerly, fell from his horse; but recovered, sprang to his feet, gained upon the Indian, and discharged the contents of his musket into his body. At that moment, Captain Murray, Thomas Cox, Robert Evans, Luke Anderson and William Ewing rode up, and Pillow pointed out to them the direction one of the Indians had gone. They immediately gave pursuit, and saw the Indian attempting to mount Pillow's horse, which he succeeded in doing. Cox ran up and shot him through the shoulder. The Indian, nevertheless, held on to Pillow's horse, and kept him in a gallop till the whole company came up with him. He now slipped off the horse, and, as he came to the ground, scared Anderson's mule, which run under a low tree, whose limbs caught his gun and jerked it out of his hand. The brave Indian caught it up, snapped it three or four times at them, before Evans shot him down. Pursuit was then made by Andrew Castleman and others, after the two other Indians whom Pillow had driven from Davis. They were found hid in the water, under a bluff of rocks; both were killed. Others were found concealing themselves under the bank, and suffered the same fate. Eleven warriors were killed; the whole party, as was ascertained from the squaws who were taken prisoners.*

Such were the accumulated difficulties from savage hostility, undergone by the Cumberland settlements, in the first nine years after the arrival of Robertson at the Bluff. The prophecy of the sagacious Cherokee chief had been already fulfilled to the letter, and, still later, received further and stronger realization. "Much trouble" attended each step in the growth of the gallant community, of which the French Lick was the nucleus. And it may be safely said, that as the co-pioneers and compatriots of Robertson under-

*Manuscript Narratives.

went trials, hardships, dangers, invasion, assault, massacre and death from Indian warfare, unsurpassed, in degree and duration, in the history of any people; so they were endured with a fortitude, borne with a perseverance, encountered with a determination, resisted with a courage, and signalized with a valour, unequalled and unrecorded. The Bluff, the stations in its environs, the forts in the adjoining neighbourhoods, each hunting excusion, the settlement of each farm around the flourishing metropolis of Tennessee, furnishes its tale of desperate adventure and romantic heroism, upon which this writer dare not here linger. A volume would be insufficient for that desirable and necessary purpose; and leaving that duty to some admiring and grateful citizen of Nashville, he hastens, for the present, from the account of the military, to the civil affairs of Cumberland.

1780 The General Assembly of North-Carolina, in May of this year, engaged by a public act, in the form of a resolution, to give to the officers and soldiers, in its line of the Continental establishment, a bounty in lands in proportion to their respective grades. These lands were to be laid off in what is known as Middle Tennessee. To all such as were then in the military service, and should continue to the end of the war, or such as, from wounds or bodily infirmity, have been, or shall be, rendered unfit for service; and to the heirs of such as shall have fallen, or shall fall, in defence of the country. There never was a bounty more richly deserved, or more ungrudgingly promised. It furnished to the war-worn soldier, or to his children, a home in the new and fertile lands of the West, where a competency, at least, perhaps wealth or even affluence, might follow, after the storm of war was past; and where the serene evening of life might be spent in the contemplation of the eventful scenes of his earlier years, devoted to the service of his country, and to the cause of freedom and independence. In search of this bounty, thus provided by North-Carolina for her whig soldiery, a vast emigration from that state came soon after to what is now Tennessee; and, owing to this cause, it was at one time estimated, that nine-tenths of the Tennessee pop u-

lation came from the mother state. It is still, essentially, North-Carolinian.

As on Watauga at its first settlement, so, also now, on Cumberland, the colonists of Robertson were without any regularly organized government. The country was within the boundaries of Washington county, which extended to the Mississippi River, perhaps the largest extent of territory ever embraced in a single county. But, even here, in the wilds of Cumberland, removed more than six hundred miles from their seat of government, the people demonstrated again their adequacy to self-government. Soon after their arrival at the Bluff, the settlers appointed trustees, and signed a covenant, obliging themselves to conform to the judgments and decisions of these officers, in whom they had vested the powers of government. Those who signed the covenant had considerable advantages over those who did not; they were respectively allowed a tract of land, the quiet possession of which was guaranteed by the colony. Those who did not sign the covenant, were considered as having no right to their lands, and could be dispossessed by a signer without any recourse. To the trustees were allowed, in these times of primitive honesty and old-fashioned public spirit, neither fees nor salaries. But, to the clerk appointed by the trustees, were given small perquisites, as compensation for the expense of paper and stationery. The trustees were the Executive of the colony, and had the whole government in their own hands; acting as the judiciary, their decisions gave general satisfaction. To them were also committed the functions of the sacerdotal office, in the celebration of the rites of matrimony. The founder of the colony, Captain James Robertson, as might have been expected, was one of the trustees, and was the first who married a couple. These were Captain Leiper and his wife. Mr. James Shaw was also a trustee, aud married Edward Swanson to Mrs. Carvin, James Freeland to Mrs. Maxwell, Cornelius Riddle to Miss Jane Mulherrin, and John Tucker to Jenny Herod, all in one day. The first child born in the country, was John Saunders, since the sheriff of Montgomery county, and after-

wards killed on White River by the Indians. The second born in the country, was Anna Wells. The first child born in Nashville, was the son of Captain Robertson—the present venerable relict of another age—Doctor Felix Robertson.

Under this patriarchal form of government, by trustees selected, on account of their experience, probity and firmness, the colony was planted, defended, governed and provided for, several years; and the administration of justice, and the protection of rights, though simple and a little irregular, it is believed, were as perfect and satisfactory as at any subsequent period in its history.

The right to the lands on the Lower Cumberland, at the time the Revolutionary War commenced, lay in the Chickasaws, rather than in the Cherokees. The former, prior to that time, lived north of the Tennessee River, and at least fifty miles lower down that stream, than the lowest Cherokee towns. The greatest contiguity to hunting grounds, and the prior use of them, seems to be the best claim Indians can establish to them. The Chickasaws claimed, and ceded, the Cumberland lands, at the treaty held by Donelson and Martin in 1782 or 1783.* It was, probably, never reported to Congress. Where this treaty was held, its exact date, the boundaries agreed upon, &c., &c., this writer has not been able to ascertain. It is referred to, as above, in a letter from Governor William Blount to the Secretary of War, dated Knoxville, January 14th, 1793.

But North-Carolina owned the territory, and began to exercise further guardianship over her distant possessions. In April of seventeen hundred and eighty-two, her legislature, by an act passed for that purpose, allowed to the settlers on the Cumberland *rights of pre-emption.* Six hundred and forty acres were allowed to each family or head of a family. A similar provision was made for each single man, of the age of twenty-one years and upward, who had settled the lands before the first of June, 1780. Such tracts were to include the improvement each settler had made. No right of pre-emption, however, was extended, so as to include any

*American State Papers, vol. v., pp. 432 and 326.

salt lick or salt spring; these were reserved by the same act as public property, together with six hundred and forty acres of adjoining lands; the rest of the country was all declared to be subject *to partition.*

The act for the relief of the officers and soldiers in her Continental line, made good all depreciation of pay and subsistence and clothing, of each officer and soldier, and provided for the widow and heirs of such as were killed in the public service. It made a princely allowance in lands "as an effectual and permanent reward for their signal bravery and persevering zeal," to the officers and soldiers of the Continental line; to a Brigadier-General, twelve thousand acres; and to all intermediate ranks, in that proportion. To General Nathaniel Greene, twenty-five thousand acres were given, "as a mark of the high sense this state entertains of the extraordinary services of that brave and gallant officer."

Absalom Tatom, Isaac Shelby and Anthony Bledsoe, were appointed Commissioners to lay off the lands thus allotted. The Commissioners were to be accompanied by a guard of one hundred men.

Courts of Equity were, at the same session of the legislature, established in all the districts of the state. What is now Tennessee, was embraced in the District of Morgan.

The war of the Revolution was coming to an end, and

1782 { from this event, as had been anticipated by Captain Robertson, an abatement of Indian hostility followed.

The prospect of peace and security to emigrants and their property, induced the removal of great numbers from the Atlantic sections, which gave new strength and increased animation to the Cumberland settlements.

At the commencement of this year, Commissioners who

1783 { had been appointed to lay off the bounty lands to the officers and soldiers in the North-Carolina line, came

to Cumberland. They were accompanied by a numerous guard, for whose services, compensation was provided, in lands, afterwards known as guard rights. Many sought to be enlisted in the service, and the guard soon became formidable for its numbers. The Indians offered them no molestation, while they were executing the duties of their ap-

pointment. The settlers were much encouraged by their presence, and, as such an accession of armed men gave great additional strength to the defence of the country, all idea of leaving it was, at once, abandoned, and the settlements began to wear the aspect of permanence and stability, and a flood of new emigrants soon followed.

The Commissioners, accompanied by the guard and a few of the inhabitants, went to the place since known as Latitude Hill, on Elk River, to ascertain the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude. Here they made their observation. They then proceeded to lay off, for General Greene, the twenty-five thousand acres of land presented by North-Carolina to him. The present had been richly deserved, and, on the part of the state, was munificent. It embraced some of the best lands on Duck River—perhaps the best in Tennessee.

The Commissioners then, fifty-five miles from the southern boundary and parallel thereto, ran the Continental line. But the Assembly, at the request of the officers, during their session of this year, directed it to be laid off from the northern boundary, fifty-five miles to the south: "beginning on the Virginia line, where Cumberland River intersects the same; thence south, fifty-five miles; thence west, to the Tennessee River; thence down the Tennessee to the Virginia line; thence with the said Virginia line, east, to the beginning."

A further duty of the Commissioners was to examine into the claims of those persons who considered themselves entitled to the *pre-emption rights* granted to those who settled on Cumberland previous to June 1st, 1780. This was done by the Commission sitting at the Bluff, and the necessary certificates for the pre-emption rights were issued.

Its duties performed, the Commission was dissolved, and Isaac Shelby ceased to be a citizen of what is now Tennessee, and removed to Kentucky. These annals have testified to the energy, fidelity and success of his services in the military, civil and political affairs of the country, from the commencement of its settlement to the present time. Of his subsequent history, Tennessee may well be proud. His novitiate in the public service was passed, and his character

formed within her borders and amongst her pioneers. There he laid, with his own sword, the basis of his reputation, and there he acquired the materials out of which to erect the column of renown which has since adorned his name. A fellow-soldier and co-patriot of Sevier, these youthful volunteers fired the first guns on the Kenhawa—conquered together at King's Mountain, and together captured the British post at Wapetaw. With their joint assistance, the foundation of society in the West was laid by Robertson. These three are the real artificers of Western character, and their co-operation moulded into form the elements which constitute its beauty and its strength. The Volunteer State is much indebted to Isaac Shelby. But the details of his future life cannot be here given. It is proper, however, to add that he became the first Governor of the State of his adoption, and that, in the war of eighten hundred and twelve, having again been elected Governor of Kentucky, he marched, at the head of four thousand Kentucky troops, across the State of Ohio, to General Harrison's head-quarters, and there exhibited the same cool and determined courage that had signalized his youth. The last public service he performed for Tennessee was, as one of the Commissioners at the treaty with the Chickasaw Indians, at which that tribe relinquished all their lands north of the southern boundary of the state, and between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers. His death occurred suddenly, July 18, 1826, in the 76th year of his age. The memory of this brave officer and patriotic man, is perpetuated by the state, in the name of her southwestern county, where he negotiated with the Chickasaws, and in the name of the beautiful county seat, Shelbyville, in Bedford county.

Amongst the enactments by the Assembly of this year,
1783 { was one laying off the county of Davidson, and appointing for it civil and military officers as in other counties, and establishing a court of pleas and quarter sessions.

Davidson county, like the other three already established west of the Apalachian chain, received its name from an officer of the army of the Revolution, General William

Davidson, of Mecklenburg county, North-Carolina. A native of that part of the state which had early exhibited an enthusiastic devotion to independence and freedom, he sought and obtained a command, though of inferior grade, in the Continental army. In that service he was considered a gallant officer, and acquired reputation. When the enemy overran South-Carolina, he left the regular service, and was immediately appointed General in the North-Carolina militia. In his new sphere of duty, he manifested great zeal and public spirit. It was he whom Col. McDowell sought, to invite him to take the chief command of the troops at King's Mountain. He was constantly on the alert to disperse the tories and annoy Lord Cornwallis, while his headquarters were at Charlotte. After the battle of the Cowpens, Morgan, in removing the prisoners, for safe keeping, to Virginia, was pursued by the British army. General Davidson, having under his command some active militiamen, hastily collected in his neighbourhood, endeavoured to retard the pursuers, and at every river and creek caused them some delay, and thus contributed, essentially, to the escape of the American army and the prisoners which encumbered its march. In this service General Davidson lost his life. On the first of February, 1781, the British army, accompanied by loyalists, who knew the roads and crossing places, came to the Catawba River, at Cowan's Ford, and began to cross at that place. Davidson rode to the river, to reconnoitre the enemy on the other side, with the hope of devising some plan to keep them back awhile. A tory, who knew him, and who was in advance, piloting the enemy, had nearly crossed the river, and, unperceived by the General, was near the bank on which he rode, and shot him. Knowing that the wound was mortal, he rode briskly back to a place where he had left part of his troops, gave them some necessary directions what to do, and soon after expired. "Never was there a more intrepid soldier; never a greater patriot; never did any man love his country with a more ardent affection. His name should be ever dear to the people of North-Carolina and Tennessee." *

*Haywood.

His grave is pointed out, and may be seen, not far from where he fell, in Hopewell Church-yard. Congress voted him a monument, but his grave is yet without an inscription. The metropolitan county of Tennessee perpetuates his name. His virtue, patriotism and valour, can never be forgotten.

1784 The Legislature also established a town at the Bluff. It was named Nashville, in honour of Col. Francis Nash. He was an early advocate for resistance against arbitrary power—being a captain in the *Regulation* war in 1771, and appointed as early as the 24th August, 1775, by the Congress of North-Carolina, as one of a Committee to prepare a plan for the regulation, internal peace, order and safety of the province. To this important Committee was entrusted the duty of proposing a system of government, which would supply the want of an executive officer, arising from the absence of Governor Martin, who had fled from his palace, and of submitting other subordinate plans of government, such as the institution of Committees of Safety, the qualifications of electors, "and every other civil power necessary to be formed, in order to relieve the province in the present unhappy state to which the administration had reduced it."*

September 1st, 1775, the North-Carolina Congress appointed Mr. Nash, Lieutenant-Colonel of the first regiment in the Continental service. At the battle of Germantown he commanded as Brigadier-General, and at the head of his brigade, fell bravely fighting for the Independence of his country. Davidson and Nash were from the same state—bore the same rank in her armies—both fell in engagements that were unsuccessful to the American arms, but their names will be gratefully remembered, while the metropolitan county, and the metropolis itself of Tennessee, shall continue.

The curious may wish to see the initiative proceedings of the first Court held in Davidson county.

1783—Oct. 6—County Court of Davidson instituted.

Whereas, an act was made at Hillsborough, the April session last past, etc., appointing and commissioning the following gentlemen, viz:—Anthony Bledsoe, Daniel Smith, Jas. Robertson, Isaac Bledsoe, Samuel

* Jones.

Barton, Thos Molloy, Francis Prince, and Isaac Lindsay, Esqs., members of said Court; Isaac Bledsoe, Samuel Barton, Francis Prince, and Isaac Lindsay, met and were qualified in the following manner:—the next junior to the senior member present, mentioned in the Commission, administered the oaths of office prescribed for the qualifications of public officers, to the senior member present, and then he to the others present.

(Signed,) ISAAC BLEDSOE.

Test—ANDREW EWING, C. D. C.

The Court then proceeded to elect a Clerk, and made choice of Matthew Talbot, Jun., Esq.

Daniel Williams, elected Sheriff.

Oct. 7—Talbot not being able to give security *give up*, the place was declared vacant, and the Court proceeded to elect Andrew Ewing, Clerk.

Samuel Barton, elected Entry-taker.

Francis Prince, Register.

The Court then nominated constables in the several stations, viz:—Samuel Mason, at Maulding's; James McCain, at Mansco's; Stephen Ray, at Heatonsburg, John McAdams, at Nashborough; and Edward Swanson, at Freeland's Station.

The Court then proceeded to fix on a place for the building of a court-house and prison, and agreed that in the present situation of the settlement that it be at Nashborough—size of court-house to be eighteen feet square, with a shade of twelve feet on the one side of the length of the house; said house to be furnished with the necessary benches, bar, table, etc., fit for the reception of the Court; also, a prison, fourteen feet square, of hewed logs, of a foot square; both walls, loft and floor, except the same, shall be built upon a rock. To be done on the best and most reasonable terms, and that the same be vendued at the lowest price that can be had.

First Mill.

The Court give leave to Headon Wells, to build a water grist mill on Thomas Creek, about a quarter and half a quarter up said creek from the mouth.

First Road laid off.

Ordered that the road leading from Nashville to Mansco's Station, as laid off heretofore by an order of Committee, be cleared out.

Appointed grand jurors, and adjourned to first Monday in January.

1784—January 5—Court met. Members present—the Worshipful Isaac Bledsoe, Samuel Barton, and Isaac Lindsay, Esqs.

January 6—On motion made to the Court concerning allegations against John Montgomery, as an aider and abettor in the treasonable piratical proceeding, carried on in the Mississippi, against the Spaniards, it is the opinion of the Court that the said M. be holden in security in the sum of 150 pounds, for his appearance at our next Court, on which Elijah Robertson and Stephen Ray became securities for his appearance.

Wm. Cocke and John Sevier, were offered as securities on the bond of Matthew Talbot, elected as Clerk. It is the opinion of the Court

that *he* is not entitled thereto. The following military officers were sworn:—Anthony Bledsoe, 1st Colonel; Isaac Bledsoe, 1st Major; Samuel Barton, 2d Major; Jasper Mansco, 1st Captain; George Freeland, 2d; John Buchanan, 3d; Jas. Ford, 4th; Wm. Ramsey, Jonathan Drake, Ambrose Maulding, and Peter Sides, Lieutenants; William Collins and Elmore Douglass, Ensigns.

Daniel Smith, appointed Surveyor.

1784—April 5—Court met at the house where Jonathan Drake lately lived—adjourns to meet immediately in the house in Nashburgh, where Israel Harman lately lived.

July 8, 1784—Records call it Nashville.

1785 The Assembly of this year legislated further for the Cumberland settlements. The members were received and treated with great consideration and regard. Relations of a new character began to spring up between North-Carolina and her ultra-montane citizens. Many inhabitants of the mother state needed the good offices and assistance of her pioneer citizens in the West, in locating to the best advantage, and attending to, their land warrants. The *western interest*, as it was called, was becoming of such value in legislation and appointments to office, that the representatives from the four westernmost counties, who, from the identity of their local interests, always acted as a unit in the Legislature, were much courted and caressed. They dexterously used the advantages these considerations placed in their power for the benefit of their suffering constituencies. Every thing not involving the expenditure of money by the Treasury of North-Carolina, was cheerfully granted to them. An inspection of tobacco in Davidson county was established. Davidson Academy was incorporated and endowed with lands, which were exempted from taxation for ninety-nine years.

A Superior Court of Law and Equity, was also established at Nashville, the first session of which was to commence on the first Monday of May, 1786. The act creating this Court, provided that no person in Davidson county should be subject to any action in the Courts east of the Apalachian Mountains, and that no person on that side of the mountain should be subjected to any action in Davidson county. The salary allowed to the Judge was fifty pounds for each Court he held, and it was expressly enacted that that should be paid

from the Treasury of Davidson county, so careful were the Legislature of the parent state that her western possessions should cost North-Carolina nothing.

Commissioners, in the meantime, had been appointed by Congress, to treat with the Cherokees and other southern Indians. Col. William Blount attended, also, as the Agent of North-Carolina, and protested against some of the provisions of the treaty, which "infringe upon and violate the legislative rights" of the state he represented. The Commissioners, in their report to the President of Congress, Richard Henry Lee, remark:

"That there are some few people settled on the Indian lands whom we are to remove, and those in the fork of French Broad and Holston being numerous, the Indians agreed to refer their particular situation to Congress, and abide their decision. We told them there were too many for us to engage positively to order off, although they had settled expressly against the treaty entered into by Virginia and North-Carolina, with the Cherokees, in 1777."

By an estimate furnished by the same report, the Indians then residing south of Tennessee, and in reach of her infant settlements, are computed to be—

"Gunmen of the Cherokees, - - - -	2,000
" " Creeks, - - - -	5,400
" " Chickasaws, - - - -	800
" " Choctaws, - - - -	6,000
Warriors, - - - -	14,200

There are, also, some remains of tribes settled among these, as Shawneese, Euchees, etc."

Fifteen thousand southern Indian warriors, and, perhaps, double that number from the northern tribes, for more than ten years, retarded the growth and prevented the enlargement of the early settlements of Tennessee. That they were not able wholly to exterminate the pioneers, as they successively arrived in the West, ceases now to be a subject of wonder. A like spirit of daring enterprise and chivalrous adventure, continues to be a characteristic of Tennessee. Wherever danger is to be encountered, a difficulty to be overcome, or an achievement to be wrought, her young men are there to brave, encounter and achieve. The same enterprising spirit is yet sending out her young men from home in

search of adventure across the Sierra Madre, the Sierra Nevada, and to the coast of the Pacific. That spirit has subdued the wilderness, and made it, teeming with life and fertility, the abode of civilized man. That spirit will not be quelled while there is a new country to be gained, or an inferior race to be conquered. Anglo-American enterprise and Anglo-American valour, are destined to subdue and occupy all North America.*

* At the moment this eulogy, well deserved—not overwrought—nor dictated by partiality, is being written, a parent's heart is pierced with an immedicable wound, and still bleeds from the recent intelligence, that he is himself a principal victim of the fearless enterprise and hardihood, which the province of an annalist has so often required him to mention. He may not here portray the bitterness of a private grief. This is not the place to inflict upon others the poignancy of a heavy domestic bereavement. Many of his readers, perhaps most of those in the West, know too well the high expectation, the flattering promise and the gilded hope, held out to their fond view, by kindred and friends, going in voluntary exile to the far, the remotest West. Talents, virtue, genius, admitted probity, envied efficiency, learning, patriotism, courage, promise for a moment, success, distinction, usefulness and glory. The shaft of death reaches the generous adventurer, and in a land of strangers he finds a grave. Blighted promise, blasted expectation and ruined hope—these, these belong, these belong to the survivors—only to the survivors; to whom, in their affectionate grief, another's sympathy and condolence have said kindly, and with the soothing voice of comfort—"Friends of the sleeper! the gentle breeze is sighing a soft sweet dirge over the low resting place of your loved and lost son, Wilberforce—the stars look nightly down upon his grave in the wilds of California—the green turf is wet with the dews of the night, as if tendering their sympathies to the bereaved."

"Rest here in peace! in the dark hour of danger
No sight of the loved ones to thy dim eye arose,
Yet sweet be thy sleep, tho' the land of the stranger
Doth cradle thy form in its dreamless repose.
Green plains are around, and the blue skies are free,
Where the earth-wearied spirit is chainless and blest.
Then sleep! till a voice from above shall restore thee
To thine own kindred friends in the mansions of rest."

"No graves are there—

Father! we thank thee that there is a clime,
Guarded alike from death, and grief, and care,
Untouched by time.
We praise thy name,
That from the darkness of the tomb
We can look up in faith, and humbly claim
Our future home.
Hasten the day,
When passing death's dark vale without a fear,
We, as we reach that heavenly home, may say
No graves are *here*."

1785 By the boundaries, as stipulated in the treaty of Hopewell, much of the lands that had been entered in the offices opened by the Act of 1783, for receiving entries of vacant lands, was made to be within the Indian territory. The intruders were to be punished by the Indians as they might think proper. An exception was made in favour of the inhabitants south of French Broad and Holston, who, as well as the Cherokees, were to abide by the decision of Congress on their case. The subject of boundaries gave great offence—not to the settlers only, but to all the Southern States. It was considered, that too much had been given up for the purpose of conciliating the Cherokees. The boundaries of the settlements were greatly contracted, and a large extent of country surrendered, which had heretofore been included in the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and in the purchase of Transylvania by Henderson and Company. The treaty encountered opposition for other reasons. William Blount, who, as has been shewed, entered his protest on the treaty-ground, as agent of the State of North-Carolina, was at that time a member of Congress, and determined to carry his opposition to the treaty into the Federal Legislature. He contended against it, as violative of the sovereignty of his state, as he considered it beyond the legitimate power of Congress, to make a treaty in contravention of the Laws and Constitution of North-Carolina, concerning lands and boundaries within her ancient and acknowledged limits. The Articles of Confederation, as he contended, had not given such power to Congress. The occupants of the lands thus retroceded, paid no regard to the boundaries thus circumscribed. But the appearance of a treaty concession may have appeased Cherokee hostility in some degree. Aggressions from that tribe, during the succeeding year, were less frequent and less aggravated, especially on the east of the Cumberland Mountains. West of them some mischief was done to the white settlements, but principally under the instigation of the Creeks, who for five or six years had been waging a cruel war against the Georgians. Their most northern towns were in close proximity with the Cherokee villages, on the Tennessee River, and they occasionally se-

duced the disaffected of the latter tribe, to join their marauding parties against the Cumberland settlements.

The General Assembly of North-Carolina, at its November session of this year, taking notice of the exposed condition of the inhabitants of Davidson county, adopted measures for their protection and defence. At the instance of Captain Robertson, then a representative of the county, it was enacted that three hundred men should be embodied for the protection of the Cumberland settlements. That when assembled at the lower end of Clinch Mountain, the troops should cut and clear a road from that point by the most eligible route to Nashville, making the same at least ten feet wide, and fit for the passage of wagons and carts. The troops were to be marched from time to time to the Cumberland frontier, and were to be stationed at such places, and disposed of and proportioned in such numbers, as the field officers of Davidson county might direct, or consider most conducive to the intimidation of the Indians, and the prevention of their hostile incursions. The commanding officer of these troops was, moreover, invested with the power, when the emergency rendered it necessary, to make such other disposition of them as the safety of the inhabitants might demand.

The same act also provided that four hundred acres of land should be laid off for each private, in full satisfaction of the half of his first year's pay, and in the same proportion for his further service. To the officers of this troop, a proportionate allowance in land was also made, for the pay to which they were entitled. Such lands to be located west of Cumberland Mountain.

In strict accordance with the policy invariably pursued, when disbursements were to be made by North-Carolina for the benefit of her western possessions, this *indispensable clause* was inserted. "that the monies arising from the tax of lands west of the Apalachian Mountains, should be appropriated to the purpose of discharging the expense of raising, clothing, arming and supporting the troops to be embodied in pursuance of this act." And, as a clear intimation of the future policy of the Legislature upon all similar sub-

jects, the General Assembly further enacted, "that in all returns of taxable property, made by receivers of lists and clerks of courts, these officers should particularly specify the lands situated west of the Cumberland Mountain, that the nett produce of the revenue arising therefrom may be ascertained." Thus leaving the frontier people to infer, that beyond that amount, the treasury of the parent state should not be held liable, for the satisfaction of debts incurred in maintaining and defending her remote settlements.

During this year, the road, as directed in the act, was opened, from Clinch River to Nashville. Emigrants had heretofore reached Cumberland, by the original route through the wilderness of Kentucky. Hereafter the route was more direct — for not only horsemen, but wagons, and immense numbers of the more wealthy people of the Atlantic sections, sought the Cumberland through the new road, which ran nearly over the same track still pursued as the stage road, by the way of the Crab-Orchard, the Flat Rock, &c. The top of the mountain is described as being then, a vast upland prairie, covered with a most luxuriant growth of native grasses, pastured over as far as the eye could see, with numerous herds of deer, elk and buffalo, gamboling in playful security over these secluded plains, scarcely disturbed in their desert wilds at the approach of man, and exhibiting little alarm at the explosion of his rifle or fright at the victim falling before its deadly aim. The frowning cliffs and precipices, that every where surrounded the mountain, and the dark laurel thickets, that obstructed the entrances and ascent to its summit level, had hitherto, excluded even the hunter and Indian from an easy access to it in pursuit of game; and the boundless natural meadow, with its lofty enclosures of granite, erected by Omnipotent masonry, presented to the first intruders, the aspect of primeval solitude, quiet and security. This aspect it wore no longer. The mural escarpment and the mountain waterfall, yielded to the energy of the troop and the guard. Nature doffed her power, her beauty, and her dominion, and succumbed to the reign of art and civilization.

At the same session of the North-Carolina Legislature,

Davidson county was divided, and a new county established. As further evidence of the martial spirit of the time, and in testimony of the respect and gratitude of his countrymen, the name Sumner was given to the new county, in honour of the military services of General Jethro Sumner, of the North-Carolina line. During the whole of the Revolutionary war, he had continued in the service of the country; acted a distinguished part in the greater number of the hottest actions which had taken place in that struggle, and was as eminent for personal valour, as for equanimity and suavity of manners. His name is precious in the estimation of his countrymen; it is engraven on their hearts in characters of imperishable duration.*

RECORDS OF SUMNER COURT—APRIL TERM, 1787.

Agreeable to an act of Assembly, for the establishment of Sumner County Court, at the house of John Hamilton, on the second Monday in April, 1787, Daniel Smith, Isaac Lindsey, David Wilson, John Harden, Joseph Keyhandall, William Hale and George Winchester, Esqrs., who each of them took the oath for their qualification of office, and also the oath of office of Justices of the Peace, for said county, and proceeded to business.

David Shelby, is appointed Clerk of the Court of said county. John Harden, Jun., is appointed Sheriff. Isaac Lindsey, is appointed Ranger.

1787 The General Assembly of North-Carolina met, this year, at Tarborough. The members of that body from Davidson county, were James Robertson and David Hays. The delegation from the two counties made a solemn statement, in writing, of the sufferings of their constituents. In its preparation, they received the assistance of Col. William Blount, who became, afterwards, more closely identified with the people and fortunes of Tennessee. In the paper thus prepared and submitted to the Assembly, it was represented:

"That the inhabitants of the western country were greatly distressed by a constant war that was carried on against them, by parties of the Creeks and Cherokees, and some of the western Indians; that some of their horses were daily carried off secretly or by force, and that their own lives were in danger whenever they lost sight of a station or stockade; that in the course of the present year, thirty-three of their fellow

* Haywood.

citizens had been killed by those Indians, a list of whose names they annexed, and as many more had been wounded ; that by original letters or Talks, from the Chickasaw nation, which they submitted to the inspection of the Assembly, it appeared that they were jealous or uneasy, lest encroachments should be made on their hunting grounds; and that unless some assurances were given them, that their lands should not be located, there was reason to apprehend, that they shortly would be as hostile as the Creeks and Cherokees ; that these counties have been settled at great expense and personal danger to the memorialists and their constituents, and that, by such settlements, the adjacent lands had greatly increased in value, by which means the public has been enabled to sink a considerable part of the domestic debt. They and their constituents, they say, have cheerfully endured the almost unconquerable difficulties in settling the western country, in full confidence that they should be enabled to send their produce to market through the rivers which water the country ; but they now have the mortification, not only to be excluded from that channel of commerce by a foreign nation, but the Indians are rendered more hostile through the influence of that very nation, probably with a view to drive them from the country, as they claim the whole of the soil. They call upon the humanity and justice of the state, to prevent any further massacres and depredations of themselves and their constituents, and claim from the Legislature, that protection of life and property, which is due to every citizen ; and they recommend, as the most safe and convenient means of relief, the adoption of the resolves of Congress, of the 26th of October last.* This relief, they trust, will not be refused, especially as the United States are pleased to interest themselves on this occasion, and are willing to bear the expense."

At the same session of the Assembly, at the representation of the members from Davidson and Sumner, the militia officers of these counties were authorized to appoint two or more persons to examine, survey and mark out the best and most convenient way from the lower end of Clinch Mountain, to the settlements of Cumberland, and to order out the militia of these counties to cut and clear the road so marked. The regiments of these counties were ordered to be divided into classes and parts of classes, beginning with the first, and so on, in rotation, till the road should be cut. A tax was also to be assessed upon these counties, to defray the expense of opening the road. The military duties of guarding the settlements, as imposed by a prior act, upon the troop of three hundred men as heretofore provided for, had been too incessant and burthensome to allow them to

* That body had recommended the cession of their western lands by states which owned them, to the United States.

make a road sufficient for the purposes of the vast emigration which was now pouring into the country beyond the wilderness. One wider and more level was demanded by the exigencies of the times. Under the provisions of this act, a road was soon afterwards cut from Bledsoe's Lick into the Nashville road leading to Clinch River; and the last mentioned road was also widened and cleared.

It was further provided, that no person be permitted to go through Davidson or Sumner county to any Indian town, without a pass from some officer duly authorized under the United States, the Executive of North-Carolina or the field officers of one of said counties. The field officers were further directed to raise militia guards, not exceeding fifty men each, when it should be made known to such officers that a number of families were at Cumberland Mountain, waiting for an escort to conduct them to the Cumberland settlements; the expense to be paid by a poll tax, which the county courts were authorized to levy upon those counties respectively.

The currency of Franklin was, at this time, peltries, flax linen, &c.—something that could be worn—that of Cumberland was different—something that could be eaten.

1787.—October Term—Davidson County Records.

"*Resolved*, That for the better furnishing of the troops now coming into the country under command of Major Evans, with provisions, &c., that one-fourth of the tax of this county be paid in corn, two fourths in beef, pork, bear meat and venison; one-eighth in salt, and one-eighth in money, to defray the expenses of removing the provisions from the place of collection to the troops; and that the following places be appointed in each captain's company for the inhabitants to deliver in, each, his proportion of the above tax, viz: [Here follow the several stations.] And Daniel Rowan is hereby appointed to superintend the collecting and removing the provisions aforesaid, and that he be allowed twenty dollars per month for his services, and he is hereby directed to hire hands and horses at as low a rate as possible, for the purpose of removing the specifics, as aforesaid; and it is hereby resolved, that the following species of provisions be received at the undermentioned prices, viz: Corn, at four shillings per bushel; beef, at five dollars per hundred; pork, at eight dollars per hundred; good bear meat, without bones, eight dollars per hundred wt.; and venison at ten shillings per hundred wt.; and salt at sixteen dollars per bushel. And the Superintendent is hereby directed to call for such proportions of the aforesaid tax, as the commanding officer of the troops shall direct, and on any person failing to deliver his or their quotas, at the time and place di-

rected, to give notice thereof to the sheriff, who is hereby directed to distrain immediately,

1788—April Term. The Court appointed Robert Hays, Anthony Hart and John Hunter, to inspect the currency now in circulation in this county, and such of the bills as they shall believe to be counterfeit to deface, so as to prevent its further circulation."

By the improvements of the roads through which the new country was reached, and the security and protection thus given to the lives and property of the emigrants, great accessions to the strength of the Cumberland community were constantly made thoughout the next succeeding years. Large numbers of families would concentrate on the banks of the Clinch—encamp there a few days, waiting the arrival of the guard—accompanied by them, they would pass through the wilderness with little apprehension of Indian aggression. The emigrants being well armed, would, with the guard of fifty practiced woodsmen and Indian-fighters, constitute a formidable corps. With a population thus constantly enlarged; their agricultural labour amply remunerated by bountiful crops, from a most prolific soil; with an abatement of the envenomed hostility from the nearest Indian tribes; with increased confidence in themselves, and with the sure prospect of augmented numbers and means of defence, the settlers had a foretaste of a final triumph, over the discouragements and disasters that had so long depressed and enfeebled them. They became still more vigorous and elastic, and better prepared to repel future savage aggression, and, in a short time after, to carry on offensive warfare against their enemies. The legislature passed an act for the encouragement of the making of salt in Davidson county.

Such was the rapid increase of the population of Davidson county, that for the convenience of the inhabitants residing most remote from Nashville, its seat of justice, it was found necessary again to divide it, and form a new county, called Tennessee.

1788 Col. Robertson gave notice, of this date, by a publication in the State Gazette of North-Carolina, Nov. 28th, that "the new road from Campbell's Station to Nashville, was opened on the 25th September, and

the guard had attended at that time, to escort such persons as were ready to proceed to Nashville; that about sixty families had gone on, amongst whom were the widow and family of the late General Davidson, and John McNairy, Judge of the Superior Court, and that on the first day of October next, the guard would attend at the same place for the same purpose."

1789 The General Assembly of this year made further enactments, of a local character, for her western counties. They established a provision store on the frontier of Hawkins county, at the house of John Adair, for the reception of corn, flour, pork and beef, for the use of the Cumberland guard, when called on to escort and conduct emigrating families through the wilderness to the Cumberland settlements. John Adair was appointed a Commissioner for the purchase of these provisions. In payment of these, it was made his duty to give certificates, which should be received by the different sheriffs in the District of Washington, in part payment of the public taxes in the counties of that district, and from them by the State Treasurer. A tobacco inspection was also established at Clarkesville, upon the Cumberland River, below Nashville.

Provision was also made for such persons as had been wounded in the formation and defence of the Cumberland settlements. The county courts were authorized, when persons thus wounded, were unable to pay the expenses of their treatment and cure, to pass the accounts of the physician, surgeon and nurse; and the accounts so passed, were to be received in payment of any of the public taxes. In a like manner, accounts were passed for provisions furnished to the Indians, by any of the inhabitants on Cumberland. The courts were also authorized to sell the several licks in the country, at which salt could be manufactured; and all deemed unfit for that purpose, they were to declare vacant and liable to location and entry. Two of the licks of the first description, with the adjoining land, were to be retained for the use of Davidson Academy. Thus early, was provision made for the the endowment of a Literary Institution upon the remote frontier. The Assembly also enlarged the

powers and increased the salary of the Judge of the Superior Court of the district. This district had been laid off the previous year, and embraced the three Cumberland counties, Davidson, Sumner and Tennessee. It was named in the act, Mero District, in honour of Don Estephan Mero, Colonel in the service of Spain and Governor of New-Orleans. The Legislature had, in this case, departed from the usage that had hitherto governed, in giving names to the civil subdivisions of her western possessions. This innovation was made at the instance of the members from the Cumberland counties, and no doubt, was in consonance with the feelings of their constituents, who ragarded Gov. Mero as their friend and benefactor. He had extended, on several occasions, to the western traders, commercial facilities, and maintained towards the western people, generally, a mild and conciliatory official intercourse with them, — thus reconciling them to the Spanish authorities, and securing to himself their affectionate regard.

An act was passed, empowering the commanding officers
1788 { of Washington, Sullivan, Greene and Hawkins counties, to erect a station on the north side of Tennessee River, to be garrisoned for one year, with a guard consisting of a captain, lieutenant and ensign, and thirty-three non-commissioned officers and privates; the men to be raised by a voluntary enlistment, or an indiscriminate draft from these counties. The pay and rations of the said guard to be "payable out of the funds arising from the taxes of the said four counties, and out of no other fund whatever, provided the price of the ration shall not exceed one shilling per day." The right of disbanding the guard, is reserved to the Governor, whenever he and his Council should think proper. This act was repealed at the next session.

To promote the growth and encourage the settlements upon Cumberland, and facilitate and protect emigration to it, the legislature authorized a contract to be made for exploring the route, and making a wagon road through the wilderness waste lying between those settlements and the Holston counties. After this was done, the legislature provided a guard, whose duty it was to escort emigrants, and

protect them from Indian attacks, while in the wilderness. A public provision store was also continued at the house of John Adair, then residing a few miles north of Knoxville.

As a further protection for the Cumberland settlements, a battalion of soldiers was authorized to be raised and marched for the purpose of repelling the marauding parties of Indians, which were constantly making inroads upon that frontier. A further duty of these troops, was to complete a road suitable for wagons, on the nearest route from the end of Clinch Mountain, through the wilderness, to Nashville.

Further attempts were made to reach Cumberland. This year was signalized by an adventure of Col. James Brown, a Revolutionary officer in the North-Carolina line, who was now emigrating to Cumberland, to enter into possession of the lands allotted to him for military services. Taking with him to the distant wilderness, his family, consisting of his wife, five sons, two of whom were grown, and three younger, four small daughters, together with several negroes, he was unwilling to expose them to the dangers of the route through Cumberland Gap, or the more direct, but no less unsafe passage, over the mountain; and, therefore, determined to descend the Tennessee River, and reach Nashville, by ascending the Ohio and Cumberland, to that place. The boat was built on Holston, a short distance below Long Island. He took the precaution to fortify it, by placing oak plank, two inches thick, all around above its gunwales. These were perforated with port-holes, at suitable distances. To these measures of defence was added a swivel, placed in the stern. Besides his two grown sons, James and John, Colonel Brown had five other young men, viz: J. Bays. John Flood, John Gentry, Wm. Gentry and John Griffin. These were all good marksmen. The emigrants, adventurers rather, embarked on the fourth of May. On the ninth, the boat passed the Chickamauga towns, about daybreak, and the Tuskigagee Island Town, a little after sunrise. The head man, Cutley Otoy, and three other warriors, came on board there, and were kindly treated. They then returned to their town, from which they immediately dispatched runners across the mountain to Running Water Town and Nickajack, to raise all the

warriors they could get, to ascend the river and meet the boat. The narrative of the capture of the boat, the massacre of most of the passengers, and the captivity of such as survived, will be given in the words of the narrator—the youngest son—the late Colonel Joseph Brown, of Murray county, Tennessee.* It contains such a horrid recital of Indian cruelty and barbarism by the savage banditti, that so long lay concealed in the fastnesses of Nickajack and Running Water Towns—is withal, so truthful and minute in its details of the captivity and sufferings of one of the prisoners, who himself piloted the expedition in 1794, which penetrated these mountain recesses, and extirpated the miscreant land pirates and murderers that infested them—and is, besides, now for the first time published, that no apology is needed for giving it entire without condensation or abridgment:

"Only four canoes came, meeting us in the current of the river, which at the time was very high. Seven or eight came up through the bottoms, in some ponds, and after the Indians in the four first got on board, the other canoes came out through the cane, and the Indians in them also came aboard. The first four came two and two, side by side, holding up white flags, but had their guns and tomahawks covered in the bottom of their canoes. But as there were forty men in the four canoes, my father ordered them not to come nigh, as there were too many of them. We then wheeled our boat, levelled our swivel, and had our match ready to sink their canoes, when they claimed protection under the treaty, and said, by a man named John Vann, whom they had got to come and talk for them, that it was a peaceable time, and they only wished to see where we were going to, and to trade with us, if we had anything to trade on. My father ordered the young men not to fire, as he was coming to an Indian country, and did not wish to break any treaty.

"After they came to us, they appeared friendly, until the other canoes came around; and then they began to gather our property, and put it into their canoes. My father begged Vann not to let them behave so, and he replied, that the head man of the town was gone from home, but that he would be at home that night, and would make them give up everything. He also promised that one of them should go with us over the Muscle Shoals, and pilot us, as the passage was dangerous for boats.

"Before they had finished robbing the boats, however, a dirty black-looking Indian, with a sword in his hand, caught me by the arm, and was about to kill me, when my father, seeing what he was attempting, took hold of him, and said, that I was one of his little boys, and that he must not interrupt me. The Indian then let me go, but as soon as

*For this narrative, I am indebted to the kindness and politeness of General Zollicoffer, of Nashville.

my father's back was turned, struck him with the sword, and cut his head nearly half off. Another Indian then caught him, and threw him overboard. I saw him go overboard, but did not know that he was struck with the sword; it, therefore, astonished me to see him sink down, as I knew him to be a good swimmer. As this took place in the stern, and my brothers and the other young men were with Vann in the bow, I went to them, and told them that 'an Indian had thrown our father overboard, and he was drowned.'

"Our boat was landed at the upper end of the town of Necojack, but before it reached shore, an Indian wanted me to go out of the boat into a canoe, which I refused, not dreaming that I was a prisoner. As soon as we landed, the same Indian brought an old white man and his wife to me, who said to me, 'My boy, I want you to go home with me.' I enquired where he lived, and he said his house was about a mile out of town. I told him that I supposed I could go home with him that night, but that we would continue our journey in the morning. On his saying that he was ready to start, and wished me to go with him, I mentioned to one of my brothers the old man's wish that I should go with him, and told him that I would return early in the morning, to which he replied, 'Very well.'

"Before I went, however, the Indians were telling my brothers and the other young men of a certain house, in which they could stay till morning; after I had left them, they were told that there was a better house down toward the lower end of the town, and that a young man would pilot them that far. Now the town of Necojack was on a higher bank than common, and had only been settled about three years; thus the banks were still full of cane. When the boat was about to drop down to the lower end of the town, the Indians placed themselves behind stumps and in the cane, and as she floated down, they picked off the men with their rifles. Three of them fell, the others ran, but were all butchered, some with knives and some with tomahawks and guns.

"I had not got half way to the old man's house, before I heard the report of the guns which were killing my brothers and the other young men; but thought it was the noise of our guns, probably taken out of the boat to see how they would shoot. I had been at the old man's only fifteen or twenty minutes, when a very large corpulent old woman came in, the sweat falling in big drops from her face, who appeared very angry, and told the old white people that they had done very wrong in taking me away, that I ought to be killed, that I would see everything, and that I would soon be grown and would guide an army there and have them all cut off; in short, that I must be killed. This was said in Indian, so that I did not understand it, nor what she went on to say, viz: that all the rest were killed, and that her son would be there directly and would kill me, she knew.

"The old Irishman, however, informed me that my people were all slain, but added that I should not be hurt, though the squaw had just told him that her son would kill me immediately. He then directed me to sit on the side of the bed, and getting up stood in the door with his face outward, talking all the time to his wife and the old squaw in Indian, which of course I did not understand. In about ten or fifteen

minutes, the old squaw's son arrived, sure enough, but had not come up the road, so that the old man did not see him till he reached the corner of the house. He asked at once if there was a white man within. The old man answered 'No,' that there was a 'bit' of a white boy in there; to which the Indian replied, that he knew how big I was, and that I must be killed. The old white man plead for my life, saying it was a pity to kill women and children; but the Indian used the same argument that his mother had employed, i. e. that I would get away, when I grew up, and pilot an army there and have them all killed, and that I must be killed. This old fellow was a British deserter, who had come to America before the Revolutionary war, and had deserted several times, and had at length got into the Cherokee nation, having been there about eighteen years. His name was Thomas Tunbridge; he had lived with his wife about sixteen years. She was a French woman, who had been taken by the Indians when a small girl, and grew up and had children to them, before she had an opportunity of returning to her people. Her name, she said, was Polly Mallett. She had no children by Tunbridge, but it was an Indian son of hers that took me prisoner; he gave me to his mother, telling her that I was large enough to help her hoe corn. He had also said that they would kill the rest directly, and that I was so large that when they got in a frolic killing the others, some of them would knock me over. When, therefore, Cutleotoy insisted on killing me, old Tunbridge told him that I was his son's prisoner, and he was still in town, and that I must not be killed. No greater insult could be offered him, for he was a great man and did as he pleased usually; while Tunbridge's son was only twenty-two years old, and a perfect boy in Cutleotoy's estimation. Incensed at this insult, he came to Tunbridge, with his knife drawn and tomahawk raised, and asked him if he was going to be the Virginian's friend; in fact, he would have killed him instantly, had he admitted it, but Tunbridge said 'no,' and stepping back from the door-sill into the house, spoke for the first time in English: 'Take him along.' Cutleotoy, who was a very large strong Indian, followed in a rage, and came to me with his knife and tomahawk both drawn; but the old woman begged him not to kill me in her house, to which he agreed, and catching me by the hand, jerked me up and out of the house. Outside were ten of his men surrounding the house door, and one had in his hand the scalp of one of my brothers, and another that of the other men, on a stick. Some had their guns cocked, and others their knives and tomahawks drawn, ready to put me to death. I requested Tunbridge to beg them to let me have one half hour to pray, to which he replied that it was not worth while; but they concluded to strip my clothes off, so as not to bloody them, and while they were doing so, the old French woman begged them not to kill me there, nor in the road that she carried water along, for the road passed by her spring. They answered that they would take me to Running Water Town, as there were no white people there, and would have a frolic knocking me over. All this was said in Indian, however, and I knew nothing of what they discussed; and as soon as my clothes were off, I fell on my knees, and cried, like the dying Stephen, 'Lord Jesus, into thy hand I commend my spirit,' expecting every moment to be

my last. But I had not been on my knees more than one minute, when Tunbridge said, 'My boy, you must get up and go with them; they will not kill you here,' but told me nothing of what they said of having a frolic at Running Water Town.

"We had not gone more than seventy or eighty yards, when Cutleotoy stopped his men, and said to them, that he could not, and they must not kill me, as they were his men, and it would be as bad for him, as though he himself had done it; for that I was the prisoner of poor Job, (the French woman's son,) who was a man of war.

"'Now,' said he, 'I have taken a negro woman out of the boat, and sent her by water to where I live, and if we kill this fellow, poor Job will go and kill my negro, and I don't want to lose her; nor could all the Indians in the nation keep him from putting her to death.' Well might he fear poor Job, for, although he was only twenty-two years old, and it had been a time of peace since he was a small boy, he had taken the lives of six white men. The Hopewell and Holston treaties bound them to peace, but their young men were away with the Creeks and Shawnees at war; the Chickasaws and Choctaws were exceptions to the rule, however.

"Now, when Cutleotoy spoke thus, the thought of my being one day a man, and leading an army there, and having them killed, had given way to avarice, for the old woman, as well as her son, wanted the service of the negro. As I knew nothing of what they were saying, I was on my knees, trying to give my soul to God, through the merits of the Saviour, and expecting the tomahawk to sink into my skull every moment. At length, the favour given to Stephen in his dying moments, came to my mind; how he saw the heavens opened, and the blessed Saviour sitting at the right hand of God. I opened my eyes, and looking up, saw one of the Indians, as they stood all round me, smile; then, glancing my eyes round on them, saw that all their countenances were changed from vengeance and anger, to mildness.

"This gave me the first gleam of hope. Cutleotoy then called to old Tunbridge to come after me, that he loved me, and would not kill me then, but that he would not make peace with me then; but if I lived three weeks, he would be back again to make peace with me. The other Indians, however, explained the reason of this sudden love for me; that it was the negro he loved so much. The old squaw said, she would have some of my hair any how, and coming behind me, loosed my hair, (it was customary for young people, then, to wear their hair long,) and gathering a lock from the crown of my head, with an old dull knife, cut off a parcel, and kicked me in the side, and called me a poor Virginian. That day the old head-man of the town had gone to a beloved town sixteen miles off, called Stecoyee, south-east from Nicojack Town. I understood that he was much displeased with their conduct, for he was a man of fine mind, and boasted that he had never stained his knife in the blood of a white man; but he had killed a Shawnee, when that nation was at war with the Cherokees; his name was the Breath; he sent for me the second day after I was taken, and warned me that some of them would kill me, if I was not put into a family, with my hair trimmed like an Indian's, and my face painted. He also said that

as his was one of the strongest families in the nation, he would receive me into it, directing me to call him uncle, and poor Job, brother. On the same day, the 11th of May, 1788, he bored holes in my ears, cut off my hair, only leaving a scalp-lock on the top of my head, and taking off my pantaloons, gave me a flap and short shirt, pulling open the collar and putting a small broach in my bosom. On the 12th, which was next day, I was turned out to hoe corn, in the broiling sun; by noon, all my forehead and ears, and the back of my head, and my neck and thighs, were all blistered with the heat; but the Lord was good, and when I was sick with sun-burns, sent a good thunder cloud, and drove us all out of the field. The next day it rained all day, and the third day I was able to go to the field again; after that there came a skin on me that stood everything. A grand-son of the French woman went every where with me, to let me know who were Creeks, for they said that if the Creeks caught me out by myself, they might kill me; I was also cautioned not to look at a Cherokee, because it made an Indian angry to look at him. I had never seen any Indians before, so that every movement they made was strange to me. About three weeks after I was taken, I was going to the spring for water, and saw several Indians sitting about there. The little boy seemed alarmed, and I knew that it was on my account, for he said they were Creeks; but after looking again he pronounced them Cherokees, saying he knew some of them. My fears being removed, I went on, and his being a small tin bucket, I dipped it full first, and handed it up the bank to him, and, never looking at the Indians, dipped up my bucket full. Just as I climbed up the bank, two of them jumped on their horses and came galloping across the branch which ran from the spring. As they came along, I stole a glance at one of them; he had one side of his head painted red and the other black, and a scalp on his breast. Jumping off his horse, he struck me with the butt-end of a white-oak stick, about an inch in diameter and four feet long, on the side of the head. He was so near me that he did not hurt me much, but the second time, he was farther off, and that staggered me very much. He and his party consisting of five others, had been away with the Shawnees and northern Indians, at war, and they had heard that war had broken out at home, and as they were coming home they determined to come by the Holston settlements and steal some horses; they found two little boys, one morning, feeding some cows, and having killed the little fellows, were pursued by the whites, who killed three of them, while they were crossing the Tennessee River. The anger excited by this occurrence, caused him, on seeing me, to strike me, thinking, as he said, that he would knock me down and beat me as long as he thought he could without killing me. I do not suppose he would have cared if I had died.

"During that whole summer there was war, with frequent alarms of white people coming, and at one time a Col. Martin got to Chattanooga, within twenty miles of where I lived; but the Indians killed three of his captains, and he only killed one Shawnee and one negro. No Cherokees were killed, but they raised an army of three thousand men, borrowed one thousand Creeks, to go with fifteen hundred Cherokees on

foot, and five hundred mounted Cherokees, many of whom were half-breeds, and dressed like white men; they kept them ahead of the army, and white men who met them thought them a scouting party of whites, and were by this scheme readily taken prisoners, when they would be kept until it was convenient to kill them without giving alarm. Several men were taken in this way the day they got to Gillespie's Fort. Their object in raising the army was to drive all the whites from the south side of French Broad, on the pretext that the Indians who sold land on the south side of that river, were not authorized to do so by the nation; but finding only one man in the fort, Captain William Gillespie, they plundered it, and got so much booty from it and the surrounding farms, as sufficed, together with their twenty-seven prisoners, taken without the loss of a single man, to induce them to return home, and that with great triumph.

"Most of us at Necojack Town, now moved off for the winter; old Tunbridge went down to Crow Town, thirty miles below Necojack Town; and one of the prisoners, Major Glass's wife, was purchased from the Indians who owned her, by Moses Price, who lived about half a mile from us, opposite the head of Crow Island, at an old crossing place of the Creeks, where the river could be forded nearly across.

"Price went to Pensacola for goods, and left Richard Findelston and two negro men with Mrs. Glass, to take care of his stock. One day, while Findelston was away from home, a large Creek Indian came by and seized Mrs. Glass's sucking child; the negro dared not interfere, for the Indian would have killed him instantly. He ran to our house to give the alarm, and said that he had left them at the door. Old Tunbridge went at once, but only in a walk, and when he got there, they were about eighty yards from the house, on the Creek path, the Indian holding the child, and its mother still hanging to it. The old man made him release the child, and brought it and its mother home with him, and kept them there some time. It was but a few weeks, however, that we got information that Gov. Sevier had taken a town on the waters of the Coosa River, and there would be an exchange of prisoners shortly. In a few weeks more, sure enough, there was a runner sent after us to come to Running Water Town; and when we reached Necojack Town, I found there the Indian who had my little sister, having just returned from his winter's hunt, bringing his wife and my little sister. The old squaw seemed to think as much of her as though she had been her own child. The little girl was stripped of all her finery, it is true, but she was only five years old, and when I told her I was going to take her to her own mother, she ran to the old Indian woman and caught her round the neck, so that I had to take her by force and carry her twenty or thirty yards; then telling her she should go to see her own mother, I set her down and led her by the hand. My eldest sister was at another place, a child of ten years old.

"We got to Running Water about three o'clock, and found that the Head-man from the Upper Towns had come after us. The old Head-man of Necojack grumbled at giving us up, as we, who were taken out of the boat, had come from North-Carolina, and did not belong to Holston settlement. The old Indian who had come for us, said that was

all true, but that Little John (their name for Gov. Sevier) was so mean and ugly that he could do nothing with him. This word ugly is their hardest term of abuse. He went on to say that "Little John" declared he would not let one of their people free, unless he got all the whites who were in the nation, naming those taken from the boat particularly. The next morning they spoke of starting, but I told them I could not go without my sister; a young man was immediately started after her. She was thirty miles off, and the third day the messenger returned about ten o'clock in the morning without her, and announced that the man who had her, would not let her come without pay. There was an old warrior sitting by, his sword hanging on the wall, and his horse standing at a tree in the yard. He rose, and putting on his sword, made this short speech: 'I will go and bring her, or his head.' Sure enough, the next morning, here he came with her; when asked what the Indian said, he replied, 'nothing.' The next morning we started, and in a few days were at Coosawatee, where an exchange of prisoners was made instead of at Swannanoa, as at first proposed. This was about the 20th of April, 1789. At this time my weight was only eighty pounds, though I was in my seventeenth year."

After the capture and plunder of the boat and the mas-
1788 { sacre of the men, the Creek banditti started to their
towns, having two of the daughters of the unfortunate Colonel Brown—Jane, aged ten, and Polly, five—prisoners. These were pursued by the Cherokee braves, recaptured, and brought back to Nickajack. The trader's wife had the humanity to allow their brother Joseph to go there and see his sisters. From these, he learned that the Creek confederates had gone with his mother, his brother George, a lad ten years old, and his three small sisters, and much of the booty taken in the boat, in the direction of their distant homes on the Tallapoosa River, and that two of the children had been recaptured by the Cherokees, as already mentioned. The negroes were despatched by water to the Upper Cherokee towns. The children remained in the town where they were captured, and being adopted into several Indian families, were generally well treated. The usual menial offices of savage life were imposed upon them, during their captivity of nearly twelve months. They had the melancholy pleasure of seeing one another. Occasionally they were threatened, and often had to listen to accounts brought by warriors, returning from their hostile excursions, of horrid barbarities and cruel murders inflicted upon the distant frontier

These atrocities, at length, invited further invasion and

retaliation, by the aggrieved frontier men ; war was brought to the immediate vicinity of the banditti Indians themselves, which resulted in a Peace Talk from General Sevier, and a proposal of an exchange of prisoners followed, and the young prisoners were restored.

Mrs. Brown, when hurried off by her captors, heard the savage yells, that she but too well knew, announced the hard fate of her sons and their comrades. To increase the poignancy of her bereavement, two of her daughters were snatched from her side, and carried back to the scene of the calamity which had overwhelmed her family. A single source of consolation was left to her—her two children—the son, aged nine, and the daughter, seven. These were afterwards separated from her, and sent to two neighbouring villages, whilst she continued the prisoner and slave of a Creek warrior, and remained for some time in the condition of hopeless bondage and exile. By the influence and assistance of the wife of Durant, a French trader, Mrs. Brown contrived to escape to the residence of McGillevray, the Head-man of the Creek nation, who generously ransomed her from her savage owner. The daughter was, some time after, also ransomed, and with Mrs. Brown, was taken by Col. McGillevray, in November, 1789, to Rock Landing, in Georgia, and restored to her surviving friends. McGillevray was offered compensation for the kind offices he had performed in ransoming and restoring the captives. This was nobly declined, with the further assurance, that he would endeavour to recover the son, still in captivity in his nation. This was at length effected. We will see more of Joseph Brown hereafter, when, in 1794, the prophecy was fulfilled of one of his captors, who said, " he will soon be grown, and will pilot an army here, and have us all cut off."

Few families suffered greater losses and misfortunes, than the family of Mr. Brown. The father, two sons, three sons-in-law, were killed by the Indians—one other shot in his right hand and cut above his wrist—another son, Joseph, and his two sisters, prisoners and in captivity nearly a year—the mother and another daughter, prisoners, seventeen months—the former driven on foot by the Creeks two hundred miles,

and not permitted to stop long enough to take the gravel from her shoes, and her feet blistered and suppurating—a younger son, a prisoner five years.

During the summer after this remarkable disaster to Brown and his family, Sevier invaded and chastised the Cherokees, as has been already narrated.

1788 { The Indians continued their attacks on the stations. In rapid succession, expresses were sent from the frontier to General Martin and Col. Kennedy, representing their exposed condition, and soliciting succour. An army was raised from the upper counties, which rendezvoused at White's Fort, where Knoxville now stands. Their number was about four hundred and fifty men.

Col. Robert Love commanded the regiment from Washington county, Col. Kennedy from Greene, and Col. Doherty from below. The army crossed Hiwassee near the present Calhoun, and reached the point where the Tennessee River breaks through the Cumberland Mountain, and encamped in an old Indian field. It was supposed the Indians had taken off their property to a town six miles below. After dark, Col. Doherty, at the head of fifty men, started with the view of surprising it. As soon as this party reached the spur of the mountain, they were fired upon, and retreated to camp. The troops remained all night with their bridles in their hands. Next morning the spies, who had gone forward to reconnoitre, were fired upon, and William Cunningham, late of Knox county, was wounded. The troops were immediately paraded, and riding to the foot of the mountain, tied their horses, and engaged with the Indians at a point between the bluff and the river. Captains Hardin, Fuller and Gibson, were killed. These were buried in a large town house, standing near where the path entered the mountain. After burying their dead with all the precaution possible, they set fire to the town house and burned it down over them. One of Col. Love's captains, Vincent, was badly wounded, but was put upon a horse litter and brought home, and recovered.

General Martin then proposed to pursue the Indians, but his men rebelled and refused to follow him, except about

sixty. These, he thought, were inadequate to the undertaking, and the troops started home.

General Martin's troops had scarcely reached home, when a party of Cherokees and Creeks, two or three hundred strong, came to Gillespie's Station on Little River, within eight or ten miles from Knoxville. They captured several prisoners, and retreated. General Sevier made a vigorous pursuit, overtook and re-captured the prisoners. Some Indians, also, were taken, who were afterwards exchanged for such white captives as had been carried into the nation.

"On the 21st of September, a large body of the enemy, not less than two hundred, attacked Sherrell's Station, late in the evening. Sevier that day, with forty horsemen, was out ranging, and came on the Indians' trail, making towards the inhabitants; he immediately advanced after them, and opportunely arrived before the fort, when the Indians were carrying on a furious attack. On coming in view of the place, he drew up his troop in close order, made known his intention in a short speech, that he would relieve the garrison, or fall in the attempt; and asked who was willing to follow him. All gave an unanimous consent, and, at a given signal, made a charge on the enemy, as they were busily employed in setting fire to a barn and other out-buildings. The Indians gave way, and immediately retired from the place, and the gallant little band of heroes reached the fort, to the great joy of the besieged. This exploit was performed under cover of the night, and, conformably to the Governor of Frankland's usual good fortune, not a man of his party was hurt.

"On the 17th of October, Gillespie's Fort, (below the mouth of Little River,) on Holston, a little after sunrise, was attacked by about three hundred Indians, under the command of John Watts. The few men in the fort made a gallant resistance; but, being overpowered by numbers, and their ammunition being expended, the Indians rushed over the walls, or rather, the roofs of the cabins which made a part of the fort. Great was the horror of the scene that then ensued. The best accounts say our loss is twenty-eight persons, mostly women and children, as several of the men belonging to the fort, were abroad at the time.

"I am just now informed, that one thousand Indians have crossed the Tennessee in two divisions, and that one of them had attacked Major Houston's Fort, and the other was near Captain White's, on the north side of Holston. The whole of our militia are under marching orders, and Colonel Kennedy has already set out with those that were first ready."*

At the attack on Gillespie's Station, October 15th, a letter of that date was left, signed by the Indian chiefs, and addressed to

*N. C. State Gazette.

Mr. John Sevier, and Joseph Martin, and to you, the Inhabitants of the New State:

We would wish to inform you of the accident that happened at Gillespie's Fort, concerning the women and children that were killed in the battle. The Bloody Fellow's talk is, that he is here now upon his own ground. He is not like you are, for you kill women and children, and he does not. He had orders to do it, and to order them off the land, and he came and ordered them to surrender and that they should not be hurt, and they would not, and he stormed it and took it. For you beguiled the head-man* that was your friend, and wanted to keep peace, but you began it, and this is what you get for it. When you move off the land, then we will make peace, and give up the women and children; and you must march off in thirty days. Five thousand men is our number.

BLOODY FELLOW.
CATEGISKEY.
JOHN WATTS.
GLASS.

In Sullivan county, there appears to be an interregnum from 1784 to March, 1787. The records were, probably, mislaid or lost during the Franklin revolt. At that last date, a Commission, appointing justices of the peace, was presented. The magistrates, thereby appointed, met at the house of Joseph Cole. They resolved, "that it is the opinion and judgment of the Court, that John Rhea, formerly Clerk of the Court, has not forfeited his office by his absence, and therefore has a right to continue Clerk. In 1788, John Vance was Clerk."

Among the last legislative acts of North-Carolina, for her western counties, was one establishing a town in the county of Hawkins. Rogersville is the last town in Tennessee established under the dynasty of the mother state.

1789

After the fall of the Franklin Government, early in 1788, the people gradually gave in their adhesion to that of the parent state. On the part of some, it may have been done reluctantly. The transition, however, from a separate and independent state, to their former position of a colonial appendage to North-Carolina, was so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. It certainly produced no convulsion, and was followed by no commotion. It was accompanied by no

* The Old Tassel.

triumphs, and attended with scarcely a single regret. No one on the frontier has to eat the bitter bread of political or official dependence. Office, under either the one *régime* or the other, brought with it little distinction, and conferred almost no emolument. Its possession was seldom sought after. Its loss produced neither disappointment nor mortification. Under both systems of government the people recognized the same constitution, and were ruled almost by the same laws. The change of officers was hardly known. In military affairs it was essentially so. Upon the frontier the volunteering system had always obtained. If an enemy was to be repelled, or a campaign to be carried on, the volunteers exercised the right of selecting their leader. Did he hold a commission? If he had the confidence of his troops, he commanded. Without this he entered the ranks cheerfully, and yielded the command to a subaltern, preferred over him and chosen by the men. Many who, after the first of March, 1788, became functi officiis, were soon after that date, reinvested with authority by the people themselves, and often by the aid of the strongest zealots for North-Carolina. In one section of Franklin—that south of French Broad and west of Big Pigeon—the functionaries of that government continued in power, under no other regulation than the popular will, which was sovereign, supreme, omnipotent. Elsewhere, in all her western counties, the jurisdiction of North-Carolina was acknowledged and her authority obeyed. Under her laws, elections of members to her Legislature were held.

The Assembly met at Fayetteville in November. Amongst the laws passed at this session, was one for paying the militia officers and soldiers for their services in the campaign, carried on, as has been heretofore narrated, by Gen. Martin, against the Chickamaugas, in the preceding year. By the provisions of this law, the pay rolls of the expedition were to be exhibited under oath to the Comptroller, with the names of the officers. These were to be examined by the Comptroller, who was then to issue his certificate to each officer and soldier. The certificate was made *receivable in payment of the public tax due in the District of Washington,*

and no other, until all such certificates were paid. A like provision was made to liquidate the accounts of the Commissary on this expedition, making certificates issued to him *receivable in payment of public dues.* The frugality of the parent state was further exhibited at the same session, by repealing the law for erecting a garrison on the north side of the Tennessee River. These several enactments served to revive the complaints and discontents of the western people, and especially of those of them in the late Franklin counties.

"They found themselves suddenly re-attached to a country in which a considerable portion of them could perceive no affection for themselves, nor any disposition to give them protection, nor otherwise actuated, as many believed, but by a desire to get from the sale of their lands more certificates of public debt; and the opinion was entertained that North-Carolina could expose them to the tomahawk and scalping knife, without feeling in the least for their sufferings, and without having the least inclination to prevent them. Past experience, in their judgment, had fully demonstrated the advantages which were to be expected from the renewal of their connexions with North-Carolina; they were to fight for themselves, protect their own possessions and pay taxes; which, if not sufficient for the expenses incurred in defending themselves, were to be applied as far as they would go, and the surplus of expenses was to be left unsatisfied. On the other hand, the members of the Atlantic counties had the near prospect, as they supposed, of becoming subject to a still greater aggravation of burthen, and this anticipation never failed to recall a desire for separation; indeed, it seemed as if, at this moment, there was a presentation to the Assembly of more western claims than had ever before come forward at one time. The Atlantic members laboured to find ways and means; and, still more, to avoid making contributions from the counties east of the Alleghanies. They had, in the late revolt, been furnished with the hint, that for very small provocations as they deemed them, the western counties would set up for independence, which it was not in their power to control. Operated upon by these and other motives, the Atlantic counties came to the conclusion to let them separate, stipulating for themselves, as the price of emancipation, such terms as were necessary and convenient for their own people."

It soon became evident that her western counties were an inconvenient, and expensive, and troublesome appendage to North-Carolina, and many on both sides of the Alleghanies, who had more recently opposed the Franklin separation, or any dismemberment of the distant and disjoined sections of the parent state, were the first now to make the frank avowal

that it was the policy of each, and the interest of both, that the two communities should no longer remain united, but should at once become separate and distinct political organizations. The Assembly proceeded to mature a plan to sever them forever asunder, and passed an "Act for the purpose of ceding to the United States of America, certain western lands therein described."

In conformity with one of the provisions of the Act of Cession, Samuel Johnston and Benjamin Hawkins, Senators in Congress from North-Carolina, executed, on the 25th of February, 1790, a Deed to the United States, in the words of the Cession Act.

On the second of April, of the same year, the United States, in Congress assembled, by an act made for that special purpose, accepted the Deed, and what is now Tennessee, ceased to be a part of North-Carolina. The separation, though once resisted as unfilial, disobedient and revolutionary, was now in accordance with the judgment and wishes of all—peaceable, dutiful, affectionate. The Old North State is yet held in grateful remembrance by every emigrant she has sent to Tennessee. And there and elsewhere, to the farthest West, in all their wanderings and migrations, the succeeding generation still cherish, with ancestral pride, the name, and character, and worth of North-Carolina, their mother state.

CHAPTER VI.

NEGOTIATION WITH SPAIN.

As EARLY as 1780, Spain had indicated a determination to claim the country west of the following boundary: "A right line should be drawn from the eastern angle of the Gulf of Mexico to Fort Toulouse, situated in the country of the Alibamas; from thence the River Louishatchi should be ascended, from the mouth of which a right line should be drawn to the fort or factory of Quesnassie; from this last place, the course of the River Euphasee* is to be followed till it joins the Cherokee;† the course of this last river is to be pursued to the place where it receives the Pelissippi;‡ this last to be followed to its source; from whence a right line is to be drawn to Cumberland River, whose course is to be followed untill it falls into the Ohio."

And, on other questions then arising between her and the United States, Spain declared: "The savages to the west of the line described should be free and under the protection of Spain; those to the eastward should be free and under the protection of the United States."—"The trade should be free to both parties."—"As to the course and navigation of the Mississippi, they follow with the property, and they will belong, therefore, to the nation to which the two banks belong."—"Spain alone will be the proprietor of the course of the Mississippi, from the thirty-first degree of latitude to the mouth of this river."

This line, designated by Rayneval, in his negotiation with Mr. Jay, left, not only the lands north of the Ohio without the limits of the United States, but a part of the country now constituting the State of Kentucky, all of Tennessee west of Hiwassee, Tennessee and Clinch Rivers, as above delineated, and nearly the whole of Alabama and Missis-

* Hiwassee. † Tennessee. ‡ Clinch.

sippi. To this extraordinary territorial pretension, on the part of Spain, was added that of the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi River.

Soon after the ratification of the definitive Treaty of
1784 { Peace, in 1783, Congress turned their attention to commercial intercourse with foreign nations, and instructed the American Ministers particularly, in any negotiation with Spain, not to relinquish or cede, in any event whatever, the right of freely navigating the River Mississippi, from its source to the ocean.* Spain, still persisting in her extensive claims east of that river and to its exclusive navigation, appointed, in 1785, Don Diego Gardoqui her Minister, to adjust the interfering claims of the two nations. Mr. Jay, then Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was appointed to treat with him on the part of the United States. The Spanish Minister declared that the king, his master, would not permit any nation to navigate any part of the Mississippi between the banks claimed by him. The American Minister, on the other hand, insisted on the right of the United States to its free navigation. On a previous occasion, while representing his country in Europe, Mr. Jay had strenuously contended for that right, and urged the importance of retaining it. Now, the negotiation being renewed at home, he reminded the Spanish Minister "that the adjacent country was filling fast with people, and that the time must soon come when they would not submit to seeing a fine river flow before their doors, without using it as a highway to the sea, for the transportation of their productions," and pointed out the wisdom of such a treaty being now formed, as would not contain in its stipulations the seeds of future discord. These appeals were resisted by the Don, and he still insisted that the Mississippi must be shut against the commerce of the western people and of the United States.

At a later period in the negotiation, Mr. Jay, in a commu-
1785 { nication to Congress, adds: "Circumstanced as we are, I think it would be expedient to agree that the treaty should be limited to twenty-five or thirty years, and that one of its articles should stipulate that the United States

* Pitkin.

would *forbear* to use the navigation of that river below their territories to the ocean."

In support of this concession, Mr. Jay stated: "That the navigation of the Mississippi was not at that time very important, and would not probably become so in less than twenty-five or thirty years, and that a forbearance to use it, while it was not wanted, was no great sacrifice; that Spain then excluded the people of the United States from that navigation, and that it could only be acquired by war, for which we were not then prepared; and that in case of war, France would no doubt join Spain." A resolution was submitted to Congress, repealing Mr. Jay's instructions of August 25, 1785, and directing him to consent to an article, stipulating a forbearance, on the part of the United States, to use the Mississippi River for twenty years. In support of these resolutions, the members from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, voted unanimously; while those from Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, with equal unanimity, voted against them.

These proceedings of Congress, though with closed doors, soon became partially known, and excited great indignation and alarm in Virginia, and in all the western settlements. In November, 1786, in consequence of a memorial from the western inhabitants, the Virginia Assembly declared unanimously "that the common right of navigating the Mississippi, was considered as the bountiful gift of nature to the United States; that the Confederacy, having been formed on the broad basis of equal rights in every part thereof, and confided to the protection and guardianship of the whole, a sacrifice of the rights of any one part, would be a flagrant violation of justice, and a direct contravention of the end for which the Federal Government was instituted, and an alarming innovation on the system of the Union." They, therefore, instructed their delegates "to oppose any attempt that may be made in Congress to barter or surrender to any nation whatever, the right of the United States to the free and common use of the Mississippi; and to protest against the same as a dishonourable departure from the comprehensive and bene-

volent feeling, which constitutes the vital principle of the Confederation; as provoking the just resentment and reproaches of our western brethren, whose essential rights and interests would be thereby sacrificed and sold; and as tending to undermine our repose, our prosperity, and our Union itself."

After the instructions of Mr. Jay, as already mentioned, were rescinded by the seven Northern States, negotiations were renewed, but without effect. The Spanish Minister still refused to admit the United States to any share in the navigation of the river, below the boundaries claimed by his monarch, on any terms and conditions whatever.

All further negotiation with Spain was referred to the new Federal Government.

By the eighth article of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States, it was provided, that the navigation of the River Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall forever remain free and open to the subjects and citizens of the two powers, respectively. The boundaries of Spanish Louisiana, after the dismemberment, comprised all the region west of the Mississippi. It included, also, the island of New-Orleans, on the east side of that river, and south of the Bayou Iberville; thus including, necessarily, the mouth and the river itself, with the eastern bank above the Iberville, and both banks from the Iberville to the Balize. With France, Spain had also become involved in the war in favour of the American Colonies, and against Great Britain. By the treaty of September, 1783, on the part of all the belligerents, Great Britain confirmed to Spain, the whole of the Floridas, south of the thirty-first degree of latitude. The Provinces of Louisiana and Florida returned to a state of peace and prosperity, under the wise administration of Governor Mero. The river trade with Upper Louisiana and the settlements upon the Ohio and its tributaries, had become active, and the Spanish dominion upon the Mississippi appeared to be increasing continually, in importance and power.

In the meantime, the serious attention of the Spanish authorities was directed to the growing influence of the west-

ern settlements of the United States, which were coming in collision with their own. Georgia claimed much of the territory from Loftus' Heights, northwardly, several hundred miles. But this whole region was in the possession of Spain, with a population of nearly ten thousand souls. An active trade from the people on Holston, Cumberland, and other branches of the Ohio, had forced itself down the Mississippi, and they claimed the natural right of the use of this stream, throughout the Province of Louisiana, and to the ocean. On the other hand, it had become a matter of great interest to the Spanish authorities to derive a large revenue from this trade, by the imposition of transit and port duties. For this purpose, a revenue office, with a suitable guard, and a military post, was established at New-Madrid and other points, at which all boats were required to land, and comply with the revenue laws. These were enforced with great rigour, even to seizure and confiscation of the cargo. It requires but little knowledge of the character of the western people to know what effect these exactions and restrictions upon their trade would produce. They believed they had a right to navigate the river, free from all these impositions; that the duties were exorbitant, oppressive and unjust. Under these impressions, it is not strange, that many of them should resist the laws, and disregard the attempts of the revenue officers to enforce them. In this manner, it frequently happened, that the western traders were seized, fined and imprisoned, their cargoes confiscated as contraband or forfeited, and the owners or supercargoes discharged, penniless, to find their way home.* Occurrences of this kind had greatly incensed the western people, and disseminated a general discontent and opposition. To such an extent had this vindictive feeling been carried in Kentucky, and upon the Cumberland, that a military invasion of Louisiana was devised, for redressing the wrongs of the western people, and seizing the port of New-Orleans, should the Federal Government, then negotiating on the subject, fail to obtain from Spain the free navigation of the Mississippi. So general had become this excitement,

*Martin, as quoted by Monette.

that the Spanish Governor became exceedingly apprehensive of an invasion, to be carried against Louisiana, in defiance of the Federal authority. And the western people themselves, indignant at the failure of Congress to secure them the free use of their only outlet to market, were strongly tempted to separate from the Atlantic States, and to form for themselves an independent form of government, which would enable them to obtain from Spain, under one form or another, those commercial advantages which they were determined to possess.*

Under this condition of things, Col. Wilkinson made an arrangement with the Spanish authorities, by which he secured permission for himself and a few others to trade with the city of New-Orleans, and to introduce, free of duties, many articles of western production. Some concession was made in favour of western commerce, and a slight relaxation of the rigour of the revenue laws followed.

During Col. Wilkinson's stay at New-Orleans, he was requested, by Governor Mero, to give his sentiments, freely, in writing, upon the political interests of Spain and the western people. This he did in a document of great length, which the Governor considered to be of such importance that it was transmitted to Madrid to be laid before the King of Spain. In this document, as copied from Butler, he urges "the natural right of the western people, to follow the current of rivers flowing through their country, to the sea. He states the extent of the country; the richness of the soil—abounding in and producing everything suited to foreign markets, to which they have no means of conveyance, should the Mississippi be shut against them. He sets forth, also, the advantages which Spain might derive from allowing them the free use of the river. He mentioned the rapid increase of population in the West, and the eagerness with which every individual looked forward to the navigation of that river, and described the general abhorrence with which the intelligence had been received, that Congress was about to sacrifice their dearest interests, by ceding to Spain, for twenty years, the navigation of the Mississippi; and

*Monette.

represents it as a fact, that they were then on the point of separating, on that account, from the Union. He addressed himself to the fears of the Governor, by an ominous display of their strength; and argues the impolicy of Spain in being so blind to her own interest as to refuse them an amicable participation in the navigation of the river, and thereby forcing them into violent measures. He assures the Spanish Governor that, in case of such an alternative, Great Britain stands ready, with expanded arms, to receive them and to assist their efforts to accomplish that object, and quotes a conversation of a member of the British Parliament to that effect. He states the facility with which the province of Louisiana might be invaded by the united forces of the English and Americans—the former advancing from Canada, by the way of the Illinois, and the latter from the Ohio; and, also, the practicability of proceeding from Louisiana to Mexico, in a march of twenty days, and that, in case of such an invasion, Great Britain will aim at the possession of Louisiana and New-Orleans, and leave the navigation of the river free to the Americans; and urged, forcibly, the danger to the Spanish interests in North America, with Great Britain in possession of the Mississippi, as she was already in possession of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes."

Mr. Jay, on being called upon by Congress, to communicate his views on the subject, said that his own opinion of the justice and importance of the claims advanced by the United States, had undergone *no change*, but that, under present circumstances, he thought it would be expedient to conclude a treaty with Spain, limited to twenty or thirty years, and for the United States to stipulate that during the term of the treaty, they would *forbear* to navigate the Mississippi below their southern boundary. Sagacious as were, generally, the views of Mr. Jay, they have been outstripped, in this instance, by the growth of the Western country, beyond the anticipation of our wisest statesmen. Our progress has been a race scarcely checked by an accident on the course.* Had the commercial limitation taken place

* Butler.

but for a few years, as then proposed by him, a flame would have been kindled, that must have consumed the feeble ties that bound the eastern to the western country. As it was, the bare rumour of what had been proposed, and the exaggerated statements of the contemplated surrender of a navigation of such vital importance to the West, naturally aroused the sensibilities of its citizens. Meetings were held at different places. One of these represented "a commercial treaty with Spain to be cruel, oppressive and unjust." "The prohibition of the navigation of the Mississippi, has astonished the whole western country. To *sell us*, and to make us vassals to the merciless Spaniards, is a grievance not to be borne." A copy of these, and of similar proceedings, was laid before Congress, and in September of 1788, that body contradicted the rumour, and resolved: "That the free navigation of the Mississippi, is a clear and an essential right of the United States, and that the same ought to be considered and supported as such."

To quiet the apprehensions of her western inhabitants, now upon the point of carrying into effect the dismemberment of the parent state, and the formation of the State of Franklin, the delegates from North-Carolina, in September of 1788, submitted to Congress a resolution, declaring that,

"WHEREAS, many citizens of the United States, who possess lands on the western waters, have expressed much uneasiness from a report that Congress are disposed to treat with Spain for the surrender of their claim to the navigation of the Mississippi River: In order, therefore, to quiet the minds of our fellow-citizens, by removing such ill-founded apprehensions,

"*Resolved*, That the United States have a clear, absolute and unalienable claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi; which claim is not only supported by the express stipulations of treaties, but by the great law of nature."

Virginia, too, had adopted similar resolutions. These decided measures tranquillized, for a time, the growing discontents of the western settlements, and prevented that alienation of feeling which, at one time, led them to repudiate their dependence upon their Atlantic countrymen, and to look forward to a connexion of some kind with their Spanish neighbours.

Colonel Wilkinson, in his statement to the Spanish Governor, had artfully interwoven appeals, both to the interests and the fears of Spain. His diplomacy and address had succeeded in convincing Governor Mero of the policy of conciliating the western people, and of attaching them to the Spanish Government. For this purpose, he invited, by liberal grants of land, the citizens of Kentucky and Cumberland, to emigrate to West Florida. To such as did not wish to emigrate, he relaxed the exactions required by the revenue laws. While these conciliatory measures were exerting a salutary influence, he adopted others, intended to promote a political union between the western people and Upper Louisiana. A large American settlement was projected, west of the Mississippi, and between the mouth of the Ohio and the St. Francis River. To General Morgan, who was to settle this colony, a large grant of land was made. Here, soon after his arrival, was laid off the plan of a magnificent city, which, in honour of the Spanish capital, was called New-Madrid. This policy of gaining over the western people to an adherence to the Spanish interests, was not wholly unsuccessful. Many of them had been highly dissatisfied with the Federal Government, which had failed to secure them their right of free navigation; and some were even favourably impressed with a future union with Louisiana. But this feeling was of short duration. The repeated infractions of his revenue laws, were followed by an order from Governor Mero to the Intendant, for a more rigorous enforcement of them. Seizures, confiscations, delays and imprisonments, became frequent and embarrassing to the traders upon the river, and Louisiana was again threatened with invasion from the Ohio. Hundreds of fiery spirits, in Kentucky and on the Cumberland, were anxious to embark in the enterprise.* The western people had long known, that notwithstanding her alliance with the United States in the war against Great Britain, Spain desired to weaken that Power by separating her American Colonies from her, more than to assist the new states in their struggle for independence. So soon as

*Monette.

that object had been obtained, the Spanish Government, alarmed at the approach of the western settlements, and the consequent dissemination of republican principles among the colonists upon their border, adopted measures to restrain their expansion, and counteract their growth and influence; to check their commerce, to prevent the nearer approach of a population that had already manifested, both a martial spirit, and a capacity to govern themselves.

In the meantime, the Anglo-American settlements had extended far within the line claimed by Spain; the emigrants on Holston, Cumberland and Kentucky, were already forming themselves into organized communities, and the jurisdiction of the United States was, by the ordinance of 1787, extended over the North-western Territory. It was clearly seen that as Spain had not hitherto been able to prevent the occupancy of the extensive possessions she claimed in the West, so no means within her control, could secure the monopoly of navigating the Mississippi River. What could not be done by legitimate means, was hereafter to be effected by intrigue. "From the year 1788, we may date the settled policy of Spain, through her diplomatic and colonial authorities, to endeavour, by diplomacy and intrigue, to acquire the western portion of the United States. The King approved the judicious policy of Governor Mero, relative to the indulgences extended to the western people. The Court of Madrid was warned of the danger to be apprehended from the increasing power of the United States. Navarro portrayed, in strong colours, the ambition of the Federal Government on the subject of western territory, and the thirst for conquest, which, he asserted, would be gratified only by the extension of their dominion to the Pacific Ocean. And as the only true policy for Spain to pursue, he recommended the necessity of dismembering the Federal Union, by procuring the separation of the western country from the Atlantic States. This accomplished, the danger to the Spanish provinces, from the encroachments of the Federal power, would immediately cease, and Spain would be at liberty to enter into negotiations, mutually advantageous to Louisiana and the western people, who were already impatient of the

failures and delays of the Federal Government, to promote their interests.

These suggestions of Navarro were well received at Court, and formed the basis of the subsequent policy of Spain and Louisiana towards the Federal Government and the western people respectively, and were the commencement of that series of intrigues and vexatious court delays, which afterwards characterized the political relations of that Power towards the United States.*

The policy of Spain invited emigrants into her provinces,
1790 { and restored an amicable and mutually advantageous
{ trade between New-Orleans and the western settlements. Still, jealousy of the Federal Power was not allayed, and, indeed, it was much increased, by other occurrences which, about this time, took place, and greatly disquieted the Spanish authorities. The difficulties between North-Carolina and the State of Franklin had been adjusted, the parent state had ceded her western lands to Congress, and after her relinquishment of sovereignty over them, the extension of Federal jurisdiction over the "South-western Territory" took place. In further support of the claim to the boundaries stipulated for in the treaty of 1783, Commissioners on the part of the United States, had concluded a treaty of peace and limits with the chiefs of the Creek nation, which had been fully ratified by them in New-York. With the view of counteracting the effects of this treaty, especially as to boundaries stipulated in it, another negotiation was made between the same nation and the Spanish authorities, prohibiting the opening of the boundary as agreed upon and ratified in New-York. For more than a year, the Creeks refused to run the line, and under the influence of Spanish emissaries, many of them were induced to assume a hostile attitude to the southern and south-western settlements.

Another intrigue to increase the disaffection of the western people, and alienate them from the Atlantic portion of the Union, manifested itself in this year. The inexecution by England, of the treaty of 1783, left in the possession of

* Monette.

that Power the posts of Detroit, Maumee and other points south of the lakes, and thus gave to her the virtual control of the North-western Territory. These forts had not been given up, according to the stipulations of the treaty, and were still held, probably with the vain hope of availing herself of a future contingency, to inflict some serious injury upon her late enemy, the United States. Engaged at this time in a war with Spain, England contemplated an invasion of Louisiana, through the Ohio River. Doctor Conolly, an emissary of the Earl of Dorchester, was despatched to the West, to sound the leading men of the country, and was authorized to give assurances of aid from Canada, in case of an invasion of the Spanish possessions by the Western people. A rumor was carefully circulated, "that four thousand British troops were in readiness to march from Canada at a moment's warning." These disclosures awakened suspicion that Conolly was a British spy, and he was conveyed, with the utmost secrecy, out of the country. This treasonable conspiracy had a few advocates in the West, but with the people generally it found no favour.

1792 Baron de Carondelet, who succeeded Mero, this year, as Governor and Intendant of Louisiana, continued the commercial privileges extended by his predecessor to the western people. New-Orleans, and indeed the whole Province, derived such advantage from this policy, that a partial infraction of the revenue laws was not only tolerated by the Minister of Finance, but was even justified by the King. To this propitiatory course, Spain was induced, not less by the suggestions of an enlarged and profound diplomatic policy, than the considerations of pecuniary

1793 and local interest. "France and Spain were now at war; and French emissaries sought, through the prejudice that had been roused against the Spaniards relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, to instigate an invasion of Louisiana and Florida by the people of the United States, and if practicable, even a separation of the Western States, and an alliance with Louisiana under the dominion and protection of France."* To carry into effect these pur-

* Monette.

poses, M. Genet, the Minister of Republican France to the United States, issued commissions to several individuals, as officers in the French armies, with authority to raise troops in the western country, for the contemplated invasion and revolution of Lousiana. The settlements upon the Cumberland and Ohio, were the theatre of their principal operations. Here, it cannot be concealed, existed elements favourable to the machinations of the indiscreet and impulsive Minister. Apart from the occlusion of the mouth of the Mississippi, and the restrictions imposed upon their commerce by the policy of Spain, there was a spirit of undisguised dissatisfaction with the delay and failure of the Federal Government to secure, by negotiation, those rights, which now the West was able to extort by force. Besides—a fraternal sympathy united them to the people of France, and the recollection of the past, enlisted their co-operation with the French Republic. It is known that many of the best patriots on the frontier, contiguous to the possessions claimed by Spain, yielded for a time to the seductive influence of these feelings and prejudices, and it required all the vigilance and decision of Washington to arrest the expedition, and restrain the impulsive western soldiery from an invasion of Louisiana, an alliance with France and a possible separation from and dismemberment of the Union.

Apprehensive of the success of Genet and his emissaries upon the Cumberland and Ohio, the Baron de Carondelet adopted every measure to defend his province from the threatened danger. His forts, as high up the river as New-Madrid, were reinforced. As another method of precau-

1794 { tion, a treaty was concluded with the Chickasaws, securing the alliance of that nation, and permission for the establishment of a military post within the present boundaries of Tennessee, near the mouth of Margot (Wolf) River. For this purpose, the Chickasaws ceded the fourth Bluff, with the view of erecting thereon a fort, which was to be kept in good repair, for the purpose of protecting Louisiana from any invasion from the United States. The fort was called "Fort San Ferdinando de Barancas," and stood

upon the peninsula formed by the junction of the Margot and the Mississippi.*

So successful had been the intrigue of M. Genet, in pro-
1795 { ducing—rather in unveiling—a spirit of serious dis-
{ affection on the part of the people of the West with the Federal Administration, that Governor Carondelet took measures to secure the favour of the Western people to an alliance with Louisiana under the Spanish monarchy. He went so far as to authorize his emissary, Power, to promise every thing desired by the people, and to give them assurances of the readiness of the *colonial government to furnish arms, ammunition and money, to sustain them in the attempt to throw off the authority of the Federal Government.*

At a period somewhat later, promise was made of grants of land, to such as would submit to the Spanish dominion; while intimations were secretly disseminated among the unsuspecting people, that Spain would extend to them, as a community, every commercial advantage and privilege which could be desired, provided they were disconnected from the Federal Government. The Spanish Minister, resident in the United States, had declared unequivocally to his confidential correspondents, that unless the Western people would declare themselves independent of the Federal Power, and establish for themselves an independent form of government, Spain never would allow them the free navigation of the Mississippi; "but upon these terms, he was *authorized and would engage to open the navigation of the river*," *&c.*†

The first settlers of Tennessee and Kentucky received, through the *courtesy* of the Spanish authorities, many commercial privileges, but they were unwilling to submit to the species of *vassalage*, implied by the manner in which the river commerce was enjoyed. They could not receive as *special favours*, what they claimed as common and *indefeasible rights.*

At length, Spain, embarrassed in European wars, and still

* Monette. This fort was also called Echore Margot, and was defended by eight pieces of eight pounder cannon.

† Butler, as quoted by Monette.

apprehensive of invasion of her American possessions by the pioneers of the West—whom all her intrigues had been unable to seduce from their allegiance to the Union—intimated her willingness to negotiate on the points in controversy. Mr. Pinckney was appointed as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid, and a treaty was concluded and signed, on the 20th of October, 1795, covering the whole ground of controversy which, for more than ten years, had engaged the attention of both countries.

In accordance with the provisions of that treaty, Mr. Elli-
1797 { cott, the United States Commissioner, was in this year
{ on the Mississippi, in order to run the boundary line and to receive the posts east of it. Here, most unexpectedly, the territorial authorities of Spain interposed objections. During the delay consequent upon these, another, and the last Spanish intrigue, was detected, the object of which was to continue, to Spain, the possession of the very territories she had bound herself to relinquish to the United States. A former emissary, Mr. Power, was despatched by the Baron de Carondelet, with proposals to the people of Kentucky and the inhabitants of the Western country generally, to withdraw and separate themselves from the Federal Union, and to form an independent government, wholly unconnected with the Atlantic States. The danger of permitting the Federal troops to take possession of the posts on the Mississippi River, was pointed out, and an offer of pecuniary assistance, from the royal treasury at New-Orleans, to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, was made by the Baron, for the purpose of organizing the new government; and the same amount was to be furnished by his Catholic Majesty, for the purpose of raising and maintaining the troops which, immediately after the declaration of independence, were to take possession of Fort Massac. Twenty field pieces, ammunition and small arms, and every necessary appendage to an efficient army, were also to be placed within the fort. His Catholic Majesty engaged, also, to assist the new government in subduing the Indian nations south of the Ohio, and agreed to be bound, by future treaty, to defend and support it, in preserving its independence, and

to grant them a decided preference, on commercial subjects, over his Atlantic connexions.*

Some individuals on Cumberland and in Kentucky, had connived at the expedition, as proposed by Genet, against Louisiana, but the Western people, having now obtained the navigation of the Mississippi River, all their wishes were gratified, and Mr. Power received from them little encouragement, and no promise of co-operation.

The boundary was soon after run, and the posts surrendered, as provided for in the treaty, and the angry controversy which had, for ten years, convulsed the Western country, was at an end.

During that whole period of political excitement, it is worthy of remark, and highly creditable to the good sense and patriotism of the people of Tennessee, that they were, in no case, seduced into an abandonment of their rights and duty, nor of allegiance to their own country, and fidelity to their republican principles. The masses of them remained true and incorruptible. Isolated instances of individual defection, did occur. Prominent and ambitious men were found in different sections, sustained it may be, by here and there a partizan, not unwilling to elevate themselves at the imminent hazard of the welfare and permanent interest of the country. Among these there was little unanimity, and no well-digested concert of action. They gave rise, however, for the time being, to the following parties, as enumerated by Monette:

I. In favour of forming a separate and independent republic, under no special obligation of union, except as might be most advantageous.

II. In favour of entering into commercial arrangements with Spain, and of annexing themselves to Louisiana, with all the advantages offered.

III. Opposed to any Spanish connexion, and in favour of forcing the free navigation of the Mississippi by the arms of the United States, with the invasion of Louisiana and West Florida.

IV. In favour of soliciting Republican France to claim a

* Marshall.

retrocession, or make a reconquest of Louisiana, and to extend her protection to the western settlements.

V. The strongest party, however, was in favour of new independent state organizations in the West, leaving it with the Federal Government to regulate the Mississippi and boundary questions with Spain.

To estimate properly the virtue, the patriotism, the loyalty and the republicanism of the western people, when, with a noble disinterestedness and self-sacrificing devotion to the Union, they resisted these artful and powerful appeals to their sectional and local interests, let it be remembered, that the several communities to whom these appeals were made, had penetrated through a vast wilderness of desert and mountain—that their own courage had expelled a savage enemy—their own rifles had achieved their conquest—their own enterprise had planted and defended their settlements—their own efforts had made their fortunes, provided them a home, and the benefit of a simple, but stable government—that with little assistance from the old states, almost none from the General Government, the wilderness, under their own industry and culture, "blossomed as the rose;" and that the fertile banks of the navigable streams in the distant vallies, in whose bosoms they dwelt, were rewarding with a luxuriant harvest of rich fruits, their own labour, upon their own fields; that the intervention of hundreds of miles and great mountain ranges, insulated them from the commerce of their Atlantic countrymen, and that for the products of the whole West, there was but one great outlet to the ocean and to the markets of the world—the Mississippi River; and that the right of freely navigating that stream, though guaranteed to them as a result of that Revolution which they had assisted to effect, and of those victories achieved in part by their valour, was still withheld from them, under the vexatious delay of Federal negotiation. Under such circumstances of admitted neglect, disappointed expectation, deferred hope and accumulated wrong, to remain constant, and faithful, and loyal to the Union, is alike a rare instance, and evidence, of all that is heroic in forbearance, lofty in patriotism, and majestic in national virtue. Western purity

remained unseduced by the coquetry of monarchical intrigue, and the stern virtue and primitive integrity of the simple-hearted pioneer and hunter, resisted the art and baffled the designs of the diplomatist and the emissary.

The negotiation on the subject of boundaries, and of the right of navigating the Mississippi, extending, as it did, through ten years, has been thus presented in one general view. It will serve to explain and illustrate some smaller incidents, detailed on other pages, as they took place, connected with the early settlements of Tennessee.

CHAPTER VII

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES SOUTH OF OHIO RIVER.

HAVING accepted the deed of cession from North-Carolina, 1790 { Congress soon after passed a law for the government of the "territory south-west of the River Ohio." The ordinance itself, and the act of Congress amendatory of it, passed August 7, 1789.

Provision being thus made for the government of the territory, it remained for the President to nominate suitable officers to carry the Territorial Government into operation. Several gentlemen, of acknowledged capacity and worth, were presented to President Washington, for the appointment of Governor. Patrick Henry recommended to him Mr. Mason of Virginia. But there was an obvious propriety in selecting, for this station, a citizen of the state which had ceded the territory, and who was presumed, on that account, to be familiar with the circumstances and interests connected with and involved in the cession. William Blount, of North-Carolina, received the appointment of Governor. He has been heretofore mentioned in these pages, as the vigilant agent of his state, and the faithful guardian of the interests of North-Carolina, at the treaty of Hopewell. He was of an ancient English family, of wealth and rank, which, at an early day, emigrated to Carolina. The name is often mentioned in the annals of that state during the Revolution. Charles, James and Benjamin Blount, were all civil or military officers during that period. William Blount was one of the deputies from North-Carolina to the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States. It was on this occasion, probably, that General Washington, the President of the Convention, first became acquainted with him, and, appreciating his qualifications for the public service, his discernment selected him for the important position of Governor of the new Territory. He was remarkable

for great address, courtly manners, benignant feelings, and a most commanding presence. His urbanity—his personal influence over men of all conditions and ages—his hospitality, unostentatiously, but yet elegantly and gracefully extended to all, won upon the affections and regard of the populace, and made him a universal favourite. He was at once the social companion, the well-bred gentleman and the capable officer. He received his commission as Governor of the Territory, August 7, 1790. On the 10th of October, he reached the theatre of his new and important public duty on the frontier, amidst a people unacquainted as yet with the forms and usages of old and refined society, but unsurpassed any where in all the strong traits of character which form the man, the patriot and the citizen. At first, he made his residence at the house of William Cobb, in the fork of Holston and Watauga Rivers, not far from the Watauga Old Fields, where was planted, twenty years before, the germ of the future Tennessee.* Mr. Cobb was a wealthy farmer, an emigrant from North-Carolina, no stranger to comfort and taste, nor unaccustomed to what, in that day, was called style. Like the old Carolina and Virginia gentlemen, he entertained elegantly, with profusion rather than with plenty, without ceremony and without grudging. Like theirs, his house was plain, convenient, without pretension or show. His equipage was simple and unpretending. He kept his horses, his dogs, his rifles, even his traps, for the use, comfort and entertainment of his guests. His servants, his rooms, his grounds, were all at their bidding. They felt themselves at home, and never said adieu to him or his family, without the parting regret and the tenderness of an old friendship.

It was here, and under such circumstances, that Governor Blount opened and held his court in the ancient woods of old Sullivan. The President had associated with him, in the administration of the Territorial Government, as Judges, David Campbell and Joseph Anderson. The former had held a like position under the State of Franklin, and subsequently, under the authority of North-Carolina. The latter

* Mss. furnished by General Deery, then of Blountsville.

had been an officer in the Continental service during the war of the Revolution.

Governor Blount proceeded to appoint and commission the officers, civil and military, for the counties forming the District of Washington. Those holding office under North-Carolina, generally continued to serve in the same capacity under the Territorial Government; a new commission and a new oath of office were required. The oath was administered by Judge Campbell, in the presence of the Governor. The names of some of those commissioned by him are here given.

Washington County, Nov. Term, 1790.—Charles Robertson, John Campbell, Edmond Williams, John Chisholm, Magistrates. James Sevier, was appointed Clerk—a position he occupied under the Franklin organization, under the authority of North-Carolina, during the Territorial Government, and under the State of Tennessee up to the time of his death in 1842.

Sullivan County.—The first Court was held December, 1790, when the magistrates commissioned by the Governor were sworn into office by Judge Campbell.

Greene County, February Session, 1791.—Present, Joseph Hardin, John Newman, William Wilson, John McNabb and David Rankin. Daniel Kennedy was appointed Clerk—an office he had also held under each of the preceding governments, and which he retained many years afterwards. At this session, David Allison and Wm. Cocke were admitted Attorneys.

Hawkins County, Dec. Term, 1790.—Richard Mitchell received the appointment of Clerk from Governor Blount.

The same gentleman also became, for a time, the Private Secretary of the Governor. He yet (1852) survives, in a green old age, an intelligent chronicle of past events. To him is this writer indebted for some of the incidents detailed in these pages.

Having commissioned the necessary officers in Washington District, Governor Blount, on the 27th of November, set out for the District of Mero, then composed of Davidson, Sumner and Tennessee counties, to make similar appointments there.

The Governor had, in all the counties, appointed military officers below the grade of brigadier-generals. These he could not appoint, but recommended to the President, Col. John Sevier, as the brigadier for Washington, and Col.

James Robertson, for Mero District. These appointments were afterwards confirmed accordingly.

In his tour, passing through the Territory from one extreme settlement to the other, Governor Blount endeavoured to make himself familiar with its condition and wants, so as to enable him the better to discharge his official duties, to the satisfaction of the Government, and with benefit to the people His instructions from the Executive, were to restore and maintain peaceful relations with the Indians. To effect this, he had sent Major King to the Cherokee nation, with an invitation to meet and hold a treaty with the whites the succeeding May. This proposition was now more likely to be accepted, as the Creeks had entered into terms of peace in August of the last year, at New-York. Major King found the Cherokees divided into two parties, of which Hanging Maw was the leader of the northern, as the Little Turkey was of the southern party. At the time of his mission, Major King found each of them disposed to negotiate.

The settlements formed in the Territory, at the time Governor Blount assumed the government of it, extended from the Virginia line on the east, in a peninsular shape, southwest to the waters of Little Tennessee, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles in length, by a width no where more than fifty, and in some places less than twenty-five miles. This narrow strip of inhabited country, was bounded on the south by a constant succession of mountains, claimed, if not occupied, by the Indians. On the west, by the Indian territory then in their occupancy ; and on the north and northwest, by the Clinch and Cumberland Mountains. Indeed, the settled country was confined to the valleys of the Holston, the Nollichucky, and the French Broad and Little Rivers below the mountains. All the rest of what is now East Tennessee, was either covered over with Cherokee villages, or frequented by the Indians in their hunting and predatory excursions. The white population thus insulated, was quite small. It was estimated that Washington District contained less than thirty thousand inhabitants. Besides these, there were, along the Cumberland Valley and its lower tributaries, settlements still more feeble and more ex-

posed to Indian assault and aggression—entirely insulated by desert wilds, and dissociated from all contact with civilized neighbours. Mero District contained about seven thousand inhabitants; while the four southern Indian tribes numbered above twenty thousand warriors alone.

Between those two remote sections of the Territory, there
1790 { was no direct communication, either by land or water.
{ The rapids and shoals in the Tennessee, and the ascent of the Ohio and Cumberland, was an obstacle to the latter; and the intervention of a wilderness and a mountain, made the other difficult, if not impracticable, to any but Indian marches.

At the commencement of Governor Blount's administration, the Cherokees resided upon, and many of them within, the boundaries of the Territory, upon lands which they claimed, but much of which had been granted by North-Carolina to her citizens, and a whole section of which had been occupied and settled under the laws and treaties of Franklin. The Chickasaws claimed also, but did not reside upon, the country between the Tennessee and Mississippi. Much of their claim was covered by grants from North-Carolina, but none of it was settled. It furnished a hidden retreat, and a thoroughfare, inaccessible to the whites, through which constant intercommunication was had, between the southern and northern tribes, and foreign emissaries, who sought to incite them against the intervening American settlements. The Choctaws and Creeks had no valid claim to any part of the Territory, but each of them had settled, and permitted Spaniards to reside in, their towns, near the Great Bend of Tennessee.

With the local condition of these tribes, Governor Blount had been long familiar, as well as with all the circumstances by which they were surrounded, and would continue to be affected. He had been often a member of the Legislature of his native state, North-Carolina, and was well acquainted with the exposed condition of the West, and had been active, as a member, in meliorating that condition. Having been a member of the old Congress, of the Convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, and likewise of the

State Convention that ratified and adopted it, on the part of North-Carolina, and also a member of its legislature in 1789, when the Cession was made, and of which he was a zealous advocate, his appointment gave general satisfaction.

Mr. Blount also received the appointment of Superintendent of Indian Affairs. To his selection for the joint duties thus assigned him, President Washington was led by the urgent solicitation, and at the unanimous recommendation of the members of the legislature of 1789, who were present as representatives from the western counties. It is believed that no one was better qualified than he, to reconcile the conflicting elements that had estranged, to some extent, the western citizens, after the dissolution of the Franklin Government; none, with more ability and fidelity, to regulate Indian affairs between the Government of the United States, the people of the Territory, the Indian tribes, and the frontier population generally.

The superintendency of Indian affairs embraced the four southern tribes—the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws. Some judgment may be formed of the difficult, responsible and delicate duties these two offices devolved on the Governor, by a brief reference to the posture of affairs when he received his appointments. The Territory over which Governor Blount was called to preside, bordered upon the frontiers of Virginia, North and South-Carolina, Georgia and Kentucky, within the boundaries of which, as well as his own Territory, all the southern tribes either resided or claimed hunting grounds. The interests and pursuits of this entire frontier, constantly produced collision, if not hostility, between the whites and the several Indian tribes. All complaints on whatsoever subject, between these parties, were cognizable by, and made to Mr. Blount, for redress or palliation. This duty was arduous in the extreme, and delicate. There were in all of the tribes, several distinct parties, swayed by opposite influences, some adhering to the United States, some to the Spanish authorities south and west of them, who held a number of trading and military posts, not only in Florida, but within the limits of the United States, east of the Mississippi. The British still held possession of

a number of posts of like character on the lakes, and in the northwest, within the boundaries of the treaty of 1783, and from these emanated counsels unfriendly to the peace and extension of the territorial settlements. On account of existing foreign negotiation, Governor Blount was restricted by his instructions from the Federal Government, to *defensive measures* only ; *offensive* measures against the southern tribes, being forbidden by the delicate and unsettled posture of affairs between the United States and England, and the United States and Spain. Foreign intrigue had been successful in fomenting quarrels in portions of each tribe, and in stimulating invasions and strifes between some of the several Indian nations within the superintendency. To reconcile all these animosities between savages, and to protect his Territory from their injurious effects, required frequent conferences and correspondence, imposing a Herculean labour upon Mr. Blount. His correspondence with the Governors of adjoining States, with the Secretary of War, and with the authorities of Spain, is extensive and minute. Being well preserved in the printed archives of state, at Washington, but a small portion of them need be transferred to these pages. To keep the Indian tribes quiet—to conciliate their friendship to the United States—to save the Territory from invasion, and to neutralize and prevent foreign influence, and, at the same time, not to jeopardize negotiations then pending, required a high degree of administrative capacity and diplomatic talent. In the discharge of these arduous duties, Governor Blount was aided by his two private secretaries, his brother, the late Governor Willie Blount, and the late Hon. Hugh Lawson White, whose lives, as will be hereafter seen in the prosecution of these Annals, were spent in the service, and identified with the interest, and character, and honour of Tennessee.

Along the frontiers of the four eastern counties, were several forts and stations, rudely constructed by the inhabitants in times of imminent danger, but furnishing no adequate protection. These were manned, generally, by the militia of the neighbourhood, under no permanent organization.

About one thousand men, capable of bearing arms, resi-

ded west of the Cumberland Mountains—confined, principally, to a circle embraced by a radius of less than forty miles, of which Nashville was the centre. Beyond that circle was an unsettled wilderness of almost indefinite extent, used only as Indian hunting grounds. Whilst, on the other hand, the Indian population of the tribes surrounding, furnished not less than from thirty to fifty thousand* fighting men, in alliance with more distant tribes in the northwest, and in friendly intercourse with military posts occupied by British and Spanish garrisons, the commanders of which were in the habit of issuing trading licenses, alike to native and foreign companies, who resided among the Indians. Such were the posts of Mobile, Pensacola, St. Marks, St. Augustine, Baton Rouge, New-Madrid, Cape Gerardeau, St. Genevie and St. Louis, where supplies were kept, and ammunition and arms furnished, to the Indians, to excite them to commit murder and depredation upon the citizens of the Territory, then, except on its eastern extremity, an exposed and defenceless frontier—extending, with the meanders of the several treaty lines, nearly a thousand miles. A border, thus extensive and thus exposed, invited attack. Several invasions, as will be hereafter more specially detailed, were carried on by the Indians, in large bodies, not only against the border settlements, but extending to the interior and better settled neighbourhoods. Instructed, as he was, to refrain from offensive war, and to act purely on the defensive, Governor Blount was, of course, often and severely censured, for affording so inefficient protection to the people of the Territory. The aggressions upon them were frequent, numerous, and of several years continuance. They gave rise to many complaints, not only by his own people, but by those of other states contiguous to his superintendency. The people complained that offensive measures were not vigorously adopted—the Indians, that they were adopted—and the Executive and Congress of the United States, that the expenses of protecting the frontier were so great, and accumulated so rapidly. These complaints the Governor bore with equanimity. The people, at length, ascertaining that the fault

* Blount Papers.

was not with him, withheld their censures, and generally sustained his authority.

Some of the duties assigned to the Governor were complex, delicate and difficult. Much of the land in Greene and Hawkins counties, entered and held by the inhabitants, according to the provisions of the laws of North-Carolina, were south and west of the line described as the line of allotment in the fourth Article of the Treaty of Hopewell. Some settlers had crossed Clinch River in violation of the same treaty; and the entire population south of French Broad and Holston, were upon lands reserved to the Cherokees, as hunting grounds, by the legislation of the mother state, but yet relinquished by the Indians at the treaties held under the authority of Franklin—an authority denied by North-Carolina, and not recognized by the United States. These were only a part of the embarrassments which Governor Blount had to encounter. The provisions of the treaty of Hopewell, for the delivery of property stolen by the Indians, during the Revolution, were not only disregarded by them, but additional thefts were constantly practiced, both by Cherokees and Creeks, upon the citizens of the Territory. This disregard of treaty stipulations by one party, led to a like disregard and violation of treaties by all. A proclamation from the Federal Executive, warning intruders upon Indian territory to withdraw within the treaty limits, and others to observe and comply with treaty stipulations, were issued, but, as the Indians broke the treaty, the whites refused to perform its requirements on their part, and the proclamation was disregarded.

Another serious difficulty presented itself. By an act of the State of Georgia, disposing of certain vacant lands, three million and a half acres of land, lying south of Tennessee River, were conveyed to the Tennessee Company, consisting of Zachariah Cox, Thomas Gilbert and John Strother, Esquires, and their associates. The proprietors took measures, soon after, to effect a settlement of their purchase. Zachariah Cox and Thomas Carr, as agents of the Company, repaired to the Territory, and there, Sept. 2d, 1790, issued

an advertisement that it would embark a large armed force at the mouth of French Broad. The fleet was to start Jan. 10, 1791, carrying, in the boats, such emigrants as desired to settle near the Muscle Shoals. A bounty of five hundred acres was offered to each family, and half of that quantity to each single man. A land office was opened for the disposition of these lands, which was to be kept at the confluence of Holston and French Broad till the company embarked, and was then to be opened at the Great Bend. Undoubted fee simple titles were promised to the adventurers.

Against this projected settlement, and two others, known as the South-Carolina Yazoo Company, and the Virginia Yazoo Company, the Secretary of War earnestly remonstrated, and the President issued a proclamation, forbidding the intended settlement, and declaring that those who made them would be considered, to all intents and purposes, entirely without the protection of the United States.

A copy of this proclamation the Governor communicated to such agents and employees of the Company, as were then in the Territory and preparing to embark on the projected expedition; with the declaration, that if the expedition should go forward to the Muscle Shoals, he would at once acquaint the Indians of its movements, who should be at liberty to act towards the Company as they might think right without offence to the United States.

Not deterred by the Federal prohibitions, Col. Hubbardt, 1791 { Peter Bryant, and fifteen others, embarked at the mouth of Dumplin, and went with Zachariah Cox to take possession of the Tennessee Grant, near the Muscle Shoals. In a small boat and two canoes, and with so few men, the enterprise was hazardous in the extreme. The "Narrows" were still in the occupancy of the same savage hordes, who, in 1788, had butchered and captured Colonel Brown's company. His sad fate was a warning, which Hubbardt and his comrades could not disregard. They proceeded with the utmost caution and circumspection. Below the Suck, at the Indian Old Fields, a small party of Indians came out in their canoes and hailed them. The same

number of white men were sent out to meet them, advancing firmly with their rifles in their hands, but with orders not to fire till the last extremity. Their canoe floated down towards the Indians, who observing their preparation for attack, withdrew and disappeared. A little further down, night overtook the voyagers, and when, from the dangers of the navigation at night, it was proposed to steer to the shore, they saw upon the bank a row of fires, extending along the bottoms as far as they could see, and standing around them armed Indian warriors. They silenced their oars by pouring water upon the oar pins—spake not a word, but glided by as silently as possible. The dogs barked from the bank. The Indians rekindled their fires and appeared to listen. The boat escaped. Several times next day the Indians tried, by various artifices, to decoy them to land. On one occasion three of them insisted, in English, to come and trade with them. After they refused and had passed by, three hundred warriors rose out of ambush. They were then beyond the reach of their guns, and escaped. For three days and nights they did not land, but doubled on their oars—beating to the south side at night, and in the middle of the river through the day.

Cox and his party built a block-house, and erected other works of defence, on an island, at the Muscle Shoals. The Glass, with about sixty Indians, appeared shortly afterwards, and informed them, if they did not peaceably withdraw, he would put them to death. After some further conference, the works were abandoned. The Indians immediately reduced the works to ashes.

A bill of indictment was twice sent to the Grand Jury against Cox and his associates, at the next term of the Superior Court of Washington District, but the indictment was not sustained as a true bill.

Another source of embarrassment to Governor Blount, was the immature negotiation with Spain concerning boundaries, the navigation of the Mississippi, and the treaties of that Power with the Indians. The delicate posture of that negotiation required caution and forbearance on the part of the western people, and subjected the Government and its

agents, at that time, and for years after, to very serious complaints, censure and opposition.

1790 A fort, about ten miles from Maryville, had in it several families, but only seven gunmen. It consisted of a rudely constructed cabin, one story high, provided, though, with the usual defences, port-holes, etc. A large party of two or three hundred Indians approached it, with the evident design to attack and destroy it. This they could have undoubtedly effected with suitable resolution, but were deterred by the method adopted for its defence. The besieged, of whom James Houston, the narrator, was one, reserved their fire till the assailants were near enough for very decisive and certain aim. The discharge at that moment, of the seven rifles, was calculated to impress the enemy with the belief that a more formidable force was lodged within. The firing was repeated with great vigour. The savages picked up their dead and wounded, and retired. The fort did not lose a man.

1791 Indian aggression had become so frequent and general, on every part of the extensive frontiers of the United States, that Congress passed an act for their defence, authorizing the President to call mounted militia into the field, and to increase the defences of the country by new levies. These were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Washington, to be placed under the command of General St. Clair, to be employed in an expedition meditated against the Indian villages on the Miamis. A requisition for that purpose was made upon the forces of the Territory.

The President required three hundred and thirty-two men from the District of Washington, to be enrolled at the earliest moment, and ready to march to the head-quarters of Gen. St. Clair, at Fort Washington. For once, the militia of the country did not turn out with their usual alacrity. The term of service was longer than they had been accustomed to, and they were required to take an oath to obey command of officers whom they did not know, and in whose selection their voice was not heard. A draft was had, and many hired substitutes.

Most of the civil, and nearly all of the military, appointments made for the Territory by Governor Blount, were conferred upon the former officers of the State of Franklin. Considerable dissatisfaction was excited, and a petition was got up, remonstrating against the acts of the Governor.

The opposition thus raised against the administration of Governor Blount, was occasioned principally by his efforts, and those of General Sevier, to raise the United States levies, then wanted for the reinforcement of the north-western army. The terms, especially as to the period of the enlistment for the quotas to be sent from the Territory, were very formal, and different from the volunteering system which had so long obtained with the western militia. The period of service with them had always been short, and they never parted with the right of choosing their own officers.

A further reason for the hesitancy of the Territorial militia to join St. Clair, was the inadequacy of the defensive measures nearer home. Still, there was no relaxation, on the part of the Governor, to send forward the levies from the Territory. He was himself engrossed with pressing duties, growing out of his superintendency, and found it necessary to devolve on General Sevier the task of organizing the battalion. Writing to him, under date May 24, 1791, Governor Blount says: "The necessity I am under to meet the Cherokees, in treaty, on the last day of this month, will not permit me, after Thursday next, to pay but very little attention to these troops."

Major Rhea was appointed to the command—the battalion was organized and ordered to march, and, before July 15, had started with two hundred men to Fort Washington. Such of the troops as reached the scene of action did their duty, and fully sustained the character of their countrymen for conduct and courage.

Among the troops sent to the army of St. Clair, raised in the South-western Territory, was the company commanded by Captain Jacob Tipton. About to leave on that distant and perilous service, he had taken his farewell of his family, and had mounted his horse. He hallooed back to his wife, requesting her, that if he should be killed, to alter the name

of their son William, and call him, for himself, Jacob. The presentiment which suggested the request, was unhappily realized. At the battle of the fourth November, 1791, the brave captain was killed. His last injunction to his wife was complied with. William became Jacob Tipton, late General Jacob Tipton, of Tipton county, Tennessee, which was thus named, in 1821, by the Tennessee Legislature, in honour of the patriotic captain.*

In the meantime, Governor Blount was directing attention to the great subject of procuring a lasting peace between the Cherokees and the people of the United States. He had, during the last year, sent, through Major King and others, invitations to their chiefs, to meet him for that purpose in treaty. Some mischievous men on the frontier and in the nation, had circulated a report that it was the intention of the Governor to draw them to the treaty ground, and there have them all cut off. To counteract such reports, which were keeping back some of the more influential leaders, in the more interior towns, General Robertson, who always had their entire confidence as an honest and frank man, went to their nation early in June. He succeeded in quieting their apprehensions and removing the unfavourable impressions they entertained towards the United States, and in disposing them to treat. At first, they proposed to meet at the confluence of Holston and French Broad, and to this General Robertson assented. But they were at length induced to yield to the preferences of Governor Blount, who designated a point four miles below, on the north bank of Holston River, as the most convenient and suitable place for holding the treaty. There, was a denser settlement, of which

* Another Tennessean, of the same name and family, was distinguished afterwards at Tippecanoe. He left his native state with an axe and a rifle for his patrimony. He subsequently became Senator in Congress, and one of the most prominent men in Indiana. Of him the anecdote is narrated, which we have seen in the public journals, where General Harrison is represented as riding up in the heat of the battle, inquiring of the young Tipton—"Where is your captain?" "Dead! sir." "Your lieutenant?" "Dead! sir." "Your second lieutenant?" "Dead! sir." "Your ensign?" "He stands before you!" where Tipton then stood, holding and defending the flag, but so covered with dirt and so besmeared with blood, that General Harrison scarcely knew him.

White's Fort was the centre, and where, indeed, there was already the nucleus of the future Knoxville and the seat of the Territorial Government.

It would be desirable to present here, a full and minute account of this negotiation with the Cherokee chiefs and the Superintendent of the Southern District. This, together with the treaty itself, were laid before the Senate, in October following, by President Washington, for its advice and ratification. The proceedings are not on record or on file in the War Department, and cannot be procured elsewhere. Tradition says that Governor Blount received and entertained the chieftains and head warriors with signal attentions and marked ceremonials. The treaty ground was at the foot of Water-street, where the Governor appeared in full dress. He wore a sword and military hat, and acted throughout the occasion the polite and accomplished gentleman, the dignified officer and courteous negotiator. He remained seated near his marquee, under and surrounded by the tall trees which then shaded the banks of the Holston. His officers, civil and military, stood near him, uncovered and respectful. On this occasion, James Armstrong was *arbiter elegantiarum.** Behind the officials, in clusters and disorderly groups, stood strangers, attracted by the occasion, and the citizens of the immediate neighbourhood. The soldiery were not present.

One of the interpreters, in Indian costume, introduced each chief to Armstrong, and he presented him to the Governor, announcing him by his aboriginal name. The delegation was large ; forty-one of them being thus presented, in order according to their age, and not their rank. Twelve hundred other Indians were upon the ground, among whom were some women and children. The Braves were decorated with eagle feathers on their heads, and other insignia of their

* James Armstrong, alias Trooper Armstrong, the ancestor of General Robert Armstrong, the hero of Emuckfaw and other battles in the Creek war, and at present the editor of the Washington Union. The father had seen service in Europe, and was familiar with foreign etiquette and manners, and acquitted himself on this occasion much to the satisfaction, both of the Governor and the Indians. The latter are always pleased with ceremony and forms.

rank, but were unarmed. The older chiefs and wise men, wore only the common Indian dress.

After the presentation was over, Governor Blount, speaking through the interpreter, opened the conference. During its continuance, the chiefs observed strictly the Indian Council House tactics—the speaker alone standing, while his colleagues sat upon the ground, in a circle around him, in respectful silence and with fixed attention. Squollecuttah, Kunoskeskie, Auquotague and Nenetooyah, are said to have been the principal speakers. Chuquilatague seemed sullen, and, it is believed, signed the treaty reluctantly.

On the second of July, the conference was ended, and the treaty agreed to and signed.

By its provisions, perpetual peace and friendship were restored and established between all the citizens of the United States, and the whole Cherokee nation of Indians, who acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign whatsoever. They agreed to deliver to Governor Blount all prisoners then in their nation, the boundaries of which were declared to be—

"Beginning at the top of the Currahee Mountain, where the Creek line passes it; thence in a direct line to Tugelo River; thence northeast to the Ocunna Mountain, and over the same along the South-Carolina Indian boundary to the North-Carolina boundary; thence north to a point from which a line is to be extended to the River Clinch, that shall pass the Holston at the ridge which divides the waters running into Little River from those running into the Tennessee; thence up the River Clinch to Campbell's line, and along the same to the top of Cumberland Mountain; thence a direct line to the Cumberland River where the Kentucky road crosses it; thence down the Cumberland River to a point from which a southwest line will strike the ridge which divides the waters of Cumberland from those of Duck River, forty miles above Nashville; thence down the said ridge to a point from whence a southwest line will strike the mouth of Duck River.

For the country thus ceded, the United States were to pay and deliver to the Cherokees certain valuable goods, besides an annuity of one thousand dollars. It was farther stipulated, that the citizens of the United States should have the free and unmolested use of a road, from Washington to Mero District, and the navigation of the Tennessee River. The right of regulating their trade, was also reserved to the

United States. Other provisions were made for the preservation of friendly relations between the contracting parties.

This treaty was ratified in November following, when the President issued his proclamation commanding its observance.

During the inception and progress, and even after the
1791 { signing and execution of the Treaty of Holston, Indian hostility continued. In May, John Farris was wounded, and Mr. Miller and five of his family killed, and his house robbed, on the Rolling Fork of Cumberland. In Russell county, Virginia, near Moccasin Gap, Mrs. McDowell and Frances Pendleton were killed and scalped.

A few days after the signing of the treaty, a party of Creeks were seen on the Lookout Mountain, with fresh scalps, which they acknowledged had been taken on Cumberland. It was generally conjectured, that most of the mischief mentioned here, was perpetrated by the Creeks and the banditti at the five Lower Towns. Whether by the Creeks or Cherokees, murders continued with little abatement. James Patrick was killed in the Poor Valley, seventeen miles from Rogersville, early in September. The people began to complain of the inefficiency of treaty stipulations in preserving peace, and Governor Blount felt it necessary to urge upon General Robertson the necessity of preventing an infraction of the treaty on the part of the whites, and to maintain, if possible, friendly relations with the Indians.

The fifth of November, 1791, is signalized in the annals of Tennessee, as the day on which the first newspaper was issued within the borders of that state. The pioneer printer, publisher and editor, in Tennessee, was George Roulstone. He established his press first at Rogersville, in Hawkins county, which thus claims the credit and distinction of the nativity of the newspaper press, which sent forth, through a domestic medium, the first ray of light for the information and improvement of the new community, in whose limits it was founded.

Though at first published at Rogersville, Mr. Roulstone's paper was called " The Knoxville Gazette," as it was intend

ed to be issued at Knoxville, where Governor Blount had determined to fix the seat of his government. In February, of the next year, Knoxville was laid off by Col White, and the Gazette removed to it soon after. It was issued from a cabin, erected on the lot lately owned by Mr. Samuel Bell, on Gay-street.

The columns of the Gazette will, hereafter, furnish some of the matter of these Annals. It was a small sheet, but "regarded as the pioneer newspaper in the country, the Gazette engages an interest, to which its intrinsic merits would not entitle it. Solitary and alone, in the midst of an extensive Territory, its adventitious importance was necessarily considerable. The publisher was a man of rather more than ordinary capacity, but seldom ventured opinions, confining himself to the more easy and ordinary duty of chronicling passing events."*

In this year, Mr. White's neighbourhood had become larger, and invited, by its position and strength, the location near it of the seat of the Territorial Government. Governor Blount so determined, and the proprietor, James White, laid off a town, consisting of the necessary streets and sixty-four lots. In honour of Major-General Henry Knox, the then Secretary of War, under President Washington, the new town was called Knoxville. Some of the lots were sold, in 1791, but no considerable improvement was commenced till February, of 1792, when several small buildings were erected.

Being still Hawkins county, no county buildings were at first erected, but in June that county was circumscribed and subdivided, by an Ordinance of Governor Blount, and Knox county established. Lots had been, however, designated for county purposes, by the proprietor, and temporary buildings for a court house and jail, were, soon after the establishment of the county, put up. The first court house was on the lot adjoining and west of the residence of S. R. Rogers, Esq. The jail was made of squared logs, let down close together, and the floor and loft of like materials. It was enclosed with long palisades, deeply entrenched and sharpened at the upper

* Semi-centennial address of Rev. T. W. Humes.

end. It was a small building, not more than fourteen feet square, and stood near the spot now occupied as the vault of the Bank of East Tennessee, corner of Main and Gay-streets. The lot for the barrack, extended from Gay to Prince streets, embracing the entire front of that square on Main street. The barrack was an entensive, but not costly structure. It stood upon the ground now the L of the Mansion House, but extended more than twice its length, towards the river; the building was made of logs notched closely together. It was thus secure against attacks with small arms. The second story projected two feet on every side beyond the walls of the first, so as thus to prevent the application of fire to them in case of a siege. In both stories and in the floor of the second, port-holes were left, at suitable distances. The entire area around it, as far as a rifle would reach, was cleared—even a stump large enough to protect the body of an assailant, was eradicated. The site was well selected, and well adapted to its purposes. The structure itself was designed with military skill.

With pious regard and consideration for the church and religion of his fathers, the proprietor of Knoxville designated a lot for the erection of a place of public worship. The barrack, and the court house, and the grove, above the mouth of White's Creek, on the river bank, were at first substituted for this purpose, and it was not till 1810 that a church edifice was erected on the church lot. An adjoining square was, afterwards, designated to a purpose scarcely less important—the instruction and education of youth. The entire square between Gay and Church-streets, and State and Boundary-streets, was appropriated to Blount College.

Amongst the first settlers of Knoxville, were James White, James King, Mr. McLemee, Governor Blount, Hugh Dunlap, Samuel and Nathaniel Cowan, Joseph Greer, John Chisolm, Mr. Stone, Captain John Crozier, and Major Arthur Crozier.

The first white child born in Knoxville, was the late Gen. Richard G. Dunlap.

The first lots improved were those nearest the river, and in the south-east quarter of the town. It was not till 1794, that the trees were cut from the lots since owned by Captain

Crozier, south of Gay and north of Cumberland. When he built his first store-house, at what is still called Crozier's Corner, it was shaded by the trees of the ancient forest, and considered out of town.

The cabin of the Governor was on the knoll, between the University and the river. Afterwards, a more suitable residence was erected by him on the lot now owned by Judge Boyd. The mansion stood near the centre of the lot—was finished with some taste, and the grounds were better improved than any in town. His office was immediately between his house and Chisolm's Tavern, south of it. It is still standing. Chisolm's was the pioneer tavern in Knoxville. Col. McClung's clerk's office was on the corner, now known as Craighead's. Nathaniel Cowan's house was on the corner of Water and River-streets. Stone's Tavern was on the property known as Park's Corner. Joseph Greer resided upon the lot now owned by S. R. Rogers, Esq. The approach to Knoxville, on the east, was at first along the deep hollow or ravine, which extends from a little below Kennedy's saw-mill, and reaches Cumberland-street before its junction with Main, in front of the residence of Major Swan.

The annuity of one thousand dollars to the Cherokees, as provided by the Treaty of Holston, was considered by some of the chiefs as insufficient. A deputation, consisting of Nenetooyah or Bloody Fellow, Chutloh or King Fisher, Nontuaka or the Northward, Teesteke or the Disturber, Kuthagusta or the Prince, Suaka or George Miller, and James Cary, Interpreter, arrived at Philadelphia, Dec. 28th, 1791. A long conference ensued and continued to the 11th. In this conference, Nenetooyah gave a minute and interesting account of all that had transpired at the Treaty of Holston, and, with the rest of the delegation, made a full expose of the affairs of his nation.

On the 18th, the President proposed an addition of five hundred dollars to the Cherokee annuity, to which the Senate gave its advice and consent.

On the 31st, the Secretary of War wrote to Governor Blount, directing him not to call out the militia of the Terri

tory, excepting in cases of real danger, and pointing out the importance of having the boundary line run.

In February, of this year, Col. E. Robertson informed Governor Blount of aggressions by the Indians, and that on the 27th, in the evening, they killed Mr. Thompson in his own yard, and jumped into his house and killed all the women and children except two. The Governor also received information from Captain Craig, whom he had despatched on a mission to the Lookout Towns, that some prisoners and scalps had been brought in by the Turtle-at-Home, and that at night a scalp dance was there held, at which Richard Justice and the Glass took the scalps, and tore them with their hands and teeth with great ferocity, as did also the warriors generally, with all the forms, gestures, exultation and declaration of a war dance; and that the warriors from Running Water coming in afterwards, renewed the war dance, and gave other indications of hostile intentions; that the Shawnees, in their invitation to the Cherokees to join them against the United States, after St. Clair's defeat, had added the declaration, that they would consider all Indians as enemies who did not assist them, and that General McGillevray wished to form a general confederacy of all the Indian tribes against the Americans, and that eighty Creek warriors had crossed the Tennessee, on their way to attack Cumberland, and were expecting reinforcements to make a formidable invasion of that country. Captain Craig felt a deep conviction that both the Creeks and the Cherokees of the five Lower Towns would join the Shawnees.

Gov. Blount was also Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws and Chickasaws. In each tribe he had a deputy resident, and also interpreters. To these he gave instructions, and from them received reports of the condition, disposition and views of the Indians where they resided.

The instructions of the Government restricted Governor Blount to the adoption of defensive measures only, by which to give protection and safety to the Territory. Thus restricted, he stationed detachments of militia at the more

exposed points, with orders to patrol from one station to another.

April 21.—General Pickens, of South-Carolina, was requested, by the Secretary of War, to attend at Nashville, where Governor Blount would hold a conference, in June, with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, to which some of the Cherokee chiefs would be invited. At that time and place, a proposition would be made to these tribes to join the United States army, and it was proposed, by the President, if they accepted, that General Pickens should command them combinedly, on the contemplated expedition north-west of the Ohio.

One of the guards came express to Campbell's Station, with the news that the Indians had just killed two boys at Mr. Wells's, in Hind's Valley. On this occasion it was, that the Indians came to Col. Campbell's and fired at himself and another man, ploughing by his side. The report of their guns being heard by Mrs. Campbell, she, very coolly, barricaded the door of the house, took the rifles from the rack, and waited, at the port-holes, for the approach of the Indians. In that position she was found by the men escaping from the field. She handed out the rifles—the Indians were pursued, but were not overtaken.

Governor Blount had been invited, by the Chiefs, to meet them, in conference, at Coyatee. As he approached that place, the standard of the United States was erected. Two thousand Indians were marshalled into two lines, between which the Governor and his honourary escort passed. A firing, in the manner of a *feu de joi*, was commenced and kept up, handsomely, for some time. The object of the meeting, was the distribution of the goods, and the payment of the annuity, according to the treaty, and to bring to the attention of the Chiefs the repeated infractions, by their warriors, of the provisions stipulated for in treaty. To his remarks on that subject, the Breath, of Nickajack, the Hanging-Maw and John Watts, renewed their declarations that their people were for peace.

After the conference at Coyatee, Governor Blount, attended by a sufficient guard, crossed the mountain, and, at Nash-

ville, held a conference with the Chickasaws and Choctaws. In conjunction with General Pickens, he met there a large delegation of their chiefs, distributed the goods, and renewed assurances of peace with them.* Returned to Knoxville, he writes to the Secretary of War, under date—

KNOXVILLE, August 31, 1792.

On the 10th instant, the conference with the Chickasaws and Choctaws ended; there was a very full representation of the former, but not of the latter, owing, there is reason to believe, to the Spanish influence. During the conference, General Pickens and myself received the strongest assurances of peace and friendship for the United States, from both nations, and I believe they were made with great sincerity.

June 26.—Zeigler's Station, about two miles from Bledsoe's Lick, was attacked by a large party of Creek Indians—first in the afternoon, and then at night. This station was picketed and was defended by thirteen men, including the son of Mr. Joseph Wilson, a lad not fully grown. Four were killed, four wounded, who escaped, three escaped unhurt, and eighteen were made prisoners. Of the prisoners, nine were regained by purchase, made by their parents and friends. One, Miss Wilson, and four negroes, were carried into captivity.

July 15.—Isaac Pennington and Milligen were killed, and McFarland was wounded, on the Kentucky Road.

July 31.—At Greenfield's, near Bledsoe's Lick, John Berkley, Jun., was killed and scalped, and John Berkley, Sen., was wounded. He killed the Indian while scalping the son.

Mr. Cochrane lived on the farm afterwards occupied by Doctor M'Gee. His son, returning from Pistol Creek, was met by a white man, a stranger, who detained him a minute in conversation; Indians lying in ambush, fired on him, their bullets passing through his hat and clothes without inflicting a wound. He, with his father's family, escaped down the creek, and alarmed the neighbourhood, who began to build a fort. A few days after, Gillespie and two boys went home after some corn. The Indians killed Gillespie and the eldest boy, but the youngest they took prisoner. A white man

* The full proceedings of this conference, are in American State Papers, pp. 284–5–6.

in the company of the Indians, excused the murder of the oldest brother, by stating that they had fired at and missed a pale-face, (Cochrane,) and killed his brother for satisfaction for their lost powder.

The forts in what is now Blount county, were reinforced and guarded by men from Knox county. Captain John Crawford took troops from Tuckahoe, and other places, and left some of them at Henry's, Craig's and Ish's Stations, and afterwards at Tellico Block-house. This was a strong work, of considerable size, with a projection on each square, furnished with port-holes, and calculated to stand a siege by an enemy provided with small arms only. Colonel James Scott commanded the troops of this frontier in the absence of Sevier.

Governor Blount, by express, informed the Secretary of War, that the five Lower Cherokee towns on the Tennessee, headed by John Watts, had formally declared war against the United States, and that the warriors had set out on some expedition against the frontiers, probably against the Cumberland settlements. Their number was variously estimated at from three to six hundred, including one hundred banditti Creeks. The Governor ordered out one regiment of the militia of Washington District, and sent orders to General Robertson of Mero District, to put his brigade in the best possible state of defence. The military strength of the country was immediately called out. The colonel of Knox county at once issued orders to his captains, bearing date—

KNOXVILLE, September 11, 1792.

Sir :—You are hereby commanded to repair with your company to Knoxville, equipped, to protect the frontiers; there is imminent danger. Bring with you two day's provision, if possible; but you are not to delay an hour on that head.

I am, sir, yours,

JAMES WHITE.

Captain Thomas Gillespie.

The militia paraded at the points designated, and were distributed to the most exposed stations on the frontiers. It was, in the meantime, ascertained that the expedition of the hostile confederates was directed against the settlements on the other side of the mountain, and Governor Blount dis-

banded most of the troops. One of the captains, with his company, was retained in service.

The execution of this order by Captain Gillespie, restrained further annoyance for some time on the frontier. This was most inadequately protected, as appears from a list of the stations and strength of the frontiers of Knox county, Dec. 22, 1792:

Gambel's Station.—William Reagan, Lieutenant; men, thirteen; on furlough, five; at station, on duty, eight.
Black's Station.—Joel Wallice, Ensign; men, four.
Henry's Station.—George Huffacre, Corporal; men, six.
Wells's Station.—Richard Dearmond, Corporal; men, six.
Ish's Station.—Matthew Karr, Sergeant; men, eight.
Campbell's Station.—None.
Lowe's Station.—None.
Manifee's Station.—Capt. Sampels; men, fourteen.
Raccoon Valley Station.—Sergeant Finley and one man.
Total at stations, forty-seven.

For the protection of Cumberland against the threatened invasion, Governor Blount issued this order to Major Sharpe:

"Major Sharpe, of Sumner county, who commands all the troops in service, for the protection of the frontiers, is to be considered as subject to the orders of no superior militia officer, not in actual service. But in case of any militia being turned out from either of the counties, by the commanding officer, to chastise Indians for recent depredations, he will cordially co-operate with such part of his command as may be in that particular county. No pursuit to be continued beyond the ridge dividing the waters of Cumberland and Duck Rivers. Patrols and reconnoitring parties to be kept out from the stations, in search of, and to prevent any further depredations by the Indians; and in case any Indians should be found skulking or lurking about to the northward of the ridge aforesaid, in the woods, off any path, or fleeing, to be considered and treated as enemies, save only, Chickasaws and Choctaws, women and children.

"Annexed are the names of the stations, and the number of men at each; but in case Major Sharpe should conceive it essential for the better protection of the frontiers, he will increase the number at any or either, and lessen them at any other, either the cavalry or infantry, or both, but erect no new ones, until his command shall receive an augmentation of troops; and on that event, he will either augment the numbers at the present stations, or erect new ones, so as best to effect the object of protection. Such men of Tennessee county on duty, as are draughts, to be discharged on the arrival of the men under the command of Captain Lusk, and their places to be supplied by a part of his men. Major Sharpe will call militia officers, not in actual service, into court martial for the trial of offenders, in cases where he cannot collect a sufficient number who are in actual service.

Stations and Numbers on Cumberland.

No. 1.	Cavalry—a Sergeant and 13	14	Taylor's Spring,
	Infantry—an Ensign and 15,	16	near Bledsoe's.
2.	Cavalry—Sergeant and 13,	14	Spencer's
	Infantry—Lieutenant, Ensign, and 15,	17	Lick.
3.	Cavalry—Lieutenant and 13,	14	Sconer's
	Infantry—Sergeant and 15,	16	Lick,
4.	Cavalry and infantry, officers inclusive,	15	Brown's Spring.
5.	Cavalry and infantry, officers inclusive,	21	Kilpatrick's.
6.	Cavalry and infantry, officers inclusive,	13	Gower's Cabin.
7.	Cavalry and infantry, officers inclusive,	20	Edmondson's.
8.	Infantry, officers inclusive,	18	Near the — of Sycamore.
9.	Infantry, officers inclusive,	12	Cave Spring, near the mouth of Red River.
	Total,	190	

"On the 30th September, about midnight, John Buchanan's Station, four miles south of Nashville, (at which sundry families had collected, and fifteen gun-men,) was attacked by a party of Creeks and Lower Cherokees, supposed to consist of three or four hundred. Their approach was suspected by the running of cattle, that had taken fright at them, and, upon examination, they were found rapidly advancing within ten yards of the gate; from this place and distance they received the first fire from the man who discovered them (John McRory). They immediately returned the fire, and continued a very heavy and constant firing upon the station, (block-houses, surrounded with a stockade,) for an hour, and were repulsed with considerable loss, without injuring man, woman, or child, in the station.

"During the whole time of attack, the Indians were not more distant than ten yards from the block-house, and often in large numbers round the lower walls, attempting to put fire to it. One ascended the roof with a torch, where he was shot, and, falling to the ground, renewed his attempts to fire the bottom logs, and was killed. The Indians fired thirty balls through a port-hole of the overjutting, which lodged in the roof in the circumference of a hat, and those sticking in the walls, on the outside, were very numerous.

"Upon viewing the ground next morning, it appeared that the fellow who was shot from the roof, was a Cherokee half-breed of the Running Water, known by the whites by the name of Tom Tunbridge's step-son, the son of a French woman by an Indian, and there was much blood, and signs that many dead had been dragged off, and litters having been made to carry their wounded to their horses, which they had left a mile from the station. Near the block-house were found several swords, hatchets, pipes, kettles, and budgets of different Indian articles; one of the swords was a fine Spanish blade, and richly mounted in the Spanish fashion. In the morning previous to the attack, Jonathan Gee and ——— Clayton were sent out as spies, and on the ground, among other articles left by the Indians, were found a handkerchief and a moccasin, known one to belong to Gee, and the other to Clayton, hence it is supposed they are killed."*

The repulse of so large a body of warriors by the small

* Blount's Correspondence.

party of fifteen gun-men at Buchanan's, is a feat of bravery
1792 { which has scarcely been surpassed in all the annals of border warfare. The number of the assailants, Creeks, Cherokees and Shawnees, was afterwards ascertained to be above seven hundred, some of them well mounted, and all well armed, and led by distinguished Braves of their several tribes. According to the Indian version of the affair, the assault was led by Kiachatalee, a daring half-breed warrior of Running Water Town. When it was found impracticable to carry the fort by other means, he "attempted to fire the block-house, and was actually blowing it into a flame, when he was mortally wounded. He continued, after receiving his mortal wound, to blow the fire and to cheer his followers to the assault, calling upon them to fight like brave men, and never give up till they had taken the fort."* Amongst the numerous wounded, was the Cherokee chief, John Watts.

Communicating with the Secretary of War, Governor Blount says:

"That you may perfectly understand the situation of Mero District, I will give you a description of it.

"The settlements of Mero District extend up and down the Cumberland River, from east to west, about eighty-five miles, and the extreme width, from north to south, does not exceed twenty-five miles, and its general width does not exceed half that distance, and, not only the country surrounding the extreme frontier, but the interior part (which is to be found only by comparison with the more exposed part) is covered generally with thick and high cane, and a heavy growth of large timber, and where there happens to be no cane, with thick underwood, which afford the Indians an opportunity of laying days and weeks in any and every part of the district, in wait near the houses, and of doing injuries to the inhabitants, when they themselves are so hid or secured that they have no apprehensions of injuries being done in return, and they escape from pursuit, even though it is immediate. This district has an extreme frontier of at least two hundred miles."

By the Governor of the Territory, an ordinance was passed, at Knoxville, the 11th of June, circumscribing the counties of Greene and Hawkins, and laying off two new counties, Knox and Jefferson.

Courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, were ordained to be held in the two counties thus laid off;—for the county of

* M. A. H., in Whig Review, of March, 1852.

Knox, at Knoxville, and for the county of Jefferson, at the house of Jeremiah Matthews.

KNOX COUNTY COURT.

1792, JUNE 16.—James White, John Sawyers, Hugh Beard, John Adair, George McNutt, Jeremiah Jack, John Kearns, James Cozby, John Evans, Samuel Newell, William Wallace, Thomas McCulloch, William Hamilton, David Craig and William Lowry, presented a Commission from Governor Blount, appointing them Justices of the Peace for Knox county, and appeared before the Honourable David Campbell, Esq., who, in the presence of Governor Blount, administered to each of them an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and also an oath of office.

Charles McClung also produced a Commission from the Governor, appointing him Clerk of Knox county, and he was in like manner qualified.

Thomas Chapman, also, as Register.

June 25.—Robert Houston, in like manner, was commissioned and qualified as Sheriff.

It was ordered by the Court, that the Sheriff make proclamation for the opening of a County Court, at the house of John Stone, in the town of Knoxville, and that Charles McClung be admitted Clerk to record the same.

Whereupon, the said Robert Houston, having solemnly proclaimed for that purpose, it is ordered, that the said Court be considered open for the purpose of dispatching public business, and be ordered of record accordingly.

The first Court held, was on the 16th of July, 1792. Present—James White, Samuel Newell, David Craig and Jeremiah Jack. James White was appointed chairman.

June 16.—Luke Bowyer, Alexander Outlaw, Joseph Hamilton, Archibald Roane, Hopkins Lacy, John Rhea and James Reese, Esquires, were qualified and admitted to practice law in this Court.

Wm. Henry obtained leave to build a mill on Rosebury's Creek.

Ordered, that Alexander Cunningham have leave to keep a public ferry at his landing opposite Knoxville.

Roads were also ordered to be laid out, from Knoxville to Col. Alexander Kelley's Mill, and to David Craig's, on Nine Mile Creek.

June 17.—John Rhea was commissioned by the Governor, Solicitor for Knox county.

A public road was ordered to be laid off from Knoxville to the Ford on Clinch, and from Knoxville to Campbell's Station.

Oct. 23.—A public road was ordered to be laid out from Knoxville to the mouth of French Broad.

The Sheriff appeared and protested against the Jail of Knox county.

1793, JANUARY 26.—Commissioners were appointed to contract for the building of a Jail. Its dimensions were, sixteen feet square; the logs to be one foot square, the lower floor to be laid of logs of that size, to be laid double and crosswise; the loft to be laid also with logs, and

covered crosswise with oak plank, one and a half inches thick, and well spiked down.

The same Commissioners were also authorized to contract for building a Court House.

1793, May 6.—John Sevier produced a license from Governor Blount to practice law, and was admitted.

By the Governor and Judges of the Territory, an act was passed, authorizing the courts of the several counties to levy a tax for repairing and building court houses, prisons and stocks, to pay jurors of the Superior Courts, and defray the contingent charges of the counties. This act provided, that the poll tax, for any one year, should not exceed fifty cents, nor the tax on land more than seventeen cents on each hundred acres.

On the 30th November, Sevier informed Gov. Blount that the Block-house, at South-West Point, near the present Kingston, was finished, and advises the erection of a post between that place and Campbell's Station, and that a strong detachment should be sent forward, to a point near which Captain Handley was defeated—assigning, as reasons for this policy, that a large body of Indians were in that vicinity, and that the greater part of all the Lower Cherokee families is on the north side of Tennessee River, about and near the Cumberland Mountains.

Gov. Blount, having received authentic information of the hostile disposition of the Creeks and Lower Cherokees, issued orders to the colonels of the several counties of Washington District, to raise two regiments of troops to operate against them, on the defensive. On the 27th of September, he ordered General Sevier to repair to Knoxville to take the command of the brigade. The colonels were Carter and Christian; lieutenant-colonels, Blair and McNabb; majors, Sawyers, McFarland, Conway and Rutledge.

Indians were seen at the Warm Springs, and at the plantation of Charles Robertson, on Meadow Creek, probably watching the motions of the guards who were stationed for the protection of the frontier on French Broad. These guards were stationed in four block-houses—at Hough's, at the Burnt Cane-brake, at the Painted Rock and at the Warm Springs, and scouted, regularly, between these block-houses,

and up to Big Laurel, where they met the Buncombe scout. Six was the number usually stationed at one post.

The official letters of Gov. Blount to the War Department, and letters addressed to him by his subordinates, contain the best, and certainly the most authentic, account of the transactions in the Territory. They are voluminous, and being well preserved in the archives at Washington, need not be transferred to these pages. A few extracts, however, are considered essential to these Annals, and are here given.

The Governor, writing to the Secretary of War, Nov. 8, says:

"The Creeks having never had the colour of claim to land on the north side of Tennessee, it is not necessary to say anything to show that their conduct must have been occasioned by other motives than a claim relating to boundaries. And if the Cherokees ever had a claim, it has been extinguished by two public treaties—that of Hopewell and Holston; at the last of which, a valuable consideration was paid in hand, and since, the first annual payment has been made, and principally received by the inhabitants of the five Lower towns, who have declared war against the United States. Thus, if the Cherokees ever had a claim, it has been twice extinguished, and by two public treaties. But, by the best information I can collect, the claim of the Cherokees to the lands lying on Cumberland, is a recent thing; there are many very respectable people now living who were present at the time. Richard Henderson and Company purchased from them *their claim* to the lands lying on Cumberland, as well as nearly all those included within what is now the limits of Kentucky.

"General Sevier, with the troops mentioned in my letter of the 27th September, as ordered into service, is in the field, advanced about thirty-five miles southwest of Knoxville, that is, at the mouth of Clinch, with his main force; the other parts of his brigade are detached to different parts of the frontiers of Washington District, for the protection thereof, with my orders to act on the defensive, under the limitations mentioned in your letter of the 9th of October.

"The advantages of the troops at the mouth of Clinch are, they will cut off all communication, by water, between the Upper and Lower Cherokees; they will deter, in a greater degree, and can more easily intercept, incursive parties from it, than in any other situation; they will impress the Lower towns with apprehensions of sudden attacks by water, as well as by horsemen. The distance by water can be passed in from forty to forty-eight hours.

"On Monday night last, five Creeks, headed by young Lashley, the son of a Scotchman in the Creek nation, the same that headed the party that killed and captured Gillespie's son, on the 13th September, came in upon the waters of Little River, about twenty miles from this place, and stole and carried off eight horses; they were traced towards Chil-

howee, the nearest Cherokee town. This gave reason to suspect the Chilhowee Indians of the theft, whereupon, as many as fifty-two of the neighbouring people, including the sufferers, assembled together in arms, and determined to go and destroy Chilhowee and Tallassee too, a little adjacent town, and actually did march; but General Sevier received information of their intentions, and despatched orders to them to disperse and return home, which they obeyed, and thus the matter happily ended."

Captain Handley, when marching with his company of forty-two men, two hundred miles, for the protection of the stations on Cumberland, was attacked near the Crab-Orchard by a party of Indians, fifty-six in number, commanded by the Middle Striker. The party consisted of Cherokees, Creeks and Shawnees. When the attack was made upon his company, a panic seized most of them, and they fell back. Handley laboured in vain to rally them. He believed that if this could have been done, the Indians would have been defeated. He saw one of his men, named Leiper, in a most hazardous position, at a little distance from the Indians, and unhorsed. Handley conceived the design of rescuing him instantly, by seizing the horse's bridle and running him to the place where he was, to give the soldier an opportunity to re-mount. In doing this, he ran too near the enemy, and his own horse fell under him, pierced with wounds. Handley was immediately surrounded by Indians, furiously brandishing their uplifted tomahawks, the signal of death or submission. He jumped behind a tree, and was met by a warrior, who held over him a tomahawk, in the act of striking. He arrested the stroke, by seizing the weapon, with the cry "Canawlla"—friendship. "Canawlla" was responded by the Indian, who instantly began to seek his rescue. This he at length effected, by hurrying the captain around, till he brought him to the principal chief, where, for a short time, he was free from danger. While the Indian was thus drawing him off, Handley received numerous licks from other Indians, some of which seemed to be inoffensive, being made with the flat side of the hatchet. One was made by his own sword, from which he narrowly escaped. In another instance, a gun was fired at him, the muzzle not ten feet distant, which was only escaped, by some other Indians

striking the gun upwards at the moment of its discharge. The efforts of Handley to rally his men, and in labouring for the escape of Leiper, seem to have drawn off the attention of the enemy from his men, and to have concentrated it nearly on himself. Only three of them were killed. The rest all escaped. Poor Leiper was seen by Handley lying scalped and lacerated with wounds. He exclaimed, "dear captain," to one who could no longer command nor protect, who was hurried away by his Indian captor, and never saw him more. Captain McClelland was, at this time, at South-West Point, and, with his company of light horse, was despatched to the scene of the discomfiture, to bury the dead, and to rescue the survivors, if possible, from their captivity, and cut off the enemies' retreat. The first report was, that Captain Handley was killed, as the last time he was seen by his men, he was fighting hand to hand, surrounded by a crowd of warriors. But the light horse, in pursuing the Indian trail, found that wherever they had encamped, there were left the fixtures used by the Indians in securing a prisoner. Along the trail, too, at different places, they found slips of torn paper, which, on being put together, were found to be parts of Handley's muster-roll, which he had considerately torn and dropped along the path, hoping thereby to furnish those who might attempt his rescue the means of ascertaining the route his captors had taken. The pursuit was, however, unsuccessful, and the light horse returned to South-West Point. Captain Handley was taken to Wills Town. On his way, he was confined carefully at night, and watched closely by his captors through the day. Arriving at the end of their journey, the Indians debated three days whether he should be killed or permitted to live. At length, he was adopted into the Wolf Tribe of the Cherokees, and treated like one of them, from November till March. Before his adoption into the tribe, he received repeated insults and injuries. He was made to run the gauntlet. Another mode of torture, was that of tying his hands and feet fast, and then hurling him over their heads, at the imminent hazard of dashing his nose and face against the ground. During his captivity, the Cherokees became tired of war, and requested

their prisoner to write a letter for them to Governor Blount, at Knoxville, proposing conditions or preliminaries of peace. He obtained liberty, at the same time, to write a letter in his own behalf, to his brother-in-law, Colonel James Scott, which is preserved and is here given:

WILLS TOWN, Dec. 10, 1792.

Dear Sir:—I am a captive in this town, in great distress, and the bearer hereof is a runner from the Upper Towns, from the Hanging Maw, and is now going up with a Talk from Col. John Watts, with the Governor, on terms of peace. These people are much for peace, and if Governor Blount sends a good answer back to the Talk they have sent up by the runner, I am confident their Talk is true and sincere; and, upon the whole, we are not ripe for war with these people, for they are properly fixed for war; but Watts is entirely for peace, at this time, and wishes for a good answer to their Talks. Dear Sir, I have been much abused, and am in great distress. I beg that you and John Cowan, and every good friend, would go to the Governor, and try all you can to get him to send a good answer, so that I can get away—for if an army comes before, I am sure to die. Send word to my wife, and send me a horse down by the Hanging Maw's runner, for I am not able to come without. Dear friends, do what you can, for I am in a distressed way. No more, but—

SAMUEL HANDLEY.

N. B.—John Watts sends to the Hanging Maw to send Calaka, the Hanging Maw's nephew, and another young fellow, down with the Governor's Talk and the horse for me, for he is a safe fellow, and if they come I am sure to get home, but if not, I expect never to get home; and I once more beg you to do your possibles for me, and do them soon as you can.

To James Scott, Nine Mile, Henry's Station. These.

The letter was favourably received by Gov. Blount, and though the Cherokees did not come to an adjustment till after another bloody struggle and ruinous defeat at Etowah, they commissioned eight of their Braves to escort Captain Handley in safety to his friends, in Blount county, with no other ransom than a keg of whiskey given them as a present.

Capt. H. resided some time after near Tellico Block-house, where the Indians frequently came for the purpose of traffic. When any of his Indian acquaintances from Wills Town came there, they crossed over to see him, share his hospitality, and repose upon his premises, as with a genuine brother of their own order. He afterwards moved to Winchester, Tenn., where he died.

1793 The Cherokees were understood to be embodied in such force as to threaten an attack upon South-West Point, and other places upon the frontier, where the several corps under the command of Sevier had been stationed. But acting under the orders of the Secretary of War, Gov. Blount gave orders, Nov. 29th, that all the troops of Sevier's brigade, except two companies, should be marched to Knoxville, and mustered out of service. This was accordingly done early in January of 1793.

On Tuesday, the 22d of January, the Indians killed and scalped John Pates, on Crooked Creek, about sixteen miles from Knoxville.

On the 29th, the Cherokees stole three of William Davidson's horses from Gamble's Station, on Little River; and, on the 26th of February, they stole ten horses from Cozby's Creek. These aggressions prompted the spontaneous assemblage of the militia at Gamble's Station, for the purpose of marching to the nearest Indian towns, and retaliating upon them the injuries they were suffering.

The Governor immediately ordered Col. Kelly to go to the dissatisfied and incensed citizens on the frontier, and endeavour to restrain them from going with arms across the Tennessee River, or entering any of the Indian towns. The Governor found it necessary also to issue his proclamation, requiring the citizens to desist from an invasion of the Indian territory, which was now contemplated by a party of eighty men, who had assembled at Gamble's for that purpose. He attended there himself in person, to aid, by his personal and official influence, in the preservation of peace. In this he was assisted by Col. White and others. To contribute still more in allaying the impending storm of retaliation, a company of cavalry was ordered to range from Holston to Little River. Quiet was restored, and the people were tranquillized.

While these measures were being adopted to restrain the just indignation of the settlers, new causes of offence were of constant occurrence.

On the 9th of March, a party of Indians, led by Towakka, formed an ambuscade near the house of Mr. Nelson, living

on Little Pigeon, twenty-five miles from Knoxville. Two of his sons, James and Thomas, were killed and scalped.

On the 16th, fourteen horses were stolen from Flat Creek, within sixteen miles from Knoxville.

In March, Joseph Brown, whose capture, in 1788, has already been mentioned, accompanied Thomas Ross, the mail carrier, and Col. Caleb Friley, from the Holston settlements, by the way of Kentucky, to Cumberland. They were fired upon the third evening after they started, on the east side of Little Laurel, but sustained no damage. They went in full speed, crossed the river, and in about a quarter of a mile ran into a large body of Indians; Ross was killed, Brown and Friley escaped, severely wounded.

On the 18th of March, two young men, named Clements, were killed and scalped sixteen miles below Knoxville.

On the 20th of March, a party of Indians killed and scalped William Massey and Adam Greene, at the gap of Powell's Mountain, on Clinch, about twenty miles from Rogersville.

A party of Creeks, led by young Lashley, burned, on the 8th of April, the house of Mr. Gallaher, on the south side of Holston, and within twenty miles of Knoxville. A detachment of mounted infantry pursued, but did not overtake them. The same party hovered about the settlements till the 15th, when a party of Lieutenant Tedford's rangers fired upon and killed one of the Indians, who proved to be a Cherokee—Noon-Day of Toquo.

A report was received from James Carey, one the interpreters of the United States in the Cherokee nation, in which he confirms the intelligence Governor Blount had received of Indian hostilities—"of large parties of Creeks and Cherokees, meditating invasion of Mero and Washington Districts, and of the impression generally prevalent with the Indians, that the reason why the Americans did not retaliate, but patiently bore the injuries they had received from them, was the posture of their negotiation with foreign Powers, and their fear of offending them. And that if it was not for this, the Americans, certainly, would not be offering and begging peace in return for murders, robberies and bloodshed, daily committed on their citizens." Other intelligence of the

same purport was received, through Mr. Gilliland, who had just returned from the nation.

April 12.—The people on the frontier generally collected in stations. At Craig's, there were two hundred and eighty men, women and children, living in great discomfort in small huts.

At this moment, Governor Blount was informed, that General Logan was raising a party of Kentucky Volunteers, for the purpose of making war upon the Lower Cherokee towns.

On the 12th of April, Gov. Blount wrote to Gov. Shelby, suggesting to him the propriety of restraining Logan from the expedition he contemplated against the enemy.

The Governor ordained that Knox and Jefferson counties should constitute a Judicial District, to be known by the name of the District of Hamilton, in which two Superior Courts should be held, at Knoxville, in April and October of each year. Of this court, Col. F. A. Ramsey was, by the Governor, appointed clerk.

March 21.—It was ordained by the Governor, that courts should be in future held for Jefferson county, on the north side of French Broad, on the lands of Francis Dean, near the Rev. Mr. Henderson's Lower Meeting House.

July 22.—Jefferson County Court first held.—It met at the house of Jeremiah Mathews, (now Reuben Zirkle's, four and a half miles west of Dandridge, near the river.) The magistrates had been commissioned and qualified.

June 11.—The following gentlemen appeared and took their seats, viz: Alexander Outlaw, George Doherty, James Roddye, John Blackburn, James Lea, Josiah Wilson, Josiah Jackson, Andrew Henderson, Amos Balch and Wm. Cox.

Joseph Hamilton was commissioned Clerk.

Robert McFarland, Sheriff. James Roddye, Register.

Luke Bowyer, Wm. Cocke, John Rhea, Alexander Outlaw, James Reese, Archibald Roane and Hopkins Lacy, were admitted as Attornies.

John Morris, a Chickasaw warrior, being at Knoxville, and a guest of the Governor, was shot and killed by some one unknown. To soothe the feelings of the Indians, Morris was buried with the military honours due to a warrior of a friendly nation. In the procession, to the usual burial ground of the white people, Governor Blount and the brother

of the murdered Indian, walked together as chief mourners.

May 25.—Thomas Gillam and his son James, were killed and scalped by the Indians, in the Raccoon Valley, eighteen miles from Knoxville. Captain Beard, with fifty mounted infantry, made immediate pursuit.

June 13.—General Sevier was at this time at Jonesboro', and Captain Chisholm, by letter of this date, forwarded by express from Knoxville, informs him, "That on yesterday morning, Capt. John Beard, with a party of forty men, attacked the Indians at the Hanging Maw's, and killed twelve or fifteen on the spot, among whom were a number of the principal chiefs, called there by the express order of the President. Major Robert King, Daniel Carmichael, Joseph Sevier and James Ore, were acting for the United States. This will bring on inevitable war ; the Indians are making vigorous preparation for an assault on us. The frontier is in a most lamentable situation. Pray, sir, let us have your immediate presence, for our all depends upon your exertion.

"The Hanging Maw is wounded, his wife is killed, also Scantee, a Chickasaw chief, that was at the Maw's, Kittigeskie's daughter and other principal Indians. Two hundred Indians were in arms in thirty minutes. Beard and his party have fled, leaving the frontier unprotected. My dear sir, much depends on you—for your presence itself will be a balm to the suffering frontier."

Governor Blount, was at this moment absent, and the secretary, General Smith, on whom that duty now devolved, wrote immediately to the Hanging Maw and other chiefs, in explanation of the atrocious conduct of Beard's party, and begged them not to retaliate the outrage. "Be not rash and inconsiderate," said he ; "hear what your and our Great Father, the President, will say. Go and see him as he has requested. I assure you, I believe he will give you satisfaction, if you forbear to take it yourselves."

The Secretary, communicating the state of things to the War Department, adds, "to my great pain, I find, to punish Beard by law, just now, is out of the question."

The affair was deemed of such consequence, as to demand

the arrest and trial of that officer. The court martial, however, before which he was arraigned, inflicted no punishment.

The forbearance, as hoped for, from the Cherokees, by General Smith, did not continue long. At daylight, August 29, a large party of Indians attacked Henry's Station. Lieutenant Tedford was taken prisoner, and horribly butchered.

Andrew Creswell was living in the neighbourhood of McGaughey's Station; two other men constituted the force in his house. William Cunningham, passing near, was waylaid by the Indians and shot. He escaped to Creswell's house. One of the men proposed to Creswell, to break up and go to the station. The latter replied that, from his knowledge of the Indian character, he believed they would not strike a second blow in the same place. Mr. Creswell then enquired from his wife, whether she would rather go to the station than to stay at home? She replied, it seemed like death at either place, and she would rather risk her life there, than any place else. "That's my sort," said Creswell; "I will keep this house till the Indians take me out of it." The house was a new log cabin, with a single door, fastened by a shutter of hewed puncheons, too thick to be penetrated by a bullet. His stable was so placed, immediately in rear of his house, that Mr. Creswell himself could not open the door of it, without first entering his dwelling-house, and going to the head of his bed, and raising a large bolt, with a long lever. Near this lever, was a port-hole, through which he defended his stable; and on each side of his house, were others through which he defended his family. Indians came in sight, but never attacked him. Mr. Cunningham recovered; he died a few years, since in Monroe county.

August 30.—This day, two Indians came to the house of Philip Hutter, in Washington county, about eleven o'clock, and tomahawked and scalped his wife, and left her for dead; cut the head off his daughter, and carried it away with them, and plundered the house.

Colonel Doherty and Colonel McFarland, in direct disregard of the orders of the Territorial authorities, raised one hundred nd eighty mounted riflemen, with whom they invaded the

Indian country. Crossing the Tennessee, they penetrated the mountains at a place called the Unaca Pass. It was afterwards ascertained, that three hundred Indians lay here in ambuscade, awaiting their return. Fortunately, they deflected eastwardly, south of Tennessee and Pigeon Rivers. In this march, they destroyed six Indian towns, and killed fifteen Indians, whom they scalped. They also took sixteen women and children prisoners. Two or three times, our men were attacked by night. On such occasions, they would retire a few paces from the lights of their camp-fires, into the nearest thicket, and stand with their rifles at a present, ready to fire at the flash of the enemies' guns. By the sudden cessation of the Indian arms, it was believed that the aim of the whites, although in the dark, was effectual. In these night attacks, four of the riflemen were wounded, one of whom died soon after their return. They were out on this campaign four weeks, and reached the white settlements, twelve miles above the War Ford on French Broad, now New-Port.

Captain Nathaniel Evans, from Boyd's Creek, took forward a large detachment of troops for the protection of Cumberland. One hundred and eighty men rendezvoused at Knoxville. Being mounted, they carried their own provisions—passed South-west Point, Post Oak Springs and the Crab-Orchard. James Capshaw, Samuel Martin and George Telford, acted as spies through the wilderness. On Obey's River the signs of Indians multiplied. They, however, came upon none—passing the Rolling Fork and the head of Stone's River, they reached Nashville without molestation from the enemy. Here they remained fifteen days, and returned nearly the same route. It was in their absence, that the Indians invaded the country, and took Cavet's Station.

1793 Captain Michael Harrison, with his company of eighty light-horse from Washington county, was in service early in September, and visited the several stations on Pigeon, before coming to Sevier's head-quarters at Ish's Station, south of Holston. From this point, scouts were sent out to guard the approaches to Knoxville, which it was apprehended would be the object of Indian attack, on ac-

count of the public stores that were known to be there. On the 24th September, Captain Harrison's light-horse had scoured the country in every direction, but made no discovery of the enemy. But the same evening, a body of a thousand warriors, under the lead of John Watts and Double Head, crossed the Tennessee River, below the mouth of Holston, and marched all night in the direction of Knoxville. Of this large force, seven hundred were Creeks—the rest were Cherokees. Of the former, were one hundred well mounted horsemen. The Indians had expected to reach Knoxville before day, on the morning of the twenty-fifth, but some detention at the river had prevented. The horsemen had out-marched the main body, and some altercation between the leaders occurred, and produced confusion. Knoxville being the principal object of attack and plunder, orders were given by some of the Creeks to press forward at once, and not delay their march, by stopping to disturb and plunder the smaller settlements. Double Head advised a different policy, and insisted on taking every cabin as they passed. A further cause of delay was the rivalry between this chief and Van, each of whom aspired to the leadership of the expedition. Upon the question, "shall we massacre all the inhabitants of Knoxville, or the men only?" these savage warriors differed in opinion; Van advising lenity to the women and children. Before the plan of procedure was adjusted, the night was so far spent as not to allow the invaders time to reach Knoxville before daylight. That town was, however, in the opinion of all, the primary object of attack, and, with that purpose in view, Campbell's Station—one of the chief forts of the country, and in which, at this time, twenty families were there stationed for mutual protection—was carefully passed, undisturbed. At daylight they had reached the head of Sinking Creek, in the Grassy Valley, and were in a rapid march for Knoxville. The United States troops at that place, as usual, fired off a cannon at sunrise, which the Indians heard, and understood to be an evidence that their attack was expected. This disconcerted their plans, and led to the abandonment of their meditated assault. The Indian force was halted immedi-

ately. In sight of them, was the house or station of Alexander Cavet, in which were only three gun-men and his family, thirteen in number. This house stood on the plantation now owned by Mr. Walker, about eight miles west of Knoxville, and about six hundred yards north of the present stage-road, where its foundation can yet be seen.

Disappointed in their hopes of plunder, and too cowardly to run the risk of obtaining it by attacking Knoxville, the Indians determined to wreak their vengeance upon a defenceless family, and marched at once to and invested Cavet's house. It was put in the best state of defence which three men could do against a thousand savage assailants. The fire from the house killed one Creek, one Cherokee, and wounded three more. This held back the Indians for a time, and they sent in Bob Benge, a half Creek, who spoke English, proposing that if the station were surrendered, the lives of the besieged should be spared, and that they should be exchanged for a like number of Indian prisoners. These terms were accepted, and the house surrendered. Its unfornate inmates had scarcely left the door, when Double Head and his party fell upon the prisoners and put them to death, mutilating and abusing the bodies of the women and children especially, in the most barbarous and indelicate manner possible. Cavet himself was found in the garden barbarously murdered, and having seven bullets in his mouth, put there by himself, for the greater convenience of speedily loading his rifle. John Watts interposed, and saved the life of Alexander Cavet, Jun., a lad. Benge also interceded for the prisoners, who had capitulated with him, but Double Head was inexorable, and all efforts were unavailing to save the poor victims. The house and stables were plundered and burnt, and the Indians went off, carrying with them into captivity the only survivor of a large family. He was afterwards killed in the Indian towns.

The firing at Cavet's Station was heard, and notice of the invasion of the country was communicated, at once, to Gen. Sevier, then lying, with some troops, across the river, at Ish's, and to the people at Knoxville.

"This intelligence gave to the minds of its citizens that impulse which is only to be looked for on great occasions, when the dignity of a simple heroic conception is enough to consecrate danger and death. The number of fighting men in Knoxville was forty. But it wa. thought preferable to combine this force, and to risk every life in a well concerted effort to strike a deadly and terrific blow on the advancing enemy, at the outskirts of the town, rather than stand to be hewed down, in its centre, by the Indian tomahawk.

"Col. James White was then advanced a little beyond the prime of manhood, of a muscular body, a vigorous constitution, and of that cool and determinate courage which arises from a principle of original bravery, confirmed and ennobled by the faith of the Bible. He was the projector and leader of the enterprise. Robert Houston, Esq., from whose verbal statements the substance of much of this narrative is copied, was of the age of twenty-eight, and was a personal actor in the scene.

"It was viewed to be manifest, by those who were acquainted with Indian movements, that the party would come up the back way, near the present plantations of Mrs. Luttrell and Henry Lonas, rather than the straighter way, now travelled by the stage. The company from Knoxville accordingly repaired to a ridge on that road, which now may be inspected, about a mile and a quarter from Knoxville.

"On the side of this ridge next to Knoxville, our company was stationed, at the distance of twenty steps from each other, with orders to reserve their fire till the most forward of the Indian party was advanced far enough to present a mark for the most eastern man of our own party. He was then to fire. This fire was to be the signal for every man of our own to take aim with precision. This would be favoured by the halt thus occasioned in the ranks of the Indians. And these latter, it was hoped, astonished at the sudden and fatal discharge of rifles, extended over so long a line, would apprehend a most formidable ambuscade, would quit all thoughts of further aggression, and betake themselves to the readiest and safest retreat.

"But to provide for the worst, it was settled beforehand, that each man, on discharging his piece, without stopping to watch the flight of the Indians, should make the best of his way to Knoxville, lodge himself in the block-house, where three hundred muskets had been deposited by the United States. and where the two oldest citizens of the forty, John McFarland and Robert Williams, were left behind to run bullets and load.

"Here it was proposed to make a last and desperate struggle; that, by possessing every port-hole in the building, and by dealing lead and powder through it to the best advantage, they might extort from an enemy of nearly forty times their number, a high price for the hazard of all they had on earth that was dear and precious. There were then two stores in Knoxville, Nathaniel Cowan's and James Miller's. Though the practical heroism of the well-concerted, and thus far, ably conducted stratagem, in consequence of the sudden retreat of the enemy, was not put to the test of actual experiment, yet an incident fraught with so

much magnanimity in the early fortunes of Knoxville, should not be blotted from the records of her fame. It is an incident on which the memory of her sons will linger without tiring, when the din of party shall be hushed and its strife forgotten. These men of a former day, were 'made of sterner stuff' than to shrink from danger at the call of duty. And it will be left to the pen of a future historian to do justice to that little band of thirty-eight citizens, who flinched not from the deliberate exposure of their persons in the open field, within the calculated gunshot of fifteen hundred of the fleetest running and boldest savages."—*Foster's Essay before E. T. Historical and Antiquarian Society.*

At Ish's, preparations were made for an immediate pursuit, and an invasion of the Indian country. The troops in the less remote settlements were ordered into service. Not knowing the number of the invaders, the extent of the mischief they had done, nor the point of the next attack, General Sevier detached Captain Harrison, to cross the Holston and make discoveries; and, if necessary, give pursuit. That officer, with his company of light-horse, set out for the trail of the Indians, and, from the smoking ruins of the station, he traced it to a place where they had stopped to feed, in the direction of Clinch River. Finding that the enemy had abandoned the attack on Knoxville, the light-horse returned to Sevier's camp, and expresses were dispatched to Washington District for reinforcements, to intercept and pursue the enemy. Another company of light-horse, commanded by Captain James Richardson, joined the camp at Ish's; and, in a short time, Sevier's command was augmented by the arrival of troops under Colonel Kelly and others, in numbers sufficient to authorize him to invade the enemy's country.

The daring inroad of almost the entire available force of the Creeks and Cherokees under John Watts, one of the most resolute and enterprising of their chiefs, though abortive, and, in its main object, entirely unsuccessful, went far to convince the authorities of the Territory, and the Executive of the Federal Government, that it was no longer wise or safe to insist upon and continue their past policy of limiting the action of the country to defensive warfare only, against the Indians. Of this, the people on the frontier had, long since, been fully satisfied; and against it, had frequently uttered their earnest remonstrance. A sudden and destructive blow

against the heart of the Indian nation, was loudly called for, and was immediately authorized by Secretary Smith, then acting as Governor, in the absence of Blount. The army already at Ish's, under General Sevier, was reinforced by additional troops from Washington District, commanded by Colonel John Blair, and from Hamilton District, under Col. Christian. Major Elholm acted as Adjutant on this campaign. Thus reinforced, the army under Sevier amounted to six or seven hundred mounted men. They crossed Little Tennessee River at a ford above Lowry's Ferry, and continued a rapid march across Hiwassee and Amoyah, till they reached Estinaula, an Indian village. Here they found abundant supplies of grain and meat, and remained there two or three days. Having burned the town, which they found deserted, their encampment was formed in its immediate vicinity, and upon the banks of Estinaula River, in two parallel lines—Christian's regiment nearest to the river, and Blair's a little south of it, with sentries around it in all directions. The flower of the enemies' warriors were around the camp, and would, doubtless, make a night attack. Noises were heard at the approach of evening, from the surrounding woods, which indicated that mischief was meditated. The horses were tethered at a point where they were least likely to be stolen; sentinels were doubled, and the whole army laid upon their arms Late at night, the Indians were heard by the sentries, some hundred yards distant, approaching in a stealthy, slow, uniform movement, creeping abreast over the high sedge grass. They were allowed to come so near, that the sentries heard the Indians cock their guns. At that instant, their own guns were fired, and they then retired, in a sidewise direction, to the camp. The Indians discharged their guns, and, at once, set up the war-whoop and yells of defiance. The sidewise movement of the retiring sentries saved most of them from the aim of the Indians. Gaut, by pursuing a straight course, was dangerously, but not mortally, wounded.

The Indian fire produced some confusion in the camp, during which, some captive squaws and children escaped. But the warriors kept at such a distance, that the fire from the

camp could not reach them; and the darkness prevented an outward movement against them. The Indians, soon after, withdrew—having inflicted not a single wound, with the exception of that received by Gaut.

The next night, the camp-fires were kept burning at the same place, but the army decamped to the west. The Indians, during the night, made another attack; but, firing only at the vacated camp and finding their mistake, suddenly withdrew.

Finding no Indians to attack at Estinaula, Sevier took up the line of march in the direction of Etowah, with the Coosa on the right. Near the confluence of these streams, and immediately below, was the Indian town, Etowah. The river of the same name had to be crossed before the town could be attacked. Firing was heard in the direction of the town, and apprehending a general attack, Sevier judiciously ordered a halt, and sent forward a detachment from the main body against the town. By mistake of Carey and Findleston, the guides, the party was led to a ferry half a mile below the fording place, and immediately opposite the town. A few of the foremost plunged into the stream and were soon in swimming water, and pushing their way to the opposite bank. The main body, however, discovering the mistake, wheeled to the left and rode rapidly up the river to the ford, where they crossed with the design of riding down to the town, and attacking it without delay.

The Indians, having previously obtained information of Sevier's approach, had made excavations in the bank of the river nearest their town, each of them large enough for one man to lie with his gun poised, and with a leisurely aim to shoot our men as soon as they came in sight. In these, the warriors were safely entrenched. But perceiving the movement of horsemen down the river, and suspecting some other project was devised against their town, they quitted, precipitately, their places of ambush, crossed the river, and hurried down on its other side to defend it.

A fortunate mistake of the pilots, thus drew this formidable party out of its entrenchments, exposed it in the open field, and left to the invaders a safe passage through that bank of

the river so recently lined with armed men. But for this mistake, the horsemen could not have escaped a most deadly fire, and, in all probability, a summary defeat. But the method of fighting was now entirely changed. The crossing by the horsemen was too quickly done, to allow the Indians to regain their hiding places; their ranks were scattered, and the main body of them, hemmed in between the assailants and the river. This done, the men dismounted, betook themselves to trees, and poured in a deadly fire upon the enemy. They resisted bravely, under the lead of the King Fisher, one of their most distinguished Braves. He made a daring sally within a few yards of where one of the party, Hugh L. White, was standing, and the action was becoming sharp and spirited, when White and a few comrades near him, levelling their rifles, this formidable champion fell, and his warriors immediately fled. Three brave men lost their lives in this engagement. Pruett and Weir died on the spot—Wallace, the next day.

The town was set on fire late in the evening, and the troops encamped near it. During the night they were attacked by the Indians. Benjamin McNutt, Esq., and William Gaut, were standing as sentinels in an exposed point of the encampment. The Indians approached stealthily upon them, and each of them fired. Gaut was shot through the body, was carried several days' march on a litter, but ultimately recovered.

The beautiful town of Rome, in Georgia, is near the place where the battle of Etowah was fought.

After the engagement, the Indians made good their escape into the secret passes of the adjoining country. The army, after the town was burned, rescued from the places in which they were obliged to conceal themselves, Col. Kelly and the five horsemen, who had swam their horses at the lower crossing.

Sevier having accomplished thus much of the object of the expedition, desired to extend his conquests to Indian towns still lower down the country. The guides informed him that there was but one accessible path by which the army could reach these distant villages, and that it could be passed only

under disadvantageous circumstances. Little hope remained of meeting the enemy in such numbers as to inflict upon the perpetrators of the mischief at Cavet's, suitable punishment for their atrocities. They had been expelled from the frontier—the heart of their country had been penetrated—their warriors defeated and baffled, and their towns and crops burned up and destroyed. Orders for the return march were given, and the army soon after reached their homes in safety.*

Sevier took command again at Ish's, from which place he made to Gov. Blount his official report:

Ish's Mill, 25th October, 1793.

Sir:—In obedience to an order from Secretary Smith, I marched in pursuit of the large body of Indians, who, on the 25th of last month, did the mischief in Knox county, near the Grassy Valley. For the safety and security of our army, I crossed at one of the upper fords, on the Tennessee River, below the mountains. We then bent our course for Hiwassee, with expectations of striking the trail, and before we reached that river, we discovered four large ones, making directly into the mountains. We proceeded across the Hiwassee, and directed our march for Estanaula, on the Coosa River, at which place we arrived on the 14th instant, discovering on our way further trails leading to the aforesaid place. We there made some Cherokee prisoners, who informed us that John Watts headed the army lately out on our frontiers; that the same was composed of Indians, more or less, from every town in the Cherokee nation; that from the Turkey's town, Sallyquoah, Coosawaytah, and several other principal ones, almost to a man was out, joined by a large number of the Upper Creeks, who had passed that place on their return, only a few days since, and had made for a town at the mouth of Hightower River. We, after refreshing the troops, marched for that place, taking the path that leads to that town, along which the Creeks had marched, in five large trails. On the 17th inst., in the afternoon, we arrived at the forks of Coosa and Hightower Rivers. Colonel Kelly was ordered, with a part of the Knox regiment, to endeavour to cross the Hightower. The Creeks, and a number of Cherokees, had entrenched themselves to obstruct the passage. Colonel Kelly and his party passed down the river, half a mile below the ford, and began to cross at a private place, where there was no ford. Himself and a few others swam over the river; the Indians discovering this movement, immediately left their entrenchments, and ran down the river to oppose their passage, expecting, as I suppose, the whole intended crossing at the lower place. Capt. Evans, immediately, with his company of mounted

* Narratives of the late James Rogers and of Benjamin M'Nutt, Esq., of Knox [illegible]7, each of whom was on this expedition, and participated largely in military [illegible]l services during the infancy of the country. Squire McNutt still survives, [illegible] furnished other details of early times in Tennessee.

infantry, strained their horses back to the upper ford, and began to cross the river. Very few had got to the south bank, before the Indians, who had discovered their mistake, returned and received them furiously at the rising of the bank. An engagement instantly took place, and became very warm, and, notwithstanding the enemy were at least four to one in numbers, besides the advantage of situation, Captain Evans, with his heroic company, put them in a short time entirely to flight. They left several dead on the ground, and were seen to carry others off both on foot and horse. Bark and trails of blood from the wounded, were to be seen in every quarter. Their encampment fell into our hands, with a number of their guns, many of which were of the Spanish sort, with their budgets, blankets and match coats, together with some horses. We lost three men in this engagement, which is all that have fell during the time of our route, although this last attack was the fourth the enemy had made upon us, but in the others, repulsed without loss. After the last engagement, we crossed the main Coosa, where they had thrown up some works and evacuated; they suffered us to pass unmolested. We then proceeded on our way down the main river, near the Turnip Mountain, destroying, in our way, several Creek and Cherokee towns, which they had settled together on each side of the river, and from which they have all fled, with apparent precipitation, leaving almost every thing behind them. Neither did they, after the last engagement, attempt to annoy or interrupt us on our march, in any manner whatever. I have great reason to believer their ardour and spirit were well checked. The party flogged at Hightower, were those which had been out with Watts. There are three of our men slightly wounded, and two or three horses killed; but the Indians did not, as I have heard of, get a single horse from us the time we were out. We took and destroyed near three hundred beeves, many of which were of the best and largest kind. Of course, their losing so much provision must distress them very much. Many women and children might have been taken; but, from motives of humanity, I did not encourage it to be done, and several taken were suffered to make their escape. Your Excellency knows the disposition of many that were out on this expedition, and can readily account for this conduct.

The Etowah campaign was the last military service rendered by Sevier, and the only one for which he ever received compensation from the Government. For nearly twenty years he had been constantly engaged in incessant and unremitted service. He was in thirty-five battles, some of them hardly contested and decisive. He was never wounded, and in all his campaigns and battles, was successful and the victor. He was careful of the lives of his soldiery, and, although he always led them to the victory, he lost, in all his engagements with the enemy, but fifty-six men. The secret of his invariable success, was the impetuosity and

vigour of his charge. Himself an accomplished horseman, a graceful rider, passionately fond of a spirited charger, always well mounted at the head of his dragoons, he was at once in the midst of the fight. His rapid movement, always unexpected and sudden, disconcerted the enemy, and at the first onset decided the victory. He was the first to introduce the Indian war-whoop in his battles with the savages, the tories, or the British. More harmless than the leaden missile, it was not less efficient, and was always the precursor and attendant of victory. The prisoners at King's Mountain said, " We could stand your fighting, but your cursed hallooing confused us; we thought the mountains had regiments instead of companies." Sevier's enthusiasm was contagious; he imparted it to his men. He was the idol of the soldiery, and his orders were obeyed cheerfully and executed with precision. In a military service of twenty years, one instance is not known of insubordination on the part of the soldier or of discipline by the commander.

Sevier's troops were generally his neighbours, and the members of his own family. Often no public provision was made for their pay, equipments or subsistence. These were furnished by himself, being at once Commander, Commissariat and Paymaster. The soldiery rendezvoused at his house, which often became a cantonment—his fields, ripe or unripe, were given up to his horsemen; powder and lead, provisions, clothing, even all he had, belonged to his men.

The Etowah campaign terminated the military services of General Sevier. Hereafter, we will have to record his not less important agency in the civil affairs of Tennessee.

The notice of the Paymaster, as published in the Gazette,
1793 { of the payment of the troops in the service of the Territory, furnishes the only list that can now be procured, of the captains who served in 1792 and 1793. They are here given: Captains Hugh Beard, Lusk, Brown, Rains, Doherty, Briant, Henley, Tate, Christian, Gillespie, Samples, Crawford, Cooper, Grier, Milliken, Childers, White, Gregg, Allison, King, Marshall, Bunch, Chisum, Richardson, Evans, Copeland, Cantrell, Murray, Shannon, Cordery, Nash, Parker, Edmonson, Frazier, Wm. Blackmore, Johnston, Hoggat, G.

D. Blackmore, Walker; Lieutenant G. L. Davidson; Cornet Milligan. For services in 1793, Captain Cox, Lieutenants Birds, Hubbard and Henderson, Sergeant McClellan.

While Sevier was absent with so many men, on the Etowah campaign, the Indians came in suddenly and killed, on the south of the river, above Dandridge, a lad and a woman. They were found, stuck in the throat like hogs, the skin taken entirely off their heads, and the bodies left naked. A party of friends accompanied their remains to a burying-ground three miles off. Two of these, Cunningham and Jacob Jenkins, incautiously went on some distance before the rest. A body of fifty Indians fired upon them. The former was killed, scalped, and bruised with war-clubs. He was found, directly after, by the company, carried to the burial place, and interred with the other two in the same grave. Jenkins received several bullets shot through his clothes, and a blow from a war-club; but his horse being struck with a ball, dashed down a precipice, and brought off the rider in safety.

Hearing of this massacre of his friends, W. H. Cunningham went from his home on Boyd's Creek, for the purpose of advising them to remove to the stronger station at McGaughey's; and to bring home with him his son Jesse, (then a little boy,) who was staying at the Buffalo Lick. He carried his little son before him, the distance of thirty miles; leaving the main road, and pursuing by-paths, he escaped the attack of the Indians till he got within about half a mile of the fort, when he passed through a party of them, thirty in number. It was now night, and he escaped unhurt.* The Indians prowled around the station, but finding it too well defended to justify an assault, they broke open the stable doors, stole the horses of the besieged, and withdrew. The condition of the country did not allow of pursuit.

Two weeks after, Mr. Cunningham was going out from the fort alone. At the distance of two hundred yards from the fort gate, he was fired upon by a party of ten Indians, lying

*The son, whom he also carried in safety through this imminent exposure, is the Rev. Jesse Cunningham, of Monroe county, Tennessee.

in ambush fifteen steps from him. He escaped every ball, but the Indians having intercepted his return to the gate, chased him in the opposite direction. The fire from one of their guns proved effectual, and wounded him. He turned the corner of a fence, and would have been soon overtaken, but that the men in the fort sallied out and made pursuit of the Indians; upon discovering which, the Indians withdrew to their retreats in the mountains.

Information reached Knoxville that, since the expedition
1794 { carried on against the Cherokees by General Sevier,
and which terminated with the battle of Etowah, the Indians had, in a great measure, ceased their hostilities against the Cumberland settlements; and some of the people there solicited, through Col. Ford, one of the members of the Territorial Legislature, that General Sevier would undertake a future campaign in the same direction, as the most effectual means of procuring a permanent peace.

From the same source the information was communicated, that "a campaign was going against the Spanish possessions by French troops, now at the mouth of Cumberland, and garrisoned at that place. Gen. George Rogers Clarke has the command of this expedition, and they are to embark at the mouth of Cumberland."

It may be here remarked, that the disposition to engage in the projected campaign never became general in the Territory, and, meeting with little sympathy from the masses, was soon after abandoned.

1794, April 1.—A party of Indians, thirty or forty in number, ambuscaded a path near Calvin's Block-house, on Crooked Creek, and fired upon Samuel Wear, his two sons and William McMurray. They escaped unhurt.

A more tragical issue attended an attack made the same day by a party of forty Indians, near the Crab-Orchard, upon a company of travellers. Thomas Sharp Spencer was killed, and James Walker was wounded. The rest of the party escaped to the Point Block-house. The hill down which the whites were descending, and on which Spencer was killed, is still known as Spencer's Hill.

April 2.—Twenty-five Indians secreted themselves at

night, near the Block-house, at the mouth of Town Creek, and, next morning, fired upon and killed William Green. Attempting to storm the block-house, the Indians were repulsed, and several of their warriors wounded.

On the 15th, the Indians stole ten horses from Mr. Gibbs. More than fifty horses had been stolen in that neighbourhood within a few days.

Amongst other acts of Indian hostility perpetrated in Knox county, was one which occurred on the 22d April, 1794. William Casteel lived south of French Broad, about nine miles above Knoxville, and two miles from the then residence of Doctor Cozby. The latter had been an old Indian fighter, from the first settlement of the country, and was, of course, held in deadly hatred by the Indians, and had often been selected as the victim of their vengeance. He had his house always well prepared for defence, and never allowed himself to be taken by surprise. At evening, of the 22d, his domestic animals gave the usual tokens of the presence of Indians, when, observing from his house, he could discern, obscurely, the stealthy march, in Indian file, of twenty warriors passing across the end of a short lane, and concealing themselves in the fence corners and the adjoining woods. The door was at once barricaded, the fire extinguished, two guns primed afresh, and with these he prepared to defend his castle and his family, consisting of his wife and several children, one of whom only could shoot. A space of more than one hundred yards had been cleared around his building, and there was light enough to see the approach of an assailant within that distance. From the port-holes, in each angle of the house, a constant watch was kept, and orders were given by Cozby, in a loud voice, to the members of his family, as if commanding a platoon of soldiers. The stratagem succeeded. An hour before day the Indians withdrew, and went off in the direction of Casteel's cabin. Early next morning Anthony Ragan came to Casteel's, and found him dead, from a lick received on his head from a war club ; he was scalped, and lying near the fire, dressed, and with leggins on, having arose early for the purpose, as was supposed, of accompanying Reagan to a

hunt, which had been agreed on the preceding day. Mrs. Casteel was found on the floor, scalped in two places—a proof that it required two warriors to conquer her—her night-cap with several holes cut through it, a butcher knife stuck into her side, one arm broken, and a part of the hand of the other arm cut off. She seemed to have made resistance with an axe, found near her, stained with blood. One of the daughters received a stab, which, piercing through the body, went into the bed-clothes. She and two brothers were scalped. The youngest child, two years old, having the cranium entirely denuded of the scalp, was thrown into the chimney corner. Elizabeth, the oldest daughter, ten years old, now Mrs. Dunlap, still living near the scene of the horrid massacre of her father's whole family, was found weltering in her blood, flowing from six wounds inflicted with a tomahawk. Besides these, she was also scalped. Reagan gave the alarm to the settlement; urgent pursuit was immediately made, but the savages escaped. While preparations were made for the interment of the massacred family, Elizabeth showed signs of life, moaning when an attempt was made, by Col. Ramsey, who was present, to close one of the gashes upon her head. She was taken to Mr. Shook's, who then owned Major Swan's mills, where Doctor Cozby dressed her wounds. She did not recover for two years. The rest of the family, six in number, were buried in one grave, under a black-oak tree, still standing. Mr. Casteel was a soldier of the Revolution, from Green Brier county, Va., and had never received any thing for his services. Of the heroic wife and mother, nothing more is known. An effort has been made to procure a pension for the surviving daughter. Thus far it has been fruitless.

Governor Blount found it almost impossible to restrain the inhabitants south of French Broad, where this massacre took place, from an immediate invasion of the Indian territory. His efforts in this would not have succeeded, but for the timely assistance and advice of the civil officers of Knox county, south of the river. These met in committee, June 20, at the house of James Beard: Present—James White, Samuel Newell, William Wallace, William Hambleton,

William Lowry, David Craig and Thomas McCulloch. An address to their fellow citizens was agreed upon, printed and circulated. It is an ably written document, and had great influence in tranquillizing the people and pursuading them to acquiesce in the design of the Government, to obtain peace by negotiation, rather than by arms.

May 8.—Post-offices were not, at this date, extended so far in the interior as Knoxville. It was expected by Mr. Muhlenberg, Postmaster General, that against October, this facility would be afforded to the people of the Territory.

We copy or condense from Haywood:

"In June, Scott's boat left Knoxville for Natchez, on board of which were William Scott, John Pettegrew, William Pettegrew, Mr. Tate, Mr. Young, John Harkins, three women, four children, and twenty negroes. As this boat passed down the Tennessee, it was fired upon by the Lower Cherokees of the Running Water, and at the Long Island village, without receiving any injury. On the other hand, the fire was returned, and two Indians were wounded. A large party of a hundred and fifty Indians then collected, headed by Unacala, the same who was wounded at the attack upon Buchanan's Station, in September, 1792, and they pursued the boat to the Muscle Shoals, where they overtook it. They killed all the white people who were in it, made prisoners of the negroes, and plundered the boat of its lading. The white people, in making resistance, killed three Indians and wounded a fourth.

"On the 24th of July, a party of Indians killed John Ish at his plough, in his field, within one hundred and eighty yards of his own block-house, and scalped him. Ish lived eighteen miles below Knoxville. He left a wife and eleven children, the eldest not more than eleven years of age. Major King and Lieutenant Cunningham, with John Boggs and ten other Cherokees, sent by the Hanging Maw in pursuit of the offenders, returned a few days afterwards with a Creek fellow, whom the Hanging Maw wished to scalp, but was dissuaded from his purpose, and took only the war-lock, with which they danced the scalp dance all night. But the Cherokees apprehended for this act the resentment of the Creek nation. Major King, in the pursuit, came upon the trail of the murderers, leading into the path that was travelled from Coyatee to Hiwassee, which he kept to a point within two miles of Hiwassee. He there received information that those he was in pursuit of, passed with a fresh scalp about the middle of the afternoon, and would, it was supposed, tarry all night at Wococee, eight miles ahead. The pursuers went to Wococee, and, finding the murderers still ahead, they continued the pursuit till they were overtaken by a runner from Hiwassee, with information that one of Ish's murderers was behind, stopped at a little village two miles from Hiwassee. Despairing to overtake the main body, they turned back and found the Creek, as the runner had reported, in the house of a Cherokee. After some consultation

whether the Cherokees or white people should kill or take him, the Maw's son, Willioe, with three others, seized and tied him. Having tied him, four warriors took him in charge, who were particularly careful that he should not escape until he was delivered, confined in cords, to the agent of the United States, Mr. McKee, at the Tellico Blockhouse, on the evening of the 28th of July. The Governor issued a commission of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of this Indian, pursuant to the stipulations contained in the treaty of New-York. A court was held by Judge Anderson, and an indictment was found by the grand jury against Obongpohego,* of Toocaucaugee, on Oakfuskee. When charged, he confessed the fact. But the court permitted him to withdraw his plea and to plead not guilty; which being done, the trial proceeded, and the petit jury found him guilty of the murder of John Ish, as charged in the bill of indictment.

"On the 13th, Lieutenant McClelland, who had with him thirty-seven of Captain Evans's company, was attacked on the Cumberland path, near the Crab-Orchard, eighteen miles from South-West Point, by a body of Creeks, consisting of upwards of one hundred warriors; he made a brave and soldierly defence, twice repelling the Creeks, but was finally compelled to retreat, with the loss of four men killed, one wounded, four missing, thirty-one horses, thirty-eight saddles and bridles, blankets, great-coats and provisions. On the side of the Creeks the loss was not ascertained, but from the obstinacy and bravery of the defence, and the report of Lieutenant McClelland and others, there was reason to believe they lost from twelve to sixteen; the Creek commander was conspicuously bold, and was numbered amongst the slain. The white men who were killed, were Paul Cunningham, Daniel Hitchcock, William Flennegan, Stephen Renfroe; Abraham Byrd was wounded; the four men who were missing from the detachment after the action, afterwards reached South-West Point. William Lea, one of that number, arrived on the 18th, and reported that he had been made prisoner by the Indians, and had escaped from them.

"On the 20th of December, a party of Indians, about two hours after dark, secreted themselves within twenty feet of the door of Thomas Cowan, and fired upon his wife and son as they stepped into the yard, and pierced the clothes of the latter with eight balls, but he escaped, under cover of the night, into the woods, and Mrs. Cowan returned into the house unhurt. The firing alarmed the neighbourhood, and Captain Baird was at Cowan's with twenty men, within an hour and a half, and patroled the woods the whole night in search of the Indians, hoping they would strike up a fire by which he could discover them; on the next day, by order of Governor Blount, he went in pursuit of them."

Hanging Maw declared that his nation would no longer listen to Spanish emissaries and agents, and that the Upper and Lower Towns were now disposed for peace. His overtures had scarcely reached the Governor, when a party of

* *Anglice*—"Dance upon nothing." His name was thus significant of his fate. He was hung.

Indians—principally Creeks—nearly one thousand strong, marched through the country towards the white settlements. Governor Blount ordered out Colonel White, with half of the military force of Knox county, to oppose them. The Cherokee women and children were brought to the north side of the Tennessee, and placed under the protection of the block-houses, and the warriors of the Upper Towns agreed to co-operate with Colonel White in resisting the advancing Creek army. That formidable party advanced no further than Wills Town, and there dispersed in various directions. Intelligence of the victories of Wayne over the North-Western Indians had reached the Cherokees, who, apprehensive that the arms of the conquerors of their northern allies would be turned against themselves, sued for peace through Tucalatague or Double Head, a principal chief. Governor Blount assented to a conference, to be held at Tellico, and there accepted the proposed friendship with the Cherokees, and arranged a general exchange of prisoners and of all the property taken during the war.

We have already mentioned, as given in Governor Blount's official report to the War Department, the names of some who fell victims to Indian massacre. To these are here added others, as detailed by Haywood, or furnished from other sources.

1791, June 2.—"The Indians killed John Thompson in his own corn field, within five miles of Nashville; on the 14th of June they killed John Gibson and wounded McMoon, in Gibson's field, within eight miles of Nashville; they killed Benjamin Kirkendall in his own house, within two miles of Colonel Winchester's, in Sumner county, and plundered his house of everything the Indians could use. In June, three travellers from Natchez to Nashville, were found dead on the trace near the mouth of Duck River; there were eight in company and only two come in; on the 3d of July, Thomas Fletcher and two other men, were killed on the north side of Cumberland, near the mouth of Red River—their heads were entirely skinned; and in the same month, a man was killed within a hundred and fifty yards of Major Wilson's, on the public road, as he was riding up to the house; on the 12th, Thomas White was killed on the Cumberland Mountain and on the Cumberland trace.

"On Monday, the 19th of January, 1792, the Indians killed Robert Sevier and William Sevier, sons of Valentine Sevier, who lived at the mouth of Red River, near the present site of Clarkesville; they had gone to the relief of the distressed families on the Cumberland River, who had sent an express for assistance; the officers of Tennessee county

could give none. A part of the crew was on shore getting provisions to be carried in boats to the sufferers; the boats were ahead of them when these young men discovered the enemy, whom they mistook for their own party, the Indians having been seen late in the evening at a considerable distance from that place. Robert Sevier hailed them, who answered they were friends, with which answer being satisfied, he sailed on, and the Indians carelessly began to chop with their hatchets, till the young men in the boats got very near them. Robert said to the man who was with him in the boats, 'these are not our friends, steer off.' The Indians then fired upon them; the man leaped out of the boat, and left them in it about three rods distant from the shore. Before the 25th, William was found and buried, but Robert met a party of twelve white men, pursued, but did not overtake the Indians. On the 16th of the same month, Valentine, a third son of this unfortunate parent, also fell by the hands of the savages; he was in a boat ascending the river, and was fired upon and killed dead in it; two others were wounded, one of them, John Rice, died, and both he and Valentine were buried about sixty miles below the mouth of Red River. Until Valentine fell, he and two others kept up so brisk a fire, that they intimidated the Indians and saved the crew. Deprived of all his sons who had come with him to Cumberland in so short a time, the afflicted parent wrote to his brother, General Sevier, to send to him his son John to come and see him; as, said he, in the moving language of suffering innocence, I have no other sons but small ones. On the 28th of January, 1792, Oliver Williams and Jason Thompson, at night encamped on the road leading from Bledsoe's Station to the ford on Cumberland River, on the north side of the river, where they were fired upon by Indians and both wounded, and their horses and other articles were taken from them. About the beginning of March, 1792, the Indians attacked the house of Mr. Thompson, within seven miles of Nashville, killed and scalped the old man, his wife, his son and a daughter, and made prisoners Mrs. Caffrey, her son, a small boy, and Miss Thompson. On the 5th of March, 1792, twenty-five Indians attacked Brown's Station, eight miles from Nashville, and killed four boys; on the 6th they burnt Dunham's Station; on the 12th they killed McMurray on his own plantation, at the mouth of Stone's River; on the 5th of April, they killed Mrs. Radcliff and three children; on the 8th they killed Benjamin Williams and party, consisting of eight men, in the heart of the Cumberland settlements; on Station-Camp Creek a boy was wounded in three places; at the same place two boys, sons of Robert Desha, were killed in the field in the daytime, near their father's house, and also Kirkendall, on the 16th of May, 1792, and a man on the 17th. On the 24th of May, 1792, General Robertson and his son Jonathan Robertson, were at or near Robertson's Lick, half a mile from his station, where they were fired upon by a party of Indians; the General was wounded in the arm, and thrown by his horse amongst the Indians; his son was wounded through the hip, but seeing the dangerous situation in which his father was, he dismounted, though so badly wounded, and fired on them as they rushed towards his father; this checked them for

a moment, and gave time to the General to get off, and both got safely into the station. On the 25th, a boy was wounded near the General's, and died of his wounds on the 6th of June; on Sunday, the 13th of May, a man and two girls were fired on by the Indians within four miles of Nashville; the man and one girl escaped, the other was tomahawked by the Indians. On the 26th of June, 1792, Zigler's Station, within two miles of Bledsoe's Lick, was attacked by a party of Indians, first in the afternoon and again by night; they killed five persons, burnt one in the station and wounded four others; three escaped unhurt.

"On the 31st of August, an attack was made on John Birkley and his son, in his peach orchard near Bledsoe's Lick; the former was wounded, but bravely returned the fire and killed an Indian in the act of scalping his son. On the night of the 27th of August, a party of fifteen Creeks put fire to Captain Morgan's house near the same place; the fire was extinguished and the party repulsed by the aid of Captain Lusk's company, stationed for the protection of the frontiers. On the preceding night, the same party opened the stables of James Douglass, and took his horses; the next day Samuel Wilson fell in with them, wounded one, put the party to flight and regained the horses, a gun and a bloody blanket. Shortly before the 11th of August, 1792, the Indians killed a boy and wounded a man near Bledsoe's Lick.

"On Monday, the 8th of October, William Stuart was killed about six miles from Nashville, on the north side of Cumberland. On the night of the same day, the Indian's burnt Stump's distillery, on White's Creek, on the north side of Cumberland; On the 9th of October, a party of Indians went to Sycamore Creek, eighteen miles from Nashville, and burnt the house of James Frazier, Mr. Riley and of Major Coffield, a large quantity of corn, and shot down a number of hogs. They then proceeded to Bushy Creek of Red River, where they burnt the house of Obadiah Roberts, and took off a number of horses: they were followed by a party of whites, who killed one of the Indians and regained the horses.

"On the 7th of December, 1792, a party of cavalry, in service for the protection of the District of Mero, about eight miles from Nashville, was fired upon by about twenty Indians, who put them to flight, killed John Hankins, who was scalped and his body much mangled. The Indians stole horses in this district without intermission, through all the month of December, 1792.

"On the 29th of December, John Haggard was killed and scalped, about six miles from Nashville; twelve balls were shot into him. His wife was killed by the Indians in the summer, and he left five small children in poverty and wretchedness."

1792 Through James A. Robertson and Anthony Foster, Governor Blount procured the attendance, at Nashville, of the principal chiefs and warriors of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes. The conference with them began on the 7th, and continued to the 10th of August. By Governor Blount and General Pickens, valuable goods were presented

to the Indians, as evidences of the friendship of the United States. To each of the chie s, a rifle was also given, and the thanks of the Government were tendered to such of them as had assisted Wayne's operations against the northern Indians. It was also promised, that a trading post should be established, for the benefit of the Indians, at the mouth of Bear Creek.

A few Cherokees were present during the conference at Nashville, and, it was afterwards believed, were secretly trying to discover the strength and situation of the country, with a view to the expedition they were then plotting against Cumberland.

"General Robertson immediately raised the militia, leaving a few to keep up the different stations; he collected five hundred men and placed them under the command of Col. Elijah Robertson, Col. Mansco and Col. Winchester, and Captain John Rains, two miles from Nashville. A troop of horse, commanded by Colonel Hays, was ordered to discover, if possible, at what point the Indians intended to make the meditated attack.

"Abraham Castleman, one of the militia soldiers, had withdrawn himself from the army for some days, and at length returned and stated, that he had been as far as the Black Fox's camp, where he had seen the signs of a numerous army of Indians, and that they might shortly be expected in the neighbourhood of Nashville. The General sent off Captain Rains to ascertain the reality of the facts detailed by Castleman; Rains took with him a young man, Abraham Kennedy, and went to the place where Murfreesborough now stands, and halted in the woods, and remainingon the ground all night, he next day made a circuit around the spring where the Black Fox's camp was. The Black Fox was an Indian chief, who formerly hunted and encamped at the spring not far from the spot where now is the site of Murfreesborough. In this circuit, he examined all the paths which led to the camp from the direction of the Cherokee country; finding no traces of Indians, he ventured to the spring; he then returned home by way of Buchanan's Station, and informed the people that the traces of an Indian army were nowhere to be seen. Soon after the return of Captain Rains, the troops were marched back to Nashville.

"Two other men, however, were sent off to reconnoitre the country through which the Indians were necessarily to pass in coming to Nashville. These were Jonathan Gee and Seward Clayton, who went on the Indian trace leading through the place where Murfreesborough now stands, to Nashville, eight or ten miles from Buchanan's Station; as they travelled along the path talking loudly, they saw meeting them the advance of the Indian army, who called to them in English to know who they were, to which question, without disguise, they answered. Upon being asked in return, who they were, they said they were spies from

General Robertson's Station, and were returning home; both parties advanced till they came within a few steps of each other, when the Indians fired and killed Gee dead in the road. They broke the arm of the other, who ran into the woods, but being pursued by a great number of them, they overtook and killed him also. Thence they marched rank and file, in three lines abreast, with quick step till they arrived at Buchanan's Station, where the people were wholly unapprised of their coming, and did not expect it. This was on Sunday next after the discharge of the troops, being the 30th of September."

In addition to the account, as given in Governor Blount's letter to the Secretary of War, of the attack on Buchanan's Station, we extract further details of that invasion, and of the remarkable and successful defence by the brave men within the fort.

"McRory rose and looked towards the place whence they ran, and saw sixty Indians not more than a few feet from the gate of the fort; he instantly fired through the port-hole, and killed the chief leader of the Indians, who on receiving the wound, immediately expired. He was a Shawnee, and had quarrelled with Watts, who insisted upon deferring the attack uutil day, and until after the garrison had dispersed to their various avocations. The whole garrison, consisting of nineteen men, flew to arms, and fired upon the Indians through the port-holes; the Indians, in turn, fired upon the fort. Captain Rains was sent for; he and five other men went off in full gallop to Buchanan's Station, and arrived just in time to see the Indians leaving the plantation at the fort; they had lost some of their men; some were found on the ground near the outside wall of the fort; others were carried off and buried in different places, and were afterwards found by the white people. Of the wounded, were John Watts, with a ball through one thigh, which lodged in the other, supposed to be dangerous; the White Man Killer, the Dragging Canoe's brother, the Owl's son, a young man of the Lookout Mountain, a Creek warrior, who died, and a young warrior of the Running Water, who died.

"There were also sundry young Cherokee warriors with Watts, besides those who lived in the five Lower Towns, particularly John Walker and George Fields, two young half-breeds who had been raised amongst the white people, and in whom, every one who knew them, had the utmost confidence. The former was quite a stripling, and, apparently, the most good-natured youth the Governor ever saw; for so he thought him. They acted as the advanced spies of Watts's party, and decoyed and killed Gee and Clayton. The Cherokees said that many of the Creeks kept at such a distance from the station, that they could hardly shoot a bullet to it. With Watts, there were sixteen Cherokees from Hiwassee; one from Keuka; five from Connasauga, and one from Stringtons.

"When the Indians retired, General Robertson hastily collected what troops he could, and pursued them to Hart's big spring, near Stewart's Creek. It was discovered that they marched out as well as in, in three columns. The general's force, not being more than a hundred and

eighty men, and that of the enemy being greatly superior, and they having got far ahead, he deemed it most advisable to return home, which he did."

Indian aggressions were repeated almost daily, and evi-
1793 { denced that a numerous body of Indians was in the neighbourhood, as a small party would not have been so daring as to continue their repeated attacks, and still remain near the scenes of their atrocious cruelties, ready to renew and extend them. An opportunity was soon found by the Indians to attack the station near Greenfield. This was a position of some strength, and guarded by a few men. A number of negroes had left the station early in the morning of April 27, to work in the adjoining fields. As was the general custom, a sentinel, John Jarvis, accompanied them. About two hundred and sixty Indians had, the previous night, formed an ambuscade, not far from the field, and when the horses were attached to the ploughs by the negroes, and their attention was directed to their work, they were suddenly fired upon by the Indians, who formed a line between them and the fort across a field, so as to cut off their retreat, and intercept them, should they attempt it in the direction of the station. As soon as the firing and the war whoop reached the men in the fort, four of them—William Hall, William Neely, William Wilson and another—snatched up their guns and ran to the gate of the station, from which point they could see over the entire field, where the enemy was pursuing the sentinel and the negroes. It was evident that without a bold and immediate rescue, their comrades would all be killed. Hall and the other soldiers dashed impetuously forward, and met the advancing Indian column at a cross fence in the field, received their fire, took the fence from them, killing three or four of the warriors, and keeping the whole of them in check, until all but one of the unarmed negroes reached the fort. This one was shot on his retreat, and after he had got fifty yards within the fence, from which the whites were firing. Poor Jarvis was unfortunately killed. It is remarkable, that though nearly a hundred guns were fired at the gallant men who were bravely repulsing the Indians, distant not more than thirty yards, not one of them

was seriously hurt. Mr. Hall was without his hat—a ball passed through his hair, cutting it off close to the skin, and abrading it about three or four inches long, but doing slight damage. The little party gained the fort, under a heavy fire from the Indians. This they kept up for a considerable time, but at such a distance that the guns from the station could not reach the enemy. During their firing, the Indians caught all the horses and took them off, carrying upon them a number of their dead and wounded, raising the war whoop as they marched off.

This repulse, at Greenfield, of two hundred and sixty warriors, well armed and flushed with late successes, made by four men, exposed to the constant fire of the Indians during the whole attack, is almost without a parallel. One of the brave men who participated in it, General William Hall, of Sumner county, still survives, venerated and esteemed by his countrymen for his gallantry, his patriotism and private worth. He has since occupied the highest stations in the civil and military service of his state, and presents a proud specimen of the heroic age and of the early times of Tennessee. The three comrades of Hall exhibited also signal bravery, which, in the case of Neely and Hall, was stimulated by the spirit of revenge each of them felt for the loss, by the savages, of a father and two brothers, on previous occasions. Such intrepidity awed the assailants from further attempts upon the station, and they withdrew from that place. But, upon the next day, Francis Ransom was killed on the Kentucky Trace, near the Dripping Spring.

In the spring of this year, more than six hundred Creek warriors crossed the Tennessee, at the Lower Cherokee Towns, on a war excursion against the Cumberland settlements. 1793 Small detachments of this body scattered themselves in every direction, and perpetrated mischief wherever it could be effected with safety, or wherever the stations were defenceless. The people were incensed that the Government left them thus without protection, and was so tardy in making provision for their defence. Their complaints, on account of this neglect, induced Governor Blount to do something for their relief. On the 29th of April, he sent one

hundred and twenty men from South-West Point, under the command of Major Hugh Beard, to assist the people of Mero District against the Creek invasion. In going to and returning from Nashville, on this expedition, that officer passed by the head of the southern confluents of the Cumberland, and altogether south of the settlements formed on that stream. In that route, he would pass through the midst of the main Creek camps, from which their small parties so repeatedly issued in their murderous excursions against the frontiers. He hoped thus to intercept or to intimidate them. He found many of their camps abandoned, and was able to meet only three small parties; of these, he killed only a few and wounded several. His troops escaped unhurt, except in an attack on Smith's River, where Mr. Alexander received a slight flesh wound. Beard returned to Knoxville in June. The enemy had escaped him. The main body of them having eluded his search, had re-crossed the Tennessee, on their return from Cumberland and Kentucky, with numerous scalps and horses, the trophies of their successful invasion. One good result, it was believed, would follow Beard's campaign. The new practice of searching for the Indians in the thickets and at their camping places, would, when it became known to them, inspire no small apprehension of danger in crossing the Tennessee, or making an invasion so distant from their homes.

Notwithstanding this expedition of Major Beard, and the vigilance of the people on Cumberland, the Indians succeeded occasionally in their attacks. At Johnson's Station, near Nashville, a party of them, on the 9th of May, fired upon and wounded three boys, one of whom they scalped. A fourth they caught by the jacket, but he stripped it off, and escaped unhurt.

Early in May, Nathaniel Teal, the carrier of the mail, had arrived in Nashville from Natchez. After delivering the mail, he went out in the evening and spent the night with General Robertson, five miles from town. Next morning, within a mile of the General's house, the Indians fired upon and killed him. Two companies of horsemen were instantly paraded—one, commanded by old Captain John Rains; the

other, by Captain John Gordon, the same who afterwards, in 1813, commanded the spy company in the Creek war. To the latter, Joseph Brown attached himself. He was still suffering from the wound he had received in the ambuscade on Laurel River, in March, but he had made the heroic resolve, to obtain redress for the injuries inflicted on his family, and was among the first to volunteer on this occasion. The force of the two companies united, was one hundred. They were instructed by General Robertson, to scour the woods, and paths and crossing places, of creeks and rivers, and to discover the trails of the enemy coming against Cumberland. They set out on the 12th of May. Teal was killed by a party of Indians who had made a hunt on Cathey's Creek, about twenty miles west of where Columbia now stands. Needing horses to carry the results of their hunt home, they had come into the settlements and stole a number, and killed Teal. The horsemen soon found their trail, and on the fifth day overtook them, on the second creek that runs into Tennessee, below the mouth of Elk. The Indians had stopped to noon, and twenty men were sent forward to fire upon them. The hills were open woods, but the creek bottom was a close cane-brake. Rains' men advanced on the right of the Indians, while Gordon's went to their left. When the advance of twenty fired, the two companies dashed forward with all speed. Gordon's company came to a high bluff of the creek, which horses could not descend, when the Captain and Joseph Brown dismounted, and took down the precipice, and each of them killed an Indian. The horsemen had to ride around the bluff, and the most of the Indians escaped into the cane-brake before they were seen. Six of them were killed and a boy captured. The companies then returned home.

But the Indians continued to prowl around and infest the settlements, and, as early as the 20th of May, killed John Hacker, on Drake's Creek, and on the 4th of June, Adam Fleener, Richard Robertson and William Bartlett, were also killed, and Abraham Young and John Mayfield were wounded. On the 20th, James Steele and his daughter were killed and his son wounded. July 1st, the Indians attacked Hay's

Station and killed Jacob and Joseph Castleman, and wounded Hans Castleman. On the 18th, William Campbell was wounded, near Nashville. On the 15th, Mr. Joslin was wounded at his own house, and on the 19th, Mr. Smith was killed at Johnson's Lick.

Under these repeated sufferings, it is not strange that the people cried aloud for revenge, and demanded permission to retaliate, upon the savages, the injuries and cruel treatment they had received from them. But the cautious policy of Government still inculcated lessons of resignation and forbearance. The state of the negotiation with Spain was plead as an excuse for repressing, for the time being, the pent-up indignation of the Western people under the wanton provocations and murders they daily endured. But law-abiding as they were, and loyal to the authority of Congress as they afterwards proved themselves to be, the spirit to avenge their wrongs and redress themselves could no longer be suppressed.

"About the first of August, 1793, Abraham Castleman raised a company of volunteers to assist him in retaliating upon the Indians a great number of injuries which he had received from them, particularly those of killing several of his near relations. On arriving near the Tennessee, ten of his company turned back, because General Robertson's orders prohibited all scouting parties from crossing that river. But Castleman, whom the Indians called the Fool Warrior, with Zachariah Maclin, John Camp, Eli Hammond, Ezekiel Caruthers and Frederick Stull, all dressed like Indians, and painted in the same manner, so as not to be distinguished, crossed the river, as is generally believed, below Nickajack, and took the trace towards the Indian nation, which led, as they supposed, to Will's Town. After travelling about ten miles on the south side of the river, they came in view of a camp of forty or fifty Creeks, who were on their way to kill and plunder the whites in the Cumberland settlements. They were eating two and two, and betrayed no alarm at the approach of their supposed friends, but continued eating until the small squad of white men came within a few paces of them, and suddenly raised their guns and fired on them; Castleman killed two Indians, and each of the others one. The shock being so sudden and unexpected, dismayed and confounded the Indians, and before they could recover from it and resume the possession of themselves, the whites had retreated so far as to render pursuit unavailing; this happened on the 15th of August, 1793. On the 21st they all got back safe to Nashville.

"About the 5th of August, Captains Rains and Gordon pursued a party of Indians who had killed one Samuel Miller, near Joslin's Sta-

tion; after crossing Duck River their signs were very fresh; on pursuing them seven miles further, they were overtaken; the pursuers killed some of them on the ground, and took prisoner a boy of twelve years of age. One of them called out that he was a Chickasaw, and by that finesse made his escape. On examining the prisoner, they proved to be all of them Creeks from the Upper Uphalie towns.

"Some short time before the 9th of November, 1793, some horses having been stolen, and Indians seen near Croft's mill, in Sumner county, Colonel James Winchester ordered out Lieutenant Snoddy with thirty men, to scour the woods about the Cany Fork, and, if possible, to discover the main encampment. On the 4th of November he met two Indians, who fled, and he pursued them to a large camp near the Rock Island ford of the Cany Fork, where he took much spoils. Evening coming on, he withdrew from the camp, about a mile, to an eminence, where he halted his men, and they lay on their arms all night. About the dawn of day they appeared advancing with trailed arms, and at the distance of about thirty yards a firing commenced and was kept up from three to four rounds, when the Indians retreated, leaving one fellow on the ground, and were seen to bear off several wounded. Lieutenant Snoddy had two men killed and three wounded. He deserved and received much commendation for his gallantry.

"In this year, 1793, the Indians fired on Thomas Sharpe Spencer, near where Major David Wilson since lived, in Sumner county; Mrs. A. Bledsoe, in company, was thrown from her horse, but Spencer bravely rescued her from the hands of the Indians, and conducted her to a place of safety. About this time several persons were killed in the county of Sumner, whose names are not recollected. In this year James McCune was killed, by the Indians, at Hays's Station, on Stone's River; one of the Castleman's was also killed and another wounded. About the 1st of December, 1793, James Randal Robertson, son of General Robertson, and John Grimes, were killed by the Cherokees of the Lower towns, on the waters of the Cany Fork, where they had gone to trap for beavers.

"At this time, many of our people were in slavery with the Creek Indians, and were treated by them, in all respects, as slaves. In the Cayelegies, Mrs. Williams and child, Alice Thompson, of Nashville, Mrs. Caffrey and child, of Nashville. In the Hog villages, Mr. Brown, of the District of Mero. In the Clewatly town, Miss Scarlet. In the White Grounds, Miss Wilson, of the District of Mero, and a boy and girl. In the Columnies, a boy five years of age. At the Big Tallassee, a boy, eight or ten years of age, and a girl, seven or eight years of age. In the Pocontala-hassee, a boy, twelve or thirteen years of age. In the Oakfuskee, a lad fifteen years of age. In the Red Ground, a man called John. In Casauders, a boy whose age and name were not known.

"As early as the 13th of November, 1793, General Robertson had conceived, and secretly harboured, the design of destroying the five Lower towns of the Cherokees; he expressed a decided disapprobation of all negotiation with them, as it would but lull the people of the Territory into security, and make them the surer victims of Cherokee

perfidy. He, by way of introducing the subject to notice, asked, of General Sevier, in a familiar way, when the Lower towns would get their deserts? It was hinted by the Governor, said he, that it will be in the spring; I suspect before that time. But it may be immaterial to us, considering our exposed situation and the little protection we have. He pressed General Sevier to carry an expedition of fifteen hundred men into the Cherokee country before the ensuing spring. We shall see that the former idea, with whomsoever it may have originated, came to maturity in the following year; though at this time, no one, for fear of the displeasure of Government, would either be the author, advocate, promoter or even connive at the design.

"On the 20th of February, 1794, numerous small divisions of Indians appeared in all parts of the frontiers of Mero District, marking every path and plantation with the fatal signs of their visitation. They stole nearly all the horses that belonged to the district, and butchered a number of the citizens. In many instances they left the divided limbs of the slain scattered over the ground. Jonathan Robertson, from whom upon all occasions the Indians had received as good as they sent, was, about this time, with three lads of the name of Cowan, fired upon by five Indians; one of the lads was slightly wounded, and a ball passed through Robertson's hat; he and the lads returned the fire and drove off the Indians, having wounded two of them mortally, as was supposed. On the death of Helen, Captain Murray followed the Indians, and at the distance of one hundred and twenty miles came up with them on the banks of the Tennessee, and destroyed the whole party to the number of eleven; two women of the party were captured and treated with humanity.

"On the 20th of March, 1794, James Bryan was fired upon by the Indians from an ambuscade near a path, within four miles of Nashville; and, on the same day, Charles Bratton was killed and scalped near the house of Major White, in Sumner county.

"On the 21st of April, 1794, Anthony Bledsoe, son of Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, and Anthony Bledsoe, son of Colonel Isaac Bledsoe, were killed and scalped by Indians near a stone quarry, near the house of Searcy Smith, in Sumner county; at the same time, two horses and a negro fellow were taken from Mr. Smith's wagon.

"On the 29th of May, 1794, in the absence of General Robertson, Colonel Winchester was ordered to keep up the allowed number of troops on the frontiers. On the 11th of June, they killed Mrs. Gear within four miles of Nashville. Captain Gordon followed the Indians on their retreat upwards of ninety miles, killed one of them and lost one of his party, Robert McRory. He overtook them at the foot of Cumberland Mountain, near the place where Caldwell's bridge now is. Captain Gordon was a brave and active officer, distinguished through life for a never failing presence of mind, as well as for the purest integrity and independence of principle; he had much energy both of mind and body, and was in all, or nearly all the expeditions from Tennessee, which were carried on against the Indians or other enemies of the country, and in all of them was conspicuous for these qualities. He now

sleeps with the men of other times, but his repose is guarded by the affectionate recollections of all who knew him.

"On the 6th of July, 1794, Isaac Mayfield was killed by Indians within five miles of Nashville. He was standing sentinel for his son-in-law while he hoed his corn, and got the first fire at the Indians; but there being from twelve to fifteen of them, and very near to him, he could not escape. Eight balls penetrated his body; he was scalped, a new English bayonet was thrust through his face, and two bloody tomahawks left near his mangled body. He was the sixth person of his name who had been killed or captured by the Creeks and Cherokees. Major George Winchester was killed and scalped by the Indians, near Major Wilson's, in the District of Mero, on the public road leading from his own house to Sumner Court House; he was a Justice of the Peace, and was on his way to Court; he was a valuable citizen, and a good civil and military officer."

1794 Joseph Brown, during the summer of this year, accompanied a detachment that went on a scout to the head of Elk. While there, Col. Roberts expressed a wish to cross the mountain, to ascertain whether a road could be found by which to reach the Tennessee at Nickajack. Brown believed it possible; and he, Joshua Thomas, and Big Elisha Green, volunteered to go with Roberts on the hazardous enterprise. They found no difficulty in crossing the mountain, and went on down Battle Creek to the river bottom, and up by Lowry's Island, and nearly opposite to Nickajack, and returned; after walking nearly all night, they were ascending the mountain by sunrise next morning, and crossed it that evening on their homeward march.*

This discovery of a practicable route to Nickajack for horsemen, had its influence, a short time afterwards, when the romantic expedition to that place was undertaken.

By the renewed attacks from the banditti Indians, in the five Lower Towns on the Tennessee, upon both extremes of the Territory, the minds of the people became ulcerated in the highest degree against the Government. They complained to Governor Blount, who, although sympathizing in their sufferings, felt himself restricted by the orders of the Secretary of War, from authorizing an invasion of the Indian villages from which the mischief proceeded. One of these orders, considered as prohibitory of any offensive mea-

* Brown's Letters.

sures, was in these words:—"With respect to destroying the Lower Towns, however vigorous such a measure might be, or whatever good consequences might result from it, I am instructed specially, by the President, to say that he does not consider himself authorized to direct any such measure, more especially as the whole subject was before the last session of Congress, who did not think proper to authorize or direct offensive operations." This order, dated the 29th of July, 1794, reached the Governor, and its contents were communicated to the people in the midst of the frequent attacks made upon their lives and property in August. Patience, under such provocations, had ceased to be a virtue, and longer forbearance was considered only as a license for renewed outrage and cruelty. The people determined to protect themselves, and to adopt the only measures which would render their protection permanent and effectual. They resolved to invade the towns, and retaliate upon their savage inhabitants the injuries they had so long suffered from them.

Some concert was necessary to bring to the proposed expedition a sufficient force to make it at once short and successful. An appeal was, therefore, made to the martial spirit of Kentucky, to aid the people of the Territory in punishing an enemy, from whom, they too, had been common sufferers. Colonel Whitley, of that state, was prevailed upon, through Sampson Williams, to enter into the scheme. He agreed to bring to the Cumberland settlements, against a day designated, such troops as he could raise. Colonel Ford levied troops in that part of the country between Nashville and Clarkesville. These constituted a company, which was commanded by Captain Miles, and marched to the appointed rendezvous at the block-house, two miles east of Buchanan's. Colonel John Montgomery brought a company from Clarkesville to the place of meeting, and General Robertson, who had long before advised the expedition, raised volunteers for it from Nashville and its neighbourhood.

In the meantime, Major Ore, of Hamilton District, had been detached, by Governor Blount, with a command of men for the protection of the frontiers of Mero District, and opportunely came with them to Nashville, at the moment the

other troops were concentrating there. Learning the object of the meditated expedition, he entered heartily into the project, and marched his command to the rendezvous. His troops, alone, had been levied by public authority, and to give pretext for the expedition, and a colour of a claim for pay of the men, and the outfit and equipments furnished from the public stores of the General Government, Major Ore assumed the command, and it was generally called "Ore's Expedition." Colonel Whitley, soon after, arrived at the rendezvous, when it was agreed that he should have the chief command of the whole. Colonel Montgomery was elected commander of the troops raised in the Territory. The order for the march was, however, given to Major Ore, as commander of the expedition, to whom General Robertson gave the following:

NASHVILLE, September 6th, 1794.

Major Ore:—The object of your command is, to defend the District of Mero against the Creeks and Cherokees of the Lower Towns, which I have received information, is about to invade it, as also to punish such Indians as have committed recent depredations.

For these objects, you will march, with the men under your command, from Brown's Block-house, on the eighth instant, and proceed along Taylor's Race, towards the Tennessee; and if you do not meet this party before you arrive at the Tennessee, you will pass it, and destroy the Lower Cherokee Towns, which must serve as a check to the expected invaders; taking care to spare women and children, and to treat all prisoners who may fall into your hands, with humanity, and thereby teach those savages to spare the citizens of the United States, under similar circumstances.

Should you, in your march, discover the trails of Indians returning from the commission of recent depredations on the frontiers, which can generally be distinguished by the horses stolen being shod, you are to give pursuit to such parties, even to the towns from whence they come, and punish them for their aggressions in an exemplary manner, to the terror of others from the commission of similar offences, provided this can be consistent with the main object of your command, as above expressed, the defence of the District of Mero against the expected party of Creeks and Cherokees.

I have the utmost confidence in your patriotism and bravery, and with my warmest wishes for your success, I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES ROBERTSON, B. G.

On the next day, Sunday, the 7th, the army marched to the Black Fox's camp, and there remained that night; they then crossed the Barren Fork of Duck River, near the Stone Fort where Irwin's Store stood in 1823; thence to Fennison's

Spring; thence, crossing Elk, at Caldwell's Bridge and Cumberland Mountain, they reached the Tennessee, about three miles below the mouth of Sequachee. It was night when the troops arrived at the river, and most of them remained upon its bank till daylight; though, in their eagerness for retaliation, a few went across before it was light. The river there is nearly three-quarters of a mile wide. The horses were left, with a part of the men, on the north side. Some troops formed rafts of dry cane and other light material, at hand, and went over dry, while others crossed over without any such assistance. Of these, were Joseph Brown and William Trousdale, since Governor of Tennessee, and a United States General in the Mexican War. The former was then a grown man, and had fulfilled, to the letter, the prediction of the old Indian woman, who had, five years before, warned the confederates, "that if he was not killed then, he would soon be grown, and would get away and pilot an army there, and have them all cut off." He had been the pilot, and with Fendlestone, did conduct the troops along the route, unknown to any of them, and though disabled, from a wound through his shoulder, which was still discharging pieces of exfoliated bone, he, with one hand, swam across the river, and was among the first to reach its southern bank.

As soon as the troops had crossed, and were collected together, they marched up the mountain, between the point of which and the river, stood the town of Nickajack. A mile higher up the river, after passing through a very narrow strait formed by the river on one side, and the mountain jutting into and projecting over it on the other, they came to a spacious plain of low lands, on which stood another town called Running Water. They penetrated into the heart of Nickajack before they were discovered, and first alarmed the Indians by the report of their guns.

Nickajack was a small town, inhabited by two or three hundred men and their families. The army killed in their town a considerable number of warriors. Some of the Indians endeavoured to make their escape in canoes, to the other side of the river, but were fired upon, and men, women and children perished in the deathful havoc. Some were

killed in the canoes, some jumped into the water and attempted to swim off; but before they could get to a secure distance, were killed by the firing of the troops, who followed after them so closely, as to be at the river nearly as soon as the Indians themselves. Eighteen were taken prisoners—two boys, fifteen girls and one woman. A great number of the enemy were killed, amongst whom were fifty-five warriors. Both towns were reduced to ashes.

When the Indians in the other town, called Running Water, heard the firing below, they repaired instantly to the place of action, and met their terrified brethren retreating to their town. From the place of meeting they began to return, but made a stand at the narrow pass before described, placing themselves behind the rocks, and upon the sides of the mountain; here they kept up a running fire, when the Cumberland troops came up.

"The troops were landed a little before day. At daylight they fell into ranks, and were counted by Captain John Gordon, and the exact number who had crossed over was ascertained to be two hundred and sixty-five." At the back of Nickajack field, the men were formed into line of battle among the cane. Col. Whitley was on the right, and struck above the mouth of the creek that rose in the field. Col. Montgomery was on the right of the troops from the Territory. Orders were given for the two wings to march, so as to strike the river above and below the towns. On the march, two houses were found, standing out in the field, and about two hundred and fifty yards from the town. Expecting that from these houses their approach would be discovered by the Indians, the troops were here directed to push with all speed to the town. The corn was growing close up to and around the houses. Near the house on the left the firing commenced, and was returned by the Indians, one of whom was here killed. From one of the houses already mentioned, a plain path was seen, leading to the town. William Pillow got into it, and ran rapidly along it till he reached the commons. Perceiving that he had got in advance of such of the troops as had come through the corn field, Pillow halted till others had come up. The march or run was then continued

by the doors of the houses, which were all open. The Indians, at the report of the first gun, had run off to the bank of the river. The troops pursued the leading way to the landing. Here they saw five or six large canoes, stored with goods and Indians, and twenty-five or thirty warriors standing on the shore, near the edge of the water. At these Pillow fired, and soon after him a whole platoon sent a volley of rifle balls, from the effect of which scarce a single Indian escaped alive. A few by diving, and others by covering themselves over in the canoes with goods, escaped and got out of reach of the rifles.

About the same time the havoc took place at the landing below, Col. Whitley attacked the Indians above the mouth of the Creek. They were not more than a gun-shot apart.

Fifteen men had been directed to stop near the two houses, in the corn field, and way-lay them until the firing had taken place in the town. When the report of the rifles was heard, this detachment attacked the houses. A squaw had remained outside to listen. A fellow came to the door and was shot down. Those within drew him inside and closed the door, leaving the squaw on the outside. She attempted to escape by flight, but after a hard chase, she was taken prisoner. The warriors within, made holes through the wall, and made a desperate defence. The squaw taken prisoner was carried up to the town, and placed among the other prisoners in canoes. As they were taking them down the river, to the crossing place, the squaw loosed her clothes, sprang head foremost into the river, disengaging herself artfully from her clothes and leaving them floating upon the water. She swam with great agility, and was rapidly making her escape. Some hallooed shoot her—shoot her. But others, admiring her energy, her activity, and her boldness, replied, " she is too smart to kill," and allowed the heroine to to escape.

After the troops got on the mountain, on the other side of the town, Joseph Brown was sent back with twenty men to head and intercept the Indians, at the mouth of the creek below the town, when the main body of the assailants should have driven the enemy to that point. This he effected suc-

cessfully, though his return was resisted the whole way down, about a quarter of a mile, by the constant fire of the Indians. Brown and his men guarded the mouth of the creek, while the troops above were killing and capturing those between the two parties. When Brown met the main body, he inquired if they had taken any prisoners, and was immediately conducted to a house in which a number of them had been fastened up. When he came to its door he was at once recognized by the captives, who appeared to be horror stricken—remembering, no doubt, that they had murdered his people in the same town, five years before. At length, one of them ventured te speak to him, reminding Brown that his life had been spared by them, and importuning him now to plead in their behalf. He quieted her apprehension, by remarking that these were white people, who did not kill women and children. Her answer was, "O see skinney Cotanconey!" "Oh, that is good news for the wretched!"

These land pirates had supposed their towns to be inaccessible, and were reposing at their ease, in conscious security, up to the moment when, under the guidance of Brown, the riflemen burst in upon them and dispelled the illusion. "Where did you come from?" said one of the astonished prisoners to Brown; "did you come from the clouds? or did you sprout out of the ground?" "We have not come from the clouds," answered Brown, "but we can go any where we please. We did not wish to kill the Indians, but you have forced that sad necessity upon us."

The number of the killed was greater than that given by Haywood, from which this account is principally copied. Many of the Indians who escaped to the river, would dive and swim under the water, but when they would rise again above it, the unerring aim of the rifles from the shore would reach their head, neck and shoulders, and thus they were destroyed, though they were not taken into the estimate of the slain at the battle. Brown conversed with a chief afterwards at Tellico Block-house, who informed him, their loss on that occasion was seventy.

Andrew Jackson, then a private, was one of Ore's men, who then shewed his love of country and his fitness for com-

mand. His judgment in planning the attack on Nickajack, and his good conduct generally on the campaign, impressed those who witnessed it favourably.*

Col. Whitley adopted a new mode of warfare. "He mounted a swivel upon his own riding horse, so that he could wheel and fire in what direction he pleased. The balls provided were wrought iron.† Some of the men crossed the river on rafts, made of dry cane, which had been found and gathered by torch light. William and Gideon Pillow, being excellent swimmers, were selected to carry the raft of their mess across the river. The former held a rope attached to the raft in his teeth, and swam and pulled his craft, and its cargo of guns, shot-bags and clothes, after him, while Gideon and another comrade swam behind and pushed it."

Jasper Pillow, the ancestor of the family, emigrated from England and settled in the colony of Virginia, about 1740. He had three sons, John, Jasper and William, all of whom were soldiers in the Revolutionary war, and continued in the service to its glorious termination, at Yorktown.

John Pillow emigrated to Cumberland in 1784. His wife was Miss Johnston, whose five brothers were soldiers of 1776. John Pillow settled near Nashville, where, with his two sons, William and Gideon, he encountered all the hardships, and perils, and privations of frontier life, and of constant conflict with the various Indian tribes, which, to the close of his life, infested and devastated the country.

Gideon Pillow, the father of Gen. Gideon J. Pillow, late of the United States Army, in Mexico, was an active soldier in the expedition against Nickajack, and swam the Tennessee River in the celebrated capture of that Indian fortress.

In the further Annals of Tennessee, Col. William Pillow will be frequently mentioned as a gallant officer under Gen. Jackson, at Taladega, and as a quiet, unobtrusive citizen, as amiable in private life as he was vigilant in camp and courageous in battle.

Nickajack and Running Water Towns, were the principal crossing places for the Creeks in their war excursions over

* Willie Blount's Papers. † Marshall's Kentucky.

the Tennessee, and in which they, with the warriors of Lookout Mountain and Will's Town, had heartily co-operated for years past; boasting of their perfect security, not less from their situation, protected as it was by mountains on three sides and the river on the north, than from the number and desperate character of their warriors.

This battle was fought on the thirteenth of September. On the evening of the same day, the victorious troops recrossed the Tennessee, and joined such of their comrades as had remained with the horses on the northern bank. Next morning they took up the line of march homeward, and camped that night on the mountain, the next night at the crossing of Elk, near the place where Caldwell's Bridge now is. The next day they came by Fennison's Spring, and to a place since known as Purdie's Garrison. The next day to Hart's Spring, on the north side of Steele's Creek, and the next day to Nashville, where the volunteers were disbanded. Major Ore returned immediately to Knoxville, and made to the Governor the following report:

KNOXVILLE, September 24th, 1794.

Sir:—On the seventh instant, by order of General Robertson, of Mero District, I marched from Nashville, with five hundred and fifty mounted infantry under my command, and pursued the trace of the Indians who had committed the latest murders in the District of Mero, and of the party that captured Peter Turney's negro woman, to the Tennessee. I crossed it on the night of the twelfth, about four miles below Nickajack, and, in the morning of the thirteenth, destroyed Nickajack and the Running Water, towns of the Cherokees. The first being entirely surrounded, and attacked by surprise, the slaughter was great, but cannot be accurately reported, as many were killed in the Tennessee. Nineteen women and children were made prisoners at this town. The Running Water town being only four miles above Nickajack, the news of the attack upon the latter reached the former before the troops under my command, and resistance was made to save it at a place called the Narrows; but, after the exchange of a few rounds, the Indians posted at that place gave way, and the town was burnt without further opposition, with all the effects found therein, and the troops under my command recrossed the Tennessee the same day. From the best judgment that could be formed, the number of Indians killed at the two towns must have been upwards of fifty, and the loss sustained by the troops under my command, was one lieutenant and two privates wounded.

The Running Water was counted the largest, and among the most

hostile towns of the Cherokees. Nickajack was not less hostile, but inferior in point of numbers. At Nickajack were found two fresh scalps, which had lately been taken at Cumberland, and several that were old were hanging in the houses of the warriors, as trophies of war; a quantity of ammunition, powder and lead, lately arrived there from the Spanish Government, and a commission for the Breath, the head man of the town, who was killed, and sundry horses, and other articles of property, were found, both at Nickajack and the Running Water, which were known by one or other of the militia to have belonged to different people, killed by Indians, in the course of the last twelve months.

The prisoners taken, among whom was the wife and child of Richard Finnelson, my pilot, informed me, that, on the fourth instant, sixty Creeks and Lower Cherokees passed the Tennessee, for war against the frontiers. They also informed, that two nights before the destruction of Running Water, a scalp dance had been held in it, over the scalps lately taken from Cumberland, at which were present, John Watts, the Bloody Fellow, and the other chiefs of the Lower Towns, and at which they determined to continue the war, in conjunction with the Creeks, with more activity than heretofore, against the frontiers of the United States, and to erect block-houses at each of the Lower Towns, for their defence, as advised by the Spanish Government.

The prisoners also informed, that a scalp dance was to be held in two nights, at Red-headed Will's town, a new town, about thirty miles lower down the Tennessee.

The troops under my command, generally, behaved well.

I have the honour to be, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant, JAMES ORE.

Governor Blount.

The invasion and destruction of the Lower Towns, was not only not authorized by the Federal authorities, but, as has been seen, was prohibited by the instructions of the Secretary of War to Gov. Blount. The latter felt it, therefore, his duty to enquire of General Robertson, the reasons for which he had issued the order under which Major Ore acted. General Robertson, soon after, explained to Gov. Blount the reasons which had induced him to order Ore to pursue the Indians. He writes under date—

NASHVILLE, October 8th, 1794.

Sir:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the second instant. Enclosed you have a copy of my order to Major Ore, of the sixth of September; my reasons for giving it, were, that I had receieved two expresses from the Chickasaws, one by Thomas Brown, a man of as much veracity as any in the nation, the other by a common runner, giving information, that a large body of Creeks, with the Cherokees of the Lower Towns, were embodying, with a determination to invade the District of Mero; and not doubting my information, I con-

ceived, if Major Ore did not meet this invading army of Creeks and Cherokees, as I expected, that it could not be considered otherwise than defensive to strike the first blow on the Lower Towns, and thereby check them in their advance ; nor could I suppose that the pursuing of parties of Indians, who had recently committed murders and thefts, to the towns from whence they came, and there striking them, could be considered as an offensive measure, unauthorized by the usage of nations in such cases. It cannot be necessary to add as a justification, the long repeated, and, I might say, almost daily sufferings of the people of the District of Mero, by the hands of the Creeks and Cherokees of the Lower Towns. The destruction of the towns by Major Ore, was on the thirteenth of September. On the twelfth, in Tennessee county, Miss Roberts was killed on Red River, forty miles below Nashville; and on the fourteenth, Thomas Reasons and wife were killed, and their house plundered, near the same place, by the Indians. On the sixteenth, in Davidson county, twelve miles above Nashville, another party killed —— Chambers, wounded John Bosley and Joseph Davis, burned John Donnelson's Station, and carried off sundry horses; and in Sumner county, on the same day, a third party of Indians killed a woman on Red River, near Major Sharp's, about forty miles northeast of Nashville, and carried off several horses. This proves that three separate and distinct parties of Indians were out for war against the District of Mero, before the march of Major Ore from Nashville.

If I have erred, I shall ever regret it; to be a good citizen, obedient to the law, is my greatest pride ; and to execute the duties of the commission with which the President has been pleased to honour me, in such a manner as to meet his approbation, and that of my superiors in rank, has ever been my most fervent wish. Previous to the march of Major Ore from Nashville, Col. Whitley, with about one hundred men, arrived there, from Kentucky, saying they had followed a party of Indians who had committed depredations on the southern frontier of that country; that, in the pursuit, they had had a man killed by the Indians, and several horses taken, and that they were determined to pursue to the Lower Town. They were attached to Major Ore's command, which augmented the number to upwards of five hundred and fifty men. Enclosed is a copy of a letter to John Watts; and, from my experience in Indian affairs, I have my hopes, that, from the scourging Major Ore has given the Lower Cherokees, we shall receive less injury from them than heretofore.

Conscious that he had pursued the best policy, in invading the hostile villages on the Tennessee, General Robertson, soon after their destruction, wrote to John Watts, Chief of the Cherokees, and intimated pretty plainly that another expedition might soon become necessary, if prisoners among the Cherokees were not surrendered and assurances of peace given.

Intelligence reached Knoxville of the intention of another

volunteer expedition going through and from the Territory, against the Indians on its southern border. Governor Blount communicated that information to the Secretary of War, and also an account of the measures he deemed it necessary to adopt on that subject.

"On the 24th of October, 1794, a party of Indians fired upon John Leiper and another man, near the house of the former, on the east fork of Red River, in Tennessee county. On the 5th of November, 1794, a party of fifty Indians, on the waters of Red River, in Tennessee county, fell upon the families of Colonel Isaac Titsworth and of his brother, John Titsworth, and killed and scalped seven white persons, wounded a negro woman, and took prisoners a white man, three children and a negro fellow, and also a daughter of Colonel Titsworth. Pursuit was given by the neighbouring militia, and the Indians, discovering their approach, tomahawked the three children and scalped them, taking off the whole skins of their heads. The white man and the negro fellow they either killed or carried off, together with the daughter. These murders were imputed to the Creeks."*

Colonel Valentine Sevier had removed west of Cumberland Mountain, and built a station near Clarkesville. This the Indians attacked. An account of the assault is copied from his letter to his brother, General Sevier, dated—

Clarkesville, Dec. 18, 1794.

Dear Brother :—The news from this place is desperate with me. On Tuesday, 11th of November last, about twelve o'clock, my station was attacked by about forty Indians. On so sudden a surprise, they were in almost every house before they were discovered. All the men belonging to the station were out, only Mr. Snider and myself. Mr. Snider, Betsy his wife, his son John and my son Joseph, were killed in Snider's house. I saved Snider, so the Indians did not get his scalp, but shot and tomahawked him in a barbarous manner. They also killed Ann King and her son James, and scalped my daughter Rebecca. I hope she will still recover. The Indians have killed whole families about here this fall. You may hear the cries of some persons for their friends daily.

"The engagement, commenced by the Indians at my house, continued about an hour, as the neighbours say. Such a scene no man ever witnessed before. Nothing but screams and roaring of guns, and no man to assist me for some time. The Indians have robbed all the goods out of every house, and have destroyed all my stock. You will write our ancient father this horrid news; also my son Johnny. My health is much impaired. The remains of my family are in good health. I am so distressed in my mind, that I can scarcely write. Your affectionate brother, till death.

Valentine Sevier.

* Haywood.

"On the 27th of November, 1794, a party of Indians killed and scalped Colonel John Montgomery, and wounded Julius Saunders with four balls, and Charles Beatty through the arm, on the north-western frontier of Tennessee county. And on the 29th, another party of Indians, on the northern frontiers of Sumner county, killed and scalped John Lawrence, William Hains, and Michael Hampton, and wounded a fourth, whose name was not reported. On the 20th of December, were killed and scalped by Indians, on Harpeth River, Hugh Tenin, of Sumner county, then late colonel of Orange county in North-Carolina, and John Brown and William Grimes.

"On the 5th of January, 1795, Elijah Walker, one of the mounted infantry on duty for the defence of Mero District, acting as a spy on the frontiers, was killed by Indians, twelve miles south of Nashville. On the 5th of March, a party of Indians, supposed to be Creeks, at Joslin's Station, seven miles from Nashville, fired upon Thomas Fletcher, Ezekiel Balding, and his brother, a lad, who were at work in their field; wounded the two first with balls through their bodies, knocked down the third with a war club, broke his skull bone, and skinned the whole of his head. On the 14th, a man was killed by the Indians, within five miles of Nashville. On the 5th of June, old Mr. Peyton was killed, and a negro, belonging to Mr. Parker, wounded dangerously in a field of Mrs. Bledsoe, near Bledsoe's Lick, by Indians."*

The exceedingly long catalogue of Indian outrages and aggressions upon the frontier of Mero and Hamilton Districts, and the account of the spirited manner in which the inhabitants so successfully repelled them, could have been indefinitely extended. A volume could be filled with these already detailed, and those which have been necessarily omitted. For fourteen years, constant warfare existed on Cumberland, without even a temporary abatement. On the other side of the mountain, the condition of the inhabitants was little better, for the same period. In each section of the country there were unremitted offences on the part of the Indians, and persevering vigilance, enterprise and intrepidity by the frontier people. No part of the West—no part of the world—suffered more, or resisted more bravely or more successfully, than the frontiers of Tennessee.

The Etowah campaign, penetrating, as it did, to the most southern towns of the Cherokees, and the splendid victory of the Cumberland troops at Nickajack and Running Water Town, broke the spirit of the Indians and disposed them to peace.

* Haywood.

Little mischief was afterwards done till the approaching war with England, in 1812, again stimulated into life their passion for war, and revived their almost extinguished hope of even yet resisting the wave of civilization which threatened their expulsion from the land of their fathers or the extinction of their tribes.

While these events were taking place, the number of in-
1793 habitants in the Territory had so far augmented as to entitle them to a Territorial Assembly and Legislative Council, as provided for in the Ordinance of 1787. Satisfactory evidence had been presented to Governor Blount, that more than five thousand free males resided in his Territory, and he, therefore, authorized an election to be held for representatives of the people on the third Friday and Saturday of December, 1793.

"Two from each of the counties of Washington, Hawkins, Jefferson and Knox; and one from each of the counties of Sullivan, Greene, Tennessee, Davidson and Sumner; the elections to be conducted under the regulations prescribed by the election laws of North-Carolina; and the returning officers were directed to certify the names of the elected to the Secretary's office, at Knoxville, as soon as might be. On the 22d and 23d of December, elections were held accordingly in all the counties of the Territory, and the people elected Alexander Kelly and John Baird, for the county of Knox; George Doherty and Samuel Weir, for Jefferson; Joseph Hardin, for Greene; Leeroy Taylor and John Tipton for Washington; George Rutledge, for Sullivan, and William Cocke and Joseph McMinn, for Hawkins; James White, for Davidson; David Wilson for Sumner, and James Ford for Tennessee.

"No sooner were the elections over, than, by a proclamation, issued on the 1st of January, 1794, the Governor appointed the Assembly to meet at Knoxville, on the 4th Monday of Feb. 1794. The Assembly, on the day appointed, convened at Knoxville, and appointed David Wilson, Esq., their Speaker, and Hopkins Lacy, Esq., their Clerk. And it is to be considered as an auspicious omen of the future prosperity of their young empire, that they laid its foundations in piety to God. On the next day the members, preceded by the Governor and the Speaker, went in procession to the place of worship, where the Reverend Mr. Carrick, after offering up an appropriate prayer, preached to them from these words in the epistle of Paul to Titus: 'In hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lie, promised before the world began: but hath in due time manifested his word through preaching; which is committed unto me according to the commandment of God our Saviour.'

"They elected ten persons, out of whom five were to be chosen by Congress, as the Legislative Council; they appointed a committee to draft an address to the Governor, which was drawn accordingly and approved of, in which they strongly recommend some offensive mea-

sures, could they be resorted to, otherwise that defensive ones might at least be adopted, and block-houses erected on the frontiers at all proper places, many of which they named; and they stated that, until the frontier people should be better protected, it would be impossible for them to raise their crops, and that they would be forced to evacuate their plantations, and to leave others in the same desolate circumstances. They recommended a guard for the protection of the Cumberland members on their return, adverting to the recent fact of an express having been severely wounded in the wilderness, as he came from Nashville to Knoxville.

"The committee also, who were appointed for the purpose, Mr. White, Mr. Cocke, Mr. Kelly, Mr. Weir and Mr. Taylor, drew an address to Congress, which was approved of by the House, and was signed by the Speaker. In it they demand a declaration of war against the Creeks and Cherokees; and stated that, since the treaty of Holston, they had killed, in a most barbarous and inhuman manner, upwards of two hundred citizens of the United States, residents in this Territory, without regard to age or sex, and carried others into captivity and slavery; had robbed the citizens of their slaves, stolen, at least, two thousand horses, which, at a moderate calculation, were worth one hundred thousand dollars.

"Besides the just causes of war daily given by these two faithless nations, we conceive it essential to call to your recollection their two powerful invasions of this country; the first in September, 1792, consisting of one thousand Creeks and Cherokees, who, on the 30th of that month, attacked Buchanan's Station, within five miles of Nashville, and were repulsed. The second, in September, 1793, consisting of nine hundred, who, on the 25th of that month, attacked Cavet's Station, within eight miles of Knoxville, and, in a manner too shocking to relate, murdered Cavet and his family, thirteen in number.

"Scarcely, they said, is there a man of this body, but can recount a dear wife or child, an aged parent or near relation, massacred by the hands of these blood-thirsty nations, in their houses or fields; nor are our neighbours and friends less miserable. They, too, can enumerate the suffering of equal calamities. Such have been, they say, the sufferings of your fellow citizens resident in this Territory, more than ought to be imposed on men, who, by their joint exertions with the citizens of the United States at large, have acquired freedom and independence.

"They rejoiced in the vigorous measures which Congress were about to take against the rapacious and enslaving Algerines, and concluded with reminding Congress that the citizens who live in poverty on the extreme frontiers, were as much entitled to be protected in their lives, their families and little property, as those who were in luxury, ease and affluence in the great and opulent Atlantic cities. The Governor then prorogued the Assembly to the fourth Monday in August."*

This memorial from the representatives of the people was referred to a committee of the United States Congress, which, through their chairman, Mr. Carnes, reported: "That

* Haywood.

from the representations made to them, the condition of the Territory called for the most energetic measures, and they recommended that the President should be authorized to call out an adequate military force to carry on offensive operations against any hostile tribe, and to establish such posts and defences as would be necessary for the permanent security of the frontier settlers."

1794 Hitherto, the Governor and Judges had exercised not only executive and judicial, but legislative powers. The Ordinance, by the United States in Congress assembled, for the government of the Territory south of the Ohio, provided that the Governor and Judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the District, such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, "and report them to Congress from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterwards, the Legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit." The Ordinance further declared that the Legislature should consist of the Governor, Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives, and specified how the latter bodies should be selected. This having been done, on Monday, the twenty-fifth day of August, 1794, the General Assembly of the Territory of the United States of America, south of the Ohio, met at Knoxville.

Legislative Council.—The members nominated by the Representatives of the people, and commissioned by the President of the United States as Legislative Councillors for said Territory, appeared, produced their credentials, and took their seats, to-wit:

The Honourable Griffith Rutherford,
" " John Sevier,
" " James Winchester,
" " Stockley Donelson,
" " Parmenas Taylor.

Adjourned till to-morrow, 10 o'clock.

Honourable Griffith Rutherford was unanimously elected President, and conducted to the Chair.

George Roulstone was, by ballot, elected Clerk, and qualified accordingly.

Christopher Shoat was chosen Door-keeper.

A message from the House of Representatives:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Council:—This House is now formed and ready to proceed on the public business, and wish to know if you are met and prepared to receive communications from the House of Representatives.

On motion of Mr. Winchester, Mr. Sevier was appointed to confer with such member or members of the House of Representatives as they may join, and report what rules are necessary to be observed in doing business, between the Council and House of Representatives.

House of Representatives.—Monday, the twenty-fifth day of August, 1794, being the day appointed for the meeting of the Representatives of the people of this Territory, the following members appeared and took their seats, viz: David Wilson, James White, James Ford, William Cocke, Joseph McMinn, George Rutledge, Joseph Hardin, George Doherty, Samuel Wear, Alexander Kelly and John Baird.

The session commenced by a suitable and well-adapted prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Carrick.

On motion of Mr. Hardin, seconded by Mr. Doherty,

Ordered, That the following message be sent to his Excellency, William Blount, Esq.:

Sir:—The House of Representatives are now met agreeably to your prorogation, and ready to proceed to business.

Ordered, That Messrs. Hardin and Wear wait on his Excellency with the above message.

At its next meeting, on the following day, the House adopted "rules of decorum," to be observed by its members. The curious in such matters may wish to know what these rules were, in the infancy of legislation in the country, and for their gratification, some of them are here given:

1st. When the Speaker is in the Chair, every member may sit in his place with his head covered.

2d. That every member shall come into the house uncovered, and shall continue so at all times, but when he sits in his place.

3d. No member, in coming into the house, or removing from his place, shall pass between the Speaker and a member speaking, nor shall any member go across the house, or from one part thereof, to the other, whilst another is speaking.

4th. When any member stands to speak, he shall stand in his place uncovered, and address himself to the Speaker; but shall not proceed to speak until permitted so to do by the Speaker, which permission shall be signified by naming the member.

5th. When any member is speaking, no other shall stand or interrupt him; but when he is done speaking, and taken his seat, any other member may rise, observing the rules.

6th. When the Speaker desires to address himself to the house, he shall rise, and be heard without interruption, and the member then speaking, shall take his seat.

7th. When any motion shall be before the house, and not perfectly understood, the Speaker may explain, but shall not attempt to sway the house by arguments or debate.

8th. He that digresseth from the subject, to fall on the person of any member, shall be suppressed by the Speaker.

10th. Exceptions taken to offensive words, to be taken the same day they shall be spoken, and before the member who spoke them shall go out of the house.

16th. If there shall be an equality of votes for, and against any question, the Speaker shall declare whether he be a yea or nay; but shall, in no other case, give his vote.

18th. Upon adjournment, no member shall presume to move, until the Speaker arises and goes before."

1794 The House of Representatives having thus adopted rules for the government of its own members, proceeded, at once, on motion of Mr. Cocke, to appoint a committee "to consider and report as soon as possible, what bills of a public and general nature are necessary to be passed into laws, the present Assembly." Mr. White, Mr. Cocke, Mr. Hardin, Mr. Wear and Mr. Doherty, were the committee. Mr. Sevier had been appointed on the part of Council, "to act with such member or members of the House, as a committee, to report the rules necessary to be observed in doing business" between that body and the House. Mr. White and Mr. Rutledge were appointed to confer with him. This joint committee afterwards made the following report:

"That it is proper for this House to send any message by a member of this House, to the Council or the Clerk, to be delivered to the President of the Council or the Chairman. That when a bill is to be sent to the Council, it shall be taken by two of the Representatives, to be delivered in the same manner. That no bill shall be debated or rejected on its first reading. That no bill being once rejected, shall be again taken up the same session."

Rules regulating the intercourse of the two Houses being thus provided, Mr. Sevier and Mr. Winchester were appointed on the part of the Council, to join the House Committee, to prepare business for the Assembly. It was at once in *medias res*, and on the 28th, through its Chairman, Mr Hardin reported, "An act to regulate the militia of this Territory; an act to establish the judicial courts, and to regulate the proceedings thereof; an act making provision for the poor; an act to enable executors and administrators to make rights for lands due upon bonds of persons deceased;

an act declaring what property is to be taxable, and the mode of collecting the tax thereon; an act to levy a tax for the support of Government for the year 1794; and an act to provide for the relief of such of the militia as have been wounded by the Indians in the late invasions."

This brief catalogue of enactments necessary for the people of the Territory, presented to the consideration of its Legislature, and, perhaps, in the exact order and degree of the importance of each, the several subjects that were deemed of primary moment, and demanded prompt and immediate action.

The instincts, the sagacity and discernment of the constituents, had not been at fault in the selection of their public servants. Perhaps no other deliberative body, was ever more distinguished for identity and familiarity with the interests, the wishes and the wants of those for whom they acted, and none could have surpassed them in honesty, promptness and zeal.

Committees were at once raised in each House, to whom was referred one of the subjects already enumerated. They seem to have been constituted with a wise and patriotic reference to the qualifications, experience and past pursuits of the members. On the bill to regulate the militia of the Territory, the House appointed, on the fourth day of the session, Wear, Taylor and Doherty, each of whom had been actively engaged as officers in the service of the country, and with them the Council associated Colonel Winchester. On the Committee on the Judiciary, Mr. White and Mr. Cocke. To make provision for the poor, Mr. Hardin and Mr. Tipton To levy a tax for 1794, Mr. Rutledge and Mr. McMinn. To declare what property is taxable, Mr. Hardin and Mr. Ford; and to provide relief for wounded militia, Mr. Doherty and Mr. Wear.

In justice to the members of Knox county, whose names do not appear upon any of these committees, it ought to be mentioned that, on Wednesday, the third day of the session, "on motion of Mr. Kelly, seconded by Mr. Hardin, ordered, that Mr. Kelly and Mr. Beard have leave of absence, to go on a scout against the Indians." These gentlemen held commissions in the militia of Knox county, and, on account of their

gallantry and public spirit, had been honoured with seats in the House of Representatives. A threatened incursion of hostile Cherokees, made it necessary for them to lay down their legislative and resume their military functions. And, upon the motion of one of them, Mr. Kelly, his colleague and himself had leave of absence. In a week from that time, "Mr. Kelly returned and took his seat." Mr. Beard had returned the day before.

To General Sevier, of the Council, is due the paternity of a bill, "for the relief of such persons as have been disabled by wounds, or rendered incapable of procuring, for themselves and families, subsistence, in the militia of this Territory; and providing for the widows and orphans of such as have died." He had been, as we have already narrated, actively employed in the military service, and knew well the sacrifice of treasure and of blood which the martial spirit of his countrymen had occasioned, and the havoc which, by the gallantry of his fellow-soldiers, had been made upon the comfort, and property, and lives, of those he represented.

To an enlightened Representative from Davidson county, is due the immortal honour of having made the first legislative effort, in the Territorial Assembly, in behalf of Learning. On the 29th of August, "Mr. White moved for leave, and presented a bill to establish a University in Greene county; read for the first time, passed, and sent to the Council." Four days after, the bill became a law, creating a Literary Institution, though under a less imposing name, Greeneville College. The preamble to the act of incorporation follows;

"*Whereas*, in all well-regulated governments, it is the incumbent duty of the Legislature to consult the happiness of the rising generation, and endeavour to fit them for an honourable discharge of the social duties of life, by paying the strictest attention to their education, Be it enacted by the Governor," &c.

The act appoints the Rev. Hezekiah Balch, President of the College, and locates it upon his farm. The Trustees are—"Hezekiah Balch, Samuel Doak, James Balch, Samuel Carrick, Robert Henderson, Gideon Blackburn, Archibald Roane, Joseph Hamilton, William Cocke, Daniel Kennedy, Landon Carter, Joseph Hardin, Sen., John Rhea and John Sevier." The law invests these Trustees with the usual

powers of such corporations, and authorizes them to make such laws for its government, as "to them may appear necessary for the promotion of learning and virtue; provided the same be not contrary to the unalienable rights of human nature, or the laws of the Territory."

On the same day, Mr. Doherty presented a petition from the inhabitants south of French Broad River, setting forth their right of occupancy to their lands, and praying that their case may be laid before Congress." This subject afterwards became a fruitful source of complaint and tedious legislation, the details of which will be elsewhere given.

On Saturday, the 30th, the House adjourned to Monday, seven o'clock. A working Legislature, truly!

In the Ordinance for the government of the Territory, it was provided "That as soon as a Legislature shall be formed in the District, the Council and House, assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a Delegate to Congress." The details of that transaction are here extracted from the Journals.

Resolved, That the balloting for the Delegate to Congress take place to-morrow, at ten o'clock, and that the following message be sent to the Council:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Council:—We propose to ballot to-morrow, at ten o'clock, at the Court House, for a Delegate to Congress, and on our part appoint Messrs. Taylor and Doherty to superintend the balloting. The Council concurring, Mr. Taylor was appointed to conduct the balloting on their part. On the 3d, Mr. James White, of Davidson county, was elected by a majority of both Houses, Delegate to Congress.

On the petition of the inhabitants south of French Broad, your Committee report that the said inhabitants ought to have all the assistance in the power of this House to give towards securing them in their improvements. That as the disposal of the soil rests in Congress, it will be proper for this Assembly to draw up a memorial to that body, stating the facts as may induce them to secure the said inhabitants in a right of pre-emption, and pray that an Act of Congress may be passed for that purpose.

Both Houses adjourned to-day, to meet to-morrow at 7 o'clock.

Sept. 4.—Mr. Cocke moved for leave, and presented a Bill for the establishment of ——— College in the vicinity of Knoxville.

The blank was afterwards filled with Blount, and on the tenth of September, the bill establishing Blount College became a law. Next to Mr. White, the friends of learning are indebted to one of the representatives from Hawkins, Mr

Cocke, for his early care and prudent foresight in laying broad and deep a foundation for the intellectual improvement of the young men of the Territory. Blount College has since become the University of East Tennessee, and the laudable curiosity to see the incipient efforts of the first patrons of literature and science in the West, shall be gratified with some extracts from

An Act for the establishment of Blount College, in the vicinity of Knoxville:

Whereas, the Legislature of this Territory are disposed to promote the happiness of the people at large, and especially of the rising generation, by instituting seminaries of education, where youth may be habituated to an amiable, moral and virtuous conduct, and accurately instructed in the various branches of useful science, and in the principles of the ancient and modern languages.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Governor, Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of the United States of America, south of the River Ohio, That the Reverend Samuel Carrick, President, and his Excellency William Blount, the Honourable Daniel Smith, Secretary of the Territory, the Honourable David Campbell, the Honourable Joseph Anderson, General John Sevier, Col. James White, Col. Alexander Kelly, Col. William Cocke, Willie Blount, Joseph Hamilton, Archibald Roane, Francis A. Ramsey, Charles McClung, George Roulstone, George McNutt, John Adair and Robert Houston, Esquires shall be, and they are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate,, by the name of the President and Trustees of Blount College, in the vicinity of Knoxville.

On account, probably, of some unknown infraction of parliamentary law, the House, on the 8th,

Resolved, That whenever this House shall render a list of absent members to the door-keeper, to warn them to attend, that each member so mentioned and warned, shall pay one shilling to the door-keeper for his trouble.

This fine would appear inadequate for either of the purposes intended by it, if we fail to consider the difference between the per diem of members and door-keeper in the Assembly of 1794, and their pay in 1850.

As further evidence of the diligence and application of members to their legislative duties, it may be mentioned that on the 5th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th, the House adjourned to meet the succeeding days at 7 o'clock, A. M., and the Council regularly at 9 o'clock.

On the 5th, the House concurred with the Council in " their

proposition in the two Houses meeting, and to take into their consideration whether the laws of North-Carolina are now in force and use in this Territory," and proposed that the conference be at the Court House at four o'clock." Another proof of the fidelity with which these servants of the people despatched their public duties. The Court House where this conference was proposed, and where the two Houses had met together for the election of a Delegate to Congress, was a small one-story building, about thirty feet long and twenty-four broad. The Council met in the barrack. The house in which the Assembly held its sessions was sometimes in another room of the barrack, and occasionally the large room of Carmichael's Tavern, on Cumberland-street, and now owned by Major Swan. Neither of the buildings was sufficiently spacious to allow a joint ballot or joint conference of the two bodies, and on these occasions each left its own chamber and repaired to the Court House. These were primitive times in Knoxville. Less than fifty families lived there then. Mr. Stone kept tavern on what is now known as Park's Corner, and his was the very northern boundary of the town. Nathaniel Cowan lived at the corner of Water-street, not far from what is now Churchwell's Mill, and most of the buildings were in that part of the place near the river. Many members boarded in the country, and walked morning and night to and from their quarters. A carriage was unknown in that day upon the frontier, and would have attracted more attention, and occasioned more remark, than a steam-car would in 1850 upon the top of Chilhowee.

In the Council, "Mr. Donelson, from the Committee appointed to make an estimate of the expenses for the year 1794, reported that the probable expenditures for said year, will amount to two thousand three hundred and ninety dollars." This financial estimate was for the whole Territory, and fifty-six years afterwards, the estimate would be considered small for a single county in Tennessee. So true is it, with regard to communities as with individuals—the natural wants of man are few and easily supplied, while those that are artificial, are at once numberless and insatiable.

Sept. 10, 1794.—Received from his Excellency, the Governor, the following message:

KNOXVILLE, Sept. 1, 1794.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

Herewith, by the hands of Mr. Hugh White, my Private Secretary, you will receive an act entitled an act, &c., &c., to which I have given my assent. My Private Secretary being now officially made known to you, I shall, in future, cause the acts to which I give my assent, to be delivered by him to you, without any written message, and having obtained your signatures, to deliver the same to the Secretary of the Territory.

WM. BLOUNT.

Sept. 12.—Mr. White, from the Committee appointed to draw up a memorial to Congress in favour of the people south of French Broad, presented the following memorial:

To the Honourable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress:

The memorial and petition of the inhabitants living south of French Broad River, sheweth, That your memorialists have settled on vacant lands, lying on the south side of French Broad River, and which was granted to the people of this country, by the Indians, at different times.

First. At the treaty of Dumplin Creek, held with John Sevier, Esq., at which time, the Indians received a compensation in clothing and other articles, for said land; and in the year following, the same Indians did, in a fresh treaty, held with them at Coyatee, confirm the grant aforementioned. That, in consequence of these treaties, made under a then existing authority, your petitioners were induced to settle on the land so granted, which they cultivated with great labour and expense, and established within the bounds thereof, large and improved possessions. This memorial further sheweth, That the country aforesaid has been ceded to the United States, partly, at the treaty of Senaca, and finally, at the succeeding treaty of Holston. Your memorialists, therefore, petition Congress to make them secure in their labour and improvements, whenever Congress may think it expedient to open a Land-office, by granting them a right of pre-emption to their hard-earned improvements and possessions.

AND WHEREAS, numbers of these petitioners have been induced to believe, that Congress would confirm such warrants or grants as had issued from the State of North-Carolina, and, therefore, have purchased the same, and laid them on their lands; they pray that Congress may permit them to hold their lands by such warrants, but that the justice and goodness of your honourable body will provide, that no stranger may, by such warrants, take from the holder and improver of the land, his possessions, the right of which ought to be derived through Congress.

The Assembly adopted and sent forward to Congress, a long memorial on the subject of the existing Indian war.

To this memorial was appended "a list of the names of

persons killed, wounded and captured, and horses stolen, since the 26th day of February, 1794." The list comprises: killed, 67; wounded, 10; prisoners, 25; and horses stolen, 376, estimated at $18,700.

On the 18th, 19th, 20th, 26th and 27th, the House adjourned to meet at seven o'clock the succeeding morning. Such an economical devotion of its time to public business, and such indefatigable attention to legislative duty, would seem to require some corresponding pecuniary compensation. As their session approached its termination, it was

Resolved, That the wages of the members, clerks and door-keepers of both houses, be estimated as follows:

For each member per day, - - -	$2 50
" each clerk " " - - -	2 50
" each clerk for stationery, - - -	25 00
" door-keeper per day, - - -	1 75
Each member, clerk and door-keeper to be allowed for ferriages.	
Every twenty-five miles, riding to and from the Assembly, - - - - - -	2 50

Sept. 23.—Mr Sevier moved for leave, and presented a bill for establishing Knoxville, on the north bank of the Holston, which was read the first time, passed and sent to the House of Representatives.

As the adjournment of the Territorial Legislature approached, its members were unwilling to separate, without making another effort to awaken the attention of the Federal Government to the necessity and importance of more ample and effective means of defence and protection for their suffering and bleeding constituents. Since the last meeting of the Assembly, many of them had lost members of their own families—killed by savage ferocity or stratagem—many of their neighbours had been wounded or taken prisoners; much valuable property had been stolen or destroyed; and during the present sitting of the Legislature, two members of it from the Metropolitan county, had been compelled, from the threatened aggressions of the enemy, to leave the halls of legislation and resume the sword, to prevent an attack upon the seat of Government. Under this condition of things, on the twenty-fourth of September, the House

Resolved, That James White, Esq., the Representative of this Territory in Congress, be instructed to take an early opportunity of exhibit-

ing to the President of Congress, the additional list of one hundred and five of our fellow-citizens, who have suffered by the Creeks and Cherokees, since our memorial to Congress in the spring, in addition to the former innumerable and cruel acts of hostility with which this Territory has been insulted by those Indians; and to assure his Excellency that if the people of this Territory have borne with outrages which stretch human patience to its utmost, it has been through our veneration for the head of the Federal Government, and through the hopes we entertain that his influence will finally extend, to procure for this injured part of the Union, that justice, which nothing but retaliating on an unrelenting enemy, can afford.

The patience of the people was well-nigh exhausted, and it required all the authority and weight of character of Governor Blount to restrain the impetuous temper of the soldiery of the Territory, which everywhere manifested itself—exacerbations of feeling and resentment, which, indeed, in every instance, his authority was unable to repress.

Sept. 25.—In the Council, "Mr. Sevier moved for leave, and presented a bill appointing a public printer." Another era in the early legislation and improvement of an infant community, second only to the founding of institutions of learning and the creation of tribunals of justice.

At the request of the members from Mero District, Governor Blount ordered a sufficient guard of soldiers to accompany them on their return home.

Great difficulty arose in arranging the details of the Tax Bill, and the last days of the session, amendments were constantly proposed to the bill of the one House and as uniformly rejected by the other. Several days were consumed in modeling and adjusting the Tax Bill.

A Sabbath intervened, but on Monday the House continued inflexible; other messages were interchanged with a like result. The Council at length agreed to make the tax on a hundred acres of land, eighteen cents. To which the House again objected, and insisted upon "a tax of twenty-five cents per hundred, as it stood in the bill when it went from this House."

The Council yielded, at length, to the more immediate representatives of the people, and sent them the following message—

"The Council accede to your proposition in taxing land at twenty-

five cents per hundred acres; you will, therefore, send two of your members to see the amendments made accordingly."

At this length of time since these transactions took place, it is difficult to account for the discordant views entertained by the two Houses of the Territorial Assembly upon the land tax. A tariff is always a subject of troublesome adjustment, and then, as now, the proper arrangment of its details, was the most perplexing duty of the Legislature. It has been conjectured, that the conflict of sentiment between the Council and the House, may be legitimately traced to the organism—the mode by which each body was created. The five members of the Council were not elected by the people, but appointed by the Congress, and commissioned by the President of the United States, from ten citizens of the Territory at large, selected and nominated for that purpose by the House. Their term of office was for five years. The members of the House, on the other hand, were really the representatives of the people, were elected directly by them, and holding their office for but two years, were dependant upon popular suffrage for a renewal of their trust.

The constituent body—the people—were generally *small* landholders, while most of the appropriated lands of the Territory, was held by large grantees, and they—many of them—non-residents. The toil of subduing the wilderness, the danger of reclaiming it from its savage occupants, the sacrifice of ease, of property and of life, in opening and defending it, the responsibility of founding its government and maintaining its rights, had all been undergone by actual settlers. Their adventure had planted the infant settlements, their valour had defended them, and to their services, were non-resident landholders indebted for the present and prospective enhancement of the value of their property. The tenacity, therefore, with which the immediate representative body adhered to its policy of raising the revenue principally by a tax upon real estate, cannot be considered either strange or unwise.

Sept. 30.—The morning of the last day of its session, the House exhibited a further instance of its restraint upon the action of the Council, by refusing its assent to a bill excusing

workmen employed at iron foundries, from military duties.

Before their adjournment, the two Houses did concur in resolutions, requesting " the Governor to direct, that when the census is taken next June, the sense of the people may at that time be enquired into, how far it may be their wish, for admission into the Union as a State,"—also directing, " that John Stone be allowed ten dollars, for the use of the house now occupied by the Legislative Council."—" That James White be allowed five dollars for the use of the court house during the session of the Assembly."—"That George Roulstone & Co. be allowed the sum of ten dollars, if in ten days they print fifty copies of the act, " respecting the levying and collecting the taxes. " That John Chisholm be allowed the sum of two dollars, for his monies expended for the public service of this Territory, during the recess of the Assembly," and, " that the thanks of this General Assembly be presented to Governor Blount, for the application of his abilities and attention, in forwarding their business as representatives; more especially, in compiling and arranging the system of court law; and that as there appears to be no more business before this Assembly, his Excellency be requested to prorogue the same to the first Monday in October, 1795."

To the last resolution, the Governor sent in reply, the following message—

" Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:—While your vote of thanks, of this day, affords a proof of your liberality, it offers me the highest reward for such attention as I have had in my power to pay to the court and other laws. I should feel myself wanting to the Council and House of Representatives, were I not to acknowledge, that the laws which have been offered for my assent, have been such as are essential to the promotion of the public happiness, and that no law of importance at this time is omitted. Herewith you will receive the prorogation to the day as by you requested.

" Knoxville, September 30, 1794.

Wm. Blount."

PROROGATION.

" William Blount, Governor in and over the Territory of the United States of America, south of the River Ohio:

"To the President and Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and the Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:—The session of the General Assembly is prorogued, until the first Monday in the month of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, then to commence at this place.

"Given under my hand at Knoxville, September 30, 1794.

WM. BLOUNT.

"By the Governor—DANIEL SMITH."

The per diem of the members of House of Representatives, and of the Clerk and Door-keeper, for the February session, and other incidental expenses, amounted to $473,58⅔.

That of the Legislative Council, for the August and September session, amounted to $970,71⅔.

And that of the House of Representatives, for the same session, 1.700,16⅔.

These proceedings of the Territorial Legislature will acquaint the reader with the mode of transacting its business, and, to some extent, with the amount and importance of its labours. It may be safely asserted that, in so short a session, the same number of law makers, under like difficulties and embarrassments, never had achieved more. Their session was one of only thirty-seven days. The number of members was small—in the Council, five—in the House—thirteen, and some of these, for various reasons, allowed leave of absence, at different periods of the session. Most of them too, though men of strong intellect and great good sense, were entirely inexperienced in legislation, and uninformed upon some of the subjects the emergency of the times brought up for their action and decision. But all of them were identified with the interests of the people, and had been honoured with their confidence on account of their patriotism and public virtue. They were assiduous in the discharge of their new duties, and they were faithful to the trust confided to them. Of their competency, the work executed by them is an undying memorial. They had become suddenly, and, with many of them, unexpectedly, the guardians of weighty interests in an immense Territory. The foundations of society were to be laid in different isolated communities, extending from the Alleghanies to the westernmost settlement. Invasion from

1794

hostile Indian tribes had to be repelled; an exposed frontier had to be guarded; aggression had to be resisted; stations protected; forts defended; emigrants encouraged; and roads had to be opened through a trackless wilderness; towns and counties were to be laid out; a police to be established, and public buildings to be erected. A system of jurisprudence had to be, if not enacted *de novo*, amended, enlarged and remodeled, in adaptation to the circumstances and wants of a new community. These—these all were to be done. Nay, more—the fostering care of a new government had to be directed to the improvement and refinement of the "rising generation," and, to its other labours, the Legislature added the crowning honour of founding, at its first session, two Institutions of Learning.

"An act was passed to divide Jefferson county into two distinct counties." Joseph Wilson, Robert Polk, Samuel Magahee, Samuel Newell and Thomas Buckingham, are made Commissioners to locate the court house in the new county, which is called Sevier; courts to be holden, for the first time, at the house of Isaac Thomas.

Sevier county was attached to Hamilton District. The house of Isaac Thomas, where the first court for Sevier county was holden, stood on the west bank of Pigeon, nearly opposite the confluence of its east and west branches, between which, and near their junction, was, October, 1795, laid out, and afterwards erected, the present Sevierville. It is a beautiful spot—surrounded by, and embosomed among, lofty and almost inaccessible heights, through which the confluents glide in placid quiet or rush with boisterous violence through their narrow and tortuous channels. The bottoms below Sevierville are remarkable for their fertility. The county has been the land of hunters, soldiers and patriots. It has its stations, forts and battle grounds. It was one of the counties of Franklin. Dumplin Treaty was held on its soil.

The magistrates who held the first court, Nov. 8, 1794, were—"The Worshipful Samuel Newell, Joseph Wilson, Joshua Gist, Peter Bryant, Joseph Vance and Andrew Evans." Besides these, there were magistrates not present—

M. Lewis and Robert Pollock. The county officers were—"Samuel Newell, first chairman; Joshua Gist, 2d; and Joseph Wilson, 3d;" Samuel Wear, clerk; John Lowry, county solicitor; Ambrose Arthur, deputy sheriff; Jesse Byrd, Register; Thomas Buckingham, collector; Mordecai Lewis, coroner; Alexander Montgomery, ranger."

In the early minutes of the County Court of Sevier, may be seen something of the summary proceedings which characterized the courts of Franklin or the Temporary form of Government which, south of French Broad, followed the dissolution of that State. At April Term, 1795, it was—"*Ordered*—That a bill of sale from J. R. to —— ——, bearing date December 17, 1794, shall not be admitted to record, and that the word *Fraudulent* be wrote, by the clerk, on the face of said bill of sale."

The jurisdiction of the court was exercised beneficently, not only within the limits of Sevier county and of the Territory, but embraced, in its benevolent plenitude of power, the contiguous State of Virginia also. October sessions, 1795, it was—"Ordered that an idiot, produced by John Craig, to this court, is to be delivered to a constable of this county, to be conveyed to the next constable, and so from officer to officer, until she is conveyed to the proper owner, in the State of Virginia, which is, by information, M. M. in Powell's Valley."

The legislature exhibited no indifference to the pleasant charities of life. Ample provision was made by law, for persons disabled by wounds, and for the widows and orphans of such as had died in the military service of the country.

Among other acts of a local character, was one for establishing Knoxville. It was, at that time, the seat of the Territorial Government, and so continued to be, during the existence of that organization. It became the seat of Government of the State of Tennessee, and so continued to be for many years after. Kingston, Murfreesborough and Nashville, were its successors for several years, when, in 1817, Knoxville again became the seat of Government, but for the last

time. The strong flood of emigration to the West, had carried with it the centre of population beyond the Cumberland Mountains, and with it, the seat of Government. The sceptre has departed from her; but time, and change, and progress, cannot deprive her of her ancient honours, nor make her less venerable for the proud associations that cluster around her early history. Here Squollecuttah, Kunoskeskie, Nemtooyah, Chuquilatague, Enolchi, Talohtuski, and other chieftains of the Cherokee nation, met Governor Blount in Council, smoked the pipe of peace, and formed the Treaty of Holston;—here the pious White pitched his tent in the wilderness, lived his life in patriarchal simplicity and unostentatious usefulness;—here died the founder of Knoxville, and his memory is here embalmed in the affectionate remembrance of a succeeding generation. Here the infant Government of the Territory was cradled, and nurtured in its youth by the paternal care of Blount, of Anderson and Campbell. Here, too, the sages and patriots of 1794, met and deliberated, and made laws. Here, too, was born the infant Hercules—since become a giant—Tennessee. Tennessee looks back to Knoxville, and recognizes her as the home of her youth, and the fond centre of her hallowed recollections.

Speaking of the question of State or no State, which, at this time, began to be agitated by the people of the Territory, Governor Blount writes to General Sevier, December 4th: "I frankly say to you, I am for the Territory becoming a State as early as possible; and I think this change can be effected so as to have a Constitution formed, and a representation in the next Congress. I have already written to my friends in Congress, requesting them to have an act passed, authorizing this Territory to become a State, whenever the people shall express their wishes to this effect."

"On the night of the twenty-fifth of May, Mr. George Mann, 1795 living twelve miles above Knoxville, hearing a noise at his stable, and leaving his house to discover the cause, his return was intercepted by Indians, who fired upon and dangerously wounded him. He fled for concealment to a cave at a short distance, but was followed by the savages, dragged from his hiding place and slain. The wife had

heard the retreating footsteps of the Indians as they pursued her husband, and having locked the door, sat in silent expectation, with her sleeping children around her. Soon she hears the tramp of approaching feet. Perhaps it is the neighbours, alarmed at the firing, and coming to the rescue? She is about to rush out and meet them, but she hears their voices in a strange tongue. The horrible conviction seizes her, that the savages are returning to the slaughter. The rifle is instantly in her hands; that morning she had learned the use of its triggers, and levelling it carefully at the crevice of the door, near the lock, she awaits the result. Stealthy steps are moving along the walls; the door is pressed against—it yields—is partly open—a savage is on his hands and knees at the entrance; another behind, and still another; her finger is upon the trigger; she thinks of her children, and fires! The first Indian falls heavily to the ground—the second screams with pain—the others gather up the wounded and fly!

That lone woman, by her courage and presence of mind, had repulsed twenty-five savage warriors. Had a word escaped her lips after the explosion of the rifle, the lives of herself and children would have been lost. The perfect silence impressed the Indians, and believing armed men to be in the house, they fled.*

The Indians set fire to the barns and out-buildings, but did not venture to approach the house, from which a defence so heroic and successful had been made. Mann, himself, was found next morning, cruelly scalped and mutilated. Pursuit was made after the body of Indians, but they could not be overtaken.

Dr. White regrets, in a letter to General Sevier, the unwillingness of Congress to pay the men of his brigade, and its ungrateful neglect to pay the Chickasaws, and adds, "the Spaniards will not neglect the opportunity to detach those Indians from us. The Government of Louisiana is already fortifying at the Chickasaw Bluffs."

The Spanish authorities still retained possession of the

*Rev. T. W. Hume's Semi-centennial Address.

fort at the Chickasaw Bluff, and it was not surrendered till a special demand was made for its surrender under the instructions of the Federal Government to Governor Blount. Anticipating that still further obstacles would be thrown in the way of surrendering Louisiana, Mr. Jefferson called for a regiment of volunteers from Tennessee, to be present at the surrender.*

As has been elsewhere shewn, the Territorial Assembly had been prorogued by Gov. Blount until the first Monday of October, 1795. For reasons mentioned in his Message, he had called them together by proclamation, at an earlier period, June 29, 1795. Upon that day, the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives again assembled at Knoxville, and there held the second session.

In the Message of the Governor, he said:

"The principal object for which I have called you together, at an earlier period than that to which the General Assembly stood prorogued, is to afford an opportunity to inquire whether it is, as I have been taught to believe, the wish of the majority of the people, that this Territory should become a State, when by taking the enumeration there should prove to be sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, or at such earlier period as Congress shall pass an act for its admission; and if it is, to take such measures as may be proper to effect the desired change of the form of government as early as practicable.

"Upon the head of Indian Affairs, I have the pleasure to inform you, that the prospect of peace between the United States and all the Indian tribes or nations, are more pleasing than in any other period since the commencement of the war between Great Britain and the United States. I would not, however, in thus expressing myself, be understood that it is my opinion, that no more murders and thefts will be committed by Indians upon the frontier citizens; on the contrary, I believe, that while there is a tribe of Indians remaining on this side of the Mississippi,† uncircumscribed by the citizens of the United States, that a description of them by the chiefs, denominated bad young men, will continue, more or less, frequently to commit murders and thefts upon the frontier inhabitants; but against that description of Indians, as well as all others, should an alteration of disposition take place, Congress, at the last session, by the augmentation of the military establishment, have enabled the President to give more effectual protection to the frontier citizens than they have hitherto experienced."

* Blount Papers.

† This is believed to be the first intimation of the wise policy, long afterwards recommended by General Jackson, and adopted by the Government, of removing the Indian tribes to the west of the Mississippi.

"Mr. Sevier moved for leave and presented a bill to establish a College at Salem, in Washington county."

The bill establishing "Washington College, in honour of the illustrious President of the United States," was passed and ordered to be engrossed.

"An Act, etc. Whereas, the Legislature of North-Carolina established an academy in Washington county, by the name of Martin Academy, which has continued for ten or twelve years past, under the presidency of the Rev. Samuel Doak, and has been of considerable utility to the public, and affords a prospect of future usefulness, if invested with powers and privileges appertaining to Colleges."

The corporators were the Rev. Samuel Doak, President; the Rev. Charles Cummins, Edward Crawford, John Coson, James Balch, Robert Henderson and Gideon Blackburn; Judge Joseph Anderson; General John Sevier; Colonels Landon Carter and Daniel Kennedy; Majors Leeroy Taylor and John Sevier; John Tipton, William Cocke, Archibald Roane, Joseph Hamilton, John Rhea, Samuel Mitchell, Jesse Payne, James Aiken and William Charles Cole Claiborne, Esquires; Drs. William Holt and William Chester; Messrs. David Deaderick, John Waddle, Jun., Alexander Matthews, John Nelson and John McAllister.

July 7.—In Council. Mr. Sevier, from the Joint Committee appointed for that purpose, offered the following address to the Governor:

"*Sir*:—The members of the Legislative Council, and of the House of Representatives, beg leave to express to your Excellency their approbation of the object for which they were principally called together; and feeling convinced that the great body of our constituents are sensible of the many defects of our present mode of government, and of the great and permanent advantages to be derived from a change and speedy representation in Congress, the General Assembly of this Territory will, during the present session, endeavour to devise such means as may have a tendency to effect that desirable object; and, in doing so, we shall be happy in meeting with your Excellency's concurrence."

1795 The Joint Committee, to whom was referred the report of the Treasurer of Washington and Hamilton Districts, give, in the conclusion of their report, a flattering view of the condition of the finances:

"Your Committee beg leave to observe, that the monies, arising from the tax levied by the last General Assembly, very much exceeds their most sanguine expectations; and that such will be the state of the Treasury Department, that the next tax to be levied may be very much

lessened, and then be fully commensurate and adequate to defray every expenditure and necessary contingency of our government."

The condition of the Treasury, thus favourably indicated through official sources, doubtless had its influence, in determining public sentiment in the Territory to aspire to and assume the higher position of an independent State. The great increase of population, the preference of the inhabitants for a state form of government, and the importance of having an immediate representation of this large section of country in Congress, induced the Assembly to have a census of the people made, so as to ascertain whether the Territory contained sixty thousand people. Upon that question, there was little conflict of opinion. *Non progredi est regredi*, is the Western maxim, and it was apparent that the Territorial Government was approaching its end—a single dissentient was found in the Assembly.

The general sentiment, however, was otherwise, and the Legislature, reflecting the opinion of the people at large, passed an act for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory, in which it was provided, that "if it shall appear that there are sixty thousand inhabitants therein, the Governor be authorized and requested to recommend to the people of the respective counties, to elect five persons of each county to represent them in Convention, to meet at Knoxville at such time as he shall judge proper, for the purpose of forming a constitution or form of government, for the permanent government for the people who are or shall become residents upon the lands by the State of North-Carolina ceded to the United States." The act provides also, "That each member of Convention shall be entitled to receive the same wages as a member of this present session of Assembly."

By an act passed by the Governor, Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Territory, Knox county was divided and Blount county established. William Wallace, Joseph Black, Samuel Glass, David Craig, John Trimble, Alexander Kelly and Samuel Henry, were appointed Commissioners, to select the place for the county seat and erect county buildings. The act names the seat of jus-

tice, Maryville. This was out of respect to Mrs. Mary Blount, the wife of the Governor. The county was thus named for Governor Blount. The first Court was held at the house of Abraham Weaver. Blount county was attached to Hamilton District.

In September, of this year, Blount county Court first met at the house of Abraham Weaver. William Wallace, William Lowry, Oliver Alexander, James Scott, David Craig and George Ewing, produced commissions from Governor Blount, appointing them magistrates for the county. William Wallace was elected Chairman; John McKee, Clerk; Littlepage Simms, Sheriff; William Wallace, Register; Robert Rhea, Coroner.

July 8.—Up to this period, emigrants from North and South-Carolina had continued to reach the Territory, by the then usual channels of travel over the Yellow and Stone Mountains, and sometimes by the Good Spur route through Western Virginia and the valley of the Holston. On the 8th of July, Governor Blount submitted to the Council "several papers, respecting the opening of a wagon road from Buncombe Court-House, in North-Carolina, to this Territory," and recommended this important measure to their consideration. The Council appointed a special committee, Messrs. Sevier and Taylor, with whom the House associated Messrs. Wear, Cocke, Doherty and Taylor, to whom that subject was referred. They report:

"Your Committee, to whom was referred the resolution of the Assembly of South-Carolina, together with Governor Vanderhorst's and Blount's letters, on the subject of cutting and opening a road through the eastern mountains, report the following resolution:

Resolved, That his Excellency, Governor Blount, be authorized and directed to appoint three Commissioners, to meet the three Commissioners appointed by the State of South-Carolina, to deliberate and consult on measures, for the purpose of cutting and opening a road through the eastern mountains, and report unto our next General Assembly the result of their conference; also, the practicability and probable expense of cutting and opening the said road the nearest and best route through the mountains."

The Governor was also authorized to draw "a sum out of the Treasury, not exceeding one hundred dollars," to defray the expense of the Commissioners.

The consideration of other subjects before the Legislature, was postponed. The conviction had become general, that the Territorial would soon be superseded by a State Government, and to its counsels and authority, the present Assembly chose to confide whatever was defective or immature in their own legislation. The session was a short one—but of thirteen days continuance.

The Council informed the House by message, "The business being about to be brought to a close, this evening, we propose that a message be sent to the Governor, informing him of the same, and request to be prorogued,"—which being concurred in by the House, the Governor sent the following message—

"William Blount, Governor in and over the Territory of the United States of America, south of the River Ohio.

"To the President and Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and the Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:—The business of this session being completed, the General Assembly is prorogued, *sine die.*

"Given under my hand and seal, at Knoxville, July 11, 1795.

Wm. Blount.

By the Gov.—Thomas H. Williams, *Pro Sec'y.*"

Governor Blount, in the reception of a liberal salary from the United States Treasury, and from the resources of an ample private fortune, had been able to indulge his disposition to entertain freely and even elegantly. The style of his receptions was, necessarily, below that of Philadelphia and Wilmington, but it was from the condition of things, scarcely less expensive to the liberal host, who, in the infancy of society around and in Knoxville, left no means unemployed to manifest a hospitality at once worthy of the chief magistrate, and creditable to the gentleman. The older citizens still refer to the last years of the Territorial Government, as furnishing models of refinement and etiquette, of gentility and polish, seldom seen in a new community. Not the upstart consequence, and assumed superiority of suddenly acquired wealth and unexpected promotion; but the genuine politeness, ease, grace and cordiality, the result and accompaniment of innate good feelings, sterling worth, and admitted respectability. The court of Governor Blount was

thronged by strangers and gentlemen, visiting the seat of Government from all parts of the Union on business, or for curiosity and pleasure. Levees and entertainments became frequent and crowded. There was wanting, of course, the Parisian saloon, the servants in livery, and all of the exterior of a princely munificent entertainment. But then, there was what is far better—the cordiality and the absence of ceremony, and the warm-hearted and brotherly greeting, without which, all the attraction of conviviality are empty and valueless.

At such assemblages, each guest felt himself the Governor's favourite. Conscious private worth and capacity, and fidelity in the public service, were assured of his regard and his civility, though clad in the plainest garb, or presented in the Hunting shirt or seen in a less imposing exterior. Then

> "'Twas worth that made the man,
> And want of it the fellow."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE STATE OF TENNESSEE.

More than a quarter of a century had now passed, since
1796 { the germ of civilization had been planted by the pio-
{ neers of Tennessee upon the banks of the Watauga. Their progress westward has been given in the preceding pages, with such account of their civil and military annals, and their social advancement, as the limited supply of material within the writer's command, has enabled him to furnish. Under the simplest form of government, the patriarchal system of Robertson and Carter, and their associates on Watauga, we have seen the infancy of Tennessee—auguring bright hope and brilliant expectation for its future. That hope and expectation we have seen gloriously realized in the active participation of the western volunteers in the American Revolution. With the establishment of their National Independence, we have noticed the origin and growth of empire in the West—the wish to govern themselves under a sovereignty purely western. We have traced the rise, progress and fall of the ancient Commonwealth of Franklin. We have given the history of the Territory of the United States south of the River Ohio. In all these varied periods of her growth, we have seen much to admire, little to censure or condemn, in the Annals of our proud State. Here and there a youthful indiscretion or a wrong-doing, which time, reflection and experience, have promptly corrected. Now and then, an act of disobedience, or a feeling of insubordination, soon after atoned for, by dutiful affection and filial regard; always a manly assertion of the rights and privileges of grown-up sons, without a perverse and stubborn disposition to cast off or rebel against rightful authority. An impatience, sometimes, to set up for and govern themselves, rather than wilful disobedience, filial impiety or unfraternal feeling. Her infancy, youth, boyhood, had been well passed,

and Tennessee had now attained the growth, and vigour, and strength, and stately proportions of a full grown manhood. Hereafter she will be noticed as a State, free, independent and sovereign, and a member of the American Union.

In accordance with the provisions of the act of the Territorial Government, of July 11, 1795, an enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory was made. The results of that enumeration are found in the following schedule, as furnished by Governor Blount, and afterwards forwarded by him to George Washington, President of the United States.

TERRITORY OF THE U. STATES OF AMERICA SOUTH OF THE RIVER OHIO.

Schedule of the aggregate amount of each description of persons, taken agreeably to "An act providing for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory of the United States of America south of the River Ohio;" passed July 11, 1795.

	Free white males, 16 years and upwards, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total amount	Yeas.	Nays.
Jefferson County, - -	1,706	2,225	3,021	112	776	7,840	714	316
Hawkins County, - -	2,666	3,279	4,767	147	2,472	13,331	1.651	534
Greene County, - -	1,567	2,203	3,350	52	466	7,638	560	495
Knox County, - -	2,721	2,723	3,664	100	2,365	11,573	1.100	128
Washington County, -	2 013	2,578	4,311	225	978	10,105	873	145
Sullivan County - -	1,803	2,340	3,499	38	777	8,457	715	125
Sevier County, - -	628	1,045	1,503	273	129	3,578	261	55
Blount County, - -	585	817	1,231	00	183	2,816	476	16
Davidson County, - -	728	695	1,192	6	992	3,613	96	517
Sumner County, - -	1,383	1,595	2,316	1	1,076	6,370	00	00
Tennessee County, - -	380	444	700	19	398	1,941	58	231
	16,179	19,944	29,554	973	10,613	77,262	6.504	2,562

I, WILLIAM BLOUNT, Governor in and over the Territory of the United States of America south of the River Ohio, do certify that this schedule is made in conformity with the schedules of the sheriffs of the respective counties in the said Territory, and that the schedules of the said sheriffs are lodged in my office.

Given under my hand, at Knoxville, November 28, 1795.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

From this enumeration it appears, that more than one-third of the voters in the Territory, were opposed to the formation of the State Government. This opposition was strongest in the Cumberland counties: only ninety-six in Davidson, and fifty-eight in Tennessee county, voting in its favour; while east of Cumberland Mountain, the majority for the new State was large, approaching, in Blount and

Sevier, almost to unanimity, occasioned probably by the peculiar situation of their land titles. Governor Blount and the officers of his government, were understood to be decidedly in favour of the State organization, and General Sevier and his adherents zealously so. "Sevier and his Captains" were still omnipotent.

The Territory was found to contain more than the number of inhabitants, requisite by the Ordinance creating it, to authorize the formation of a State Government, and Governor Blount issued his proclamation.

WILLIAM BLOUNT, Governor in and over the Territory of the United States of America south of the River Ohio, to the people thereof;

Whereas, by an act passed on the 11th day of July last, entitled "An act providing for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory of the United States of America south of the River Ohio," it is enacted, "that if upon taking the enumeration of the people in the said Territory as by that directed, it shall appear that there are sixty thousand inhabitants therein, counting the whole of the free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, and adding three-fifths of all other persons, the Governor be authorized and requested to recommend to the people of the respective counties to elect five persons for each county, to represent them in convention, to meet at Knoxville, at such time, as he shall judge proper, for the purpose of forming a constitution or permanent form of government."

And whereas, upon taking the enumeration of the inhabitants of the said Territory, as by the act directed, it does appear that there are sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, and more, besides other persons: Now I, the said William Blount, Governor, &c., do recommend to the people of the respective counties to elect five persons for each county, on the 18th and 19th days of December next, to represent them in a convention to meet at Knoxville, on the 11th day of January next, for the purpose of forming a constitution or permanent form of government.

And to the end that a perfect uniformity in the election of the members of convention may take place in the respective counties, I, the said William Blount, Governor, &c., do further recommend to the sheriffs or their deputies, respectively, to open and hold polls of election for members of convention, on the 18th and 19th days of December, as aforesaid, in the same manner as polls of election have heretofore been held for members of the General Assembly; and that all free males, twenty-one years of age and upwards, be considered entitled to vote by ballot for five persons for members of convention; and that the sheriffs or their deputies, holding such polls of election, give certificates to the five persons in each county, having the greatest number of votes, of their being duly elected members of convention.

And I, the said William Blount, Governor, &c., think proper here to declare, that this recommendation is not intended to have, nor ought to have, any effect whatever upon the present temporary form of government; and that the present temporary form will continue to be exercised in the same manner as if it had never been issued, until the convention shall have formed and published a constitution or permanent form of government.

Done at Knoxville, November twenty-eight, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

WM. BLOUNT.

By the Gov.—WILLIE BLOUNT, *Pro Secretary.*

In accordance with this proclamation, elections were held for five members of Convention, from each of the eleven counties in the Territory. These assembled on the day appointed, Jan. 11, at Knoxville.

Besides the members, there was an immense gathering of the more enlightened, patriotic and influential citizens, from all parts of the Territory, and some from other states. Knoxville had never before contained more intelligence and weight of character. The occasion demanded wisdom and moderation, public spirit and public virtue—and these were there.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION OF 1796.

The following members appeared at Knoxville, produced their credentials, and took their seats, to wit:

From the County of Blount—David Craig, James Greenaway, Joseph Black, Samuel Glass, James Houston.

From the County of Davidson—John McNairy, Andrew Jackson, James Robertson, Thomas Hardeman, Joel Lewis.

From the County of Greene—Samuel Frazier, Stephen Brooks, William Rankin, John Galbreath, Elisha Baker.

From the County of Hawkins—James Berry, Thomas Henderson, Joseph McMinn, William Cocke, Richard Mitchell.*

From the County of Jefferson—Alexander Outlaw, Joseph Anderson, George Doherty, William Roddye, Archibald Roane.

* Mr. Mitchell still survives, and is believed to be the only living member of the Convention of 1796.

From the County of Knox—William Blount, James White, Charles McClung, John Adair, John Crawford.

From the County of Sullivan—George Rutledge, William C. C. Claiborne, John Shelby, Jun., John Rhea, Richard Gammon.

From the County of Sevier—Peter Bryan, Samuel Wear, Spencer Clack, John Clack, Thomas Buckenham.

From the County of Tennessee—Thomas Johnston, James Ford, William Fort, Robert Prince, William Prince.

From the County of Washington—Landon Carter, John Tipton, Leeroy Taylor, James Stuart, Samuel Handley.

From the County of Sumner—D. Shelby, Isaac Walton, W. Douglass, Edward Douglass, Daniel Smith.

The Convention proceeded to the choice of a President, when William Blount was unanimously elected and conducted to the chair. William Maclin was chosen secretary, and John Sevier, Jun., reading and engrossing clerk. John Rhea was appointed door-keeper.

On motion of Mr. White, seconded by Mr. Roddye,—Ordered—That the session commence to-morrow with prayer, and a sermon to be delivered by Rev. Mr. Carrick.

The rules for the government of the Convention were, with slight modifications, the same that had been adopted by the House of Representatives of the Territorial Assembly, Aug. 6, 1794.

The per diem of the *members* of the Convention had been fixed by the Territorial Legislature, at two dollars and a half; no provision, however, had been made for the pay of its *secretary, printer, and other officers.*

The Convention, on the second day of its session, exhibited a singular instance of disinterestedness and economy.

"On motion of Mr. Claiborne, seconded by Mr. Rutledge:

Resolved, That economy is an amiable trait in any government, and that in fixing the salaries of the officers thereof, the situation and resources of the country should be attended to.

Resolved, That ten shillings and sixpence, Virginia currency, per day to every member, is a sufficient compensation for his services in the Convention, and one dollar for every thirty miles they travel in coming to and returning from the Convention; and that the members pledge

themselves, each one to the other, that they will not draw a greater sum out of the public treasury."

The second resolution was amended by substituting one dollar and fifty cents for ten shillings and sixpence, Virginia currency, and, thus amended, was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. Robertson, seconded by Mr. Ford,

"*Resolved*, That the House proceed to appoint two members from each county, to draft a constitution, and that each county name their members."

Messrs. Craig and Black were nominated for Blount.

"	McNairy and Jackson	"	Davidson.
"	Frazier and Rankin	"	Greene.
"	Cocke and Henderson	"	Hawkins.
"	Anderson and Roddye	"	Jefferson.
"	Blount and McClung	"	Knox.
"	Claiborne and Rhea	"	Sullivan.
"	Shelby and Smith	"	Sumner.
"	Wear and John Clack,	"	Sevier.
"	Johnston and Fort	"	Tennessee.
"	Tipton and Stuart	"	Washington.

"On motion of Mr. McMinn, the opinion of the House was taken, whether a Bill of Rights be prefixed to the Constitution; and having decided that in the affirmative, the House directed the Committee to present as early as possible a Declaration or Bill of Rights, to be prefixed to the Constitution."

Mr. Smith, Chairman, presented to the Convention a draft of the Bill of Rights. It was considered in Committee of the Whole, Mr. Robertson in the chair. In like manner, a draft of the Constitution was, on the 27th of January, "delivered in at the Secretary's table and read." The next day it was taken up, referred to the Committee of the Whole, and considered and amended until the 6th of February, when "the engrossed copy of the Constitution was read and passed unanimously."

The debates of the Convention are not given in the Journal. They are not to be found elsewhere. A single member of that patriotic body survives. Accounts, therefore, of its more minute transactions are meagre, and the details of

the views of members, and their position upon subjects about which a conflict of sentiment had arisen, can be gathered only from the ayes and noes—as occasionally called for during the session—and from the recollections of the few surviving contemporaries of these sages of 1796.

The session of the Convention was short, extending to only twenty-seven days. Its deliberations are said to have been marked by great moderation and unusual harmony, and to have been conducted throughout with singular courtesy, good feeling and liberality. The speeches of members were, therefore, probably few and short. They had met more with the purpose of deliberating for the public good, than for the exhibition of talents and eloquence.

Early in the session, Mr. Outlaw presented a grave question to the Convention, viz: "whether the Legislature consist of two Houses." In Committee of the Whole, it was decided in the affirmative. On motion of Mr. McNairy, seconded by Mr. Cocke, a question of equal gravity was next considered, viz: "whether the two branches in the Legislature shall consist of equal numbers and of equal powers, and if the whole number elected should be odd, then by ballot to determine to which House the odd member belongs." In Committee of the Whole, it was determined "that the legislative power be vested in two Houses, of equal numbers and of equal powers;" and so reported to the Convention. This report was, however, re-considered the next day, on motion of Mr. McNairy, and seconded by Mr. Rhea, and "amended so as to read as follows: in lieu of the words, two Houses, insert one House of Representatives, and that no bill or resolution shall be passed, unless by two-thirds of the whole number of members present." This amendment was concurred in by the Convention, but the next morning a re-consideration was again ordered, on motion of Mr. Roddye, seconded by Mr. Fort, and "two branches, a Senate and House of Representatives," again inserted. This amendment, too, was adopted by the Committee, on motion of Mr. Cocke, seconded by Mr. Jackson. "Mr. Anderson moved that the report of the Committee be amended, by striking out the word *Senate*, which passed in the negative."

"It was then moved by Mr. Claiborne, and seconded by

Mr. Carter, that the report be amended as follows: that the Senate have only a qualified negative, and that a bill, notwithstanding their dissent, shall become a law, provided two-thirds of the House of Representatives concur in its passage, which passed in the negative."

Later in the session, "it was moved by Mr. Outlaw, and seconded by Mr. Anderson, whether it is the sense of this House, that if we should not be admitted by Congress as a member State of the General Government, that we should continue to exist as an independent State." "Mr. Cocke moved the postponement of the question, which was objected to; the question was then put, and carried in the affirmative."

An ineffectual attempt was made by Mr. Henderson, to extend the right of suffrage to "all persons who have done duty in the militia;" and by Mr. Outlaw, "to all persons liable by law to do militia duty;" and by Mr. Anderson, to change the system of voting by ballot to the *viva voce* plan.

The original draft of the Constitution, provided, in

"Article VIII, Sec. 1.—*Whereas*, the ministers of the Gospel are, by their professions, dedicated to God and the care of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions; therefore, no minister of the Gospel, or priest of any denomination whatever, shall, under any pretence or description, be eligible to or capable of holding any civil or military office, or place of trust, within this state." On motion of Mr. Carter, seconded by Mr. Jackson, this was amended, so as to read after the word "eligible, to a seat in either branch of the Legislature."

It was through the efforts of William Blount, that the Convention adopted the 29th section of the Bill of Rights—"That an equal participation of the free navigation of the Mississippi, is one of the inherent rights of the citizens of this State; it cannot, therefore, be conceded to any prince, potentate, power, person or persons whatever.*

In section 31st of the Bill of Rights, adopted with the Constitution, it is provided—"That the people residing south of French Broad and Holston, between the Rivers Tennessee and Big Pigeon, are entitled to the right of pre-emption and occupancy in that tract." This right was secured to them by the framers of the Constitution, in consideration of the value to the country of these settlements. These brave pioneers had extended themselves as a barrier between the

* Blount Papers.

older settlements and the Indians—maintaining their ground, without titles to their lands, from 1783 to 1790; living there, part of this interim, without the benefit of law, enduring trouble, encountering danger, and exposed to pillage, massacre and death. The privilege of pre-emption was richly deserved.

A further privilege was granted to these inhabitants. "Until a Land Office shall be opened, so as to enable the citizens south of French Broad and Holston, between the Rivers Tennessee and Big Pigeon, to obtain titles upon their claims of occupancy and pre-emption, those who hold land, by virtue of such claims, shall be eligible to serve in all capacities where a freehold is, by this Constitution, made a requisite qualification."

It is tradition, that the beautiful name given to our State, in the Convention, was suggested by General Jackson. The members from the county of *Tennessee* consented to the loss of that name, if it should be transferred to the whole State. Its principal river still retained its aboriginal name, and the Convention adopted it, in preference to others that were spoken of. In euphony and smoothness, it compares well with those of her sister coterminous states, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri and Kentucky; and, at the same time, is more American, less European, than her venerable mother, Carolina, or Virginia and Georgia.

The Convention had approached nearly to the end of its labours, Saturday, February 6, 1796.

"Mr. McClung, Chairman of the Committee appointed to draw up an estimate of the expenses of the Convention, reported the following estimate of the wages of the Convention, clerks and door-keeper, began and held at Knoxville on the 11th day of January, and ending the 6th day of February, 1796, allowing one dollar and fifty cents per day for each member, and one dollar for every thirty miles' travelling to and returning from the same, agreeably to a unanimous resolution of the Convention of the 12th January; two dollars and fifty cents per day to the clerks, and two dollars to the door-keeper."

In addition to the per diem of the members and officers of the Convention, an estimate was made

For seats for the Convention. - - -	$10 00
Three and a half yards of oil cloth, - - -	2 62

So small was the expenditure of a primitive people for the furniture of the Convention Chamber, and the covering of the President's and Secretary's tables. They were in exact correspondence with the room in which the session was held. It was the office of David Henley, Esq., Agent of the Department of War, a small building then in the outer part of Knoxville, and still surrounded by standing trees of the ancient forest. It was afterwards used as a school house. The older citizens can point out to the curious where the old Convention-house stood, but no vestige of it has been preserved. The vandalism of modern times has razed its foundation, and consigned it to oblivion.

The Convention had generously relinquished a large proportion of the daily pay of its own members, and they recommended the application of that amount to the following purposes:

"*Resolved*, That it is the unanimous wish of the members of this Convention, that the monies appropriated to their use by law, and not by them received, may be appropiated by the General Assembly to the payment of the secretary, clerk, printer and door-keeper, or so much thereof as will be sufficient to pay them for their services; and that the printer be directed to print fifty copies of the Constitution, and ten copies of the Journal for each county, to be delivered to the members of this Convention, and by them to be distributed for the information and benefit of the citizens."*

The President of the Convention was instructed "to take the Constitution into his safe keeping, until a Secretary shall be appointed and qualified to office under it, and then to deliver it to him," and also to "forward, as early as practicable, by an express, a copy to the Secretary of State for the United States." The President was further "authorized and directed to issue writs of election to Sheriffs of the several counties, for holding the first election of members of the General Assembly, and a Governor, under the authority of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee, to bear test of this date."

* This small edition was, of course, soon exhausted, and at the time of this writing, a copy can scarcely be found. The writer is indebted, for the copy now before him, to the politeness and research of the Hon. Chancellor Reese, President of the East Tennessee Historical and Antiquarian Society.

Agreeably to these instructions of the Convention, the President promptly forwarded, on the 9th of February, a copy of the Constitution to Mr. Pickering, as Secretary of State. It was sent by one of the members from Hawkins county, Joseph McMinn, Esq., who was instructed to remain long enough at the seat of the Federal Government, to ascertain whether the members of Congress from Tennessee would be allowed to take their seats in the National Legislature. Mr. White, the Territorial delegate in that body, was urged by Mr. McMinn, to apply for the admission of the State of Tennessee into the Union.

The Constitution of the State of Tennessee, as formed by the Convention of 1796, need not be here given, as it is to be found at large in several political compilations. It is admitted to be one of the very best—Mr. Jefferson said, "the least imperfect and most republican"—of the systems of government adopted by any of the American States. For about forty years it was considered so unobjectionable, and so satisfactory to the people of Tennessee, that all efforts to amend it failed to receive their sanction till 1835, when it was changed, and the present Constitution substituted in its stead.

FIRST LEGISLATURE OF TENNESSEE.

Writs of election, bearing date the 6th of February, were issued by the President of the Convention to the Sheriffs of the several counties, requiring them to hold the first election of members of the General Assembly, and Governor of the State of Tennessee, and designating the 28th of March, as the day on which the new Legislature of the new State should assemble. The election was held accordingly, and the members elect were furnished by the returning officers of their respective counties with the necessary credentials. Upon the day appointed, the Legislature met at Knoxville. The following members constituted the

SENATE.

James Ford, from the county of Tennessee.
James Winchester, " Sumner.

James White,	from the county of	Knox.
George Doherty,	"	Jefferson.
Samuel Frazier,	"	Greene.
John Tipton,	"	Washington.
George Rutledge,	"	Sullivan.
John Clack,	"	Sevier.
Alexander Kelly,	"	Blount.
Joel Lewis,	"	Davidson.
Joseph McMinn,	"	Hawkins.

Mr. White proposed for Speaker, James Winchester, Esq., who was unanimously chosen and conducted to the chair.

March 29.—Francis A. Ramsey was appointed Clerk; Nathaniel Buckingham, Assistant Clerk; Thomas Bounds, Door-keeper.

The House of Representatives.

James Houston and Joseph Black, from the county of Blount.

Robert Weakley and Seth Lewis, from the county of Davidson.

Joseph Conway and John Gass, from the county of Greene.

John Cocke and Thomas Henderson, from the county of Hawkins.

Alexander Outlaw and Adam Peck, from the county of Jefferson.

John Menefee and John Crawford, from the county of Knox.

John Rhea and David Looney, from the county of Sullivan.

Spencer Clack and Samuel Newell, from the county of Sevier.

Stephen Cantrell and William Montgomery, from the county of Sumner.

Thomas Johnston and William Ford, from the county of Tennessee.

John Blair and James Stuart, from the county of Washington.

James Stuart was unanimously chosen Speaker; Thomas H. Williams, Clerk; John Sevier, Jun., Assistant Clerk; John Rhea, Door-keeper.

The organization of the two Houses being thus com-

pleted, communications were exchanged between them, that each was ready to proceed to business.

The two Houses met in the Representative Chamber, for the purpose of opening and publishing the returns of the elections in the several counties for Governor. From these, "it appears that citizen John Sevier is duly and constitutionally elected Governor of this State, which was accordingly announced by the Speaker of the Senate, in presence of both Houses of the General Assembly."

The same day, a Joint Committee, viz: Lewis, Ford and Kelly, of the Senate, and Outlaw, Blair, Cocke, Johnston, Newell and Fort, of the House, was raised, "to wait on his Excellency John Sevier, and request his attendance in the House of Representatives, to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, to be qualified agreeably to the Constitution of the State of Tennessee."

Another Joint Committee was directed also to wait upon Governor Blount, to inform him of the time and place appointed for the qualification of his successor in office, and to request his attendance there. By another Committee an oath of office was prescribed, to be administered to the Governor elect. Some conflict of opinion existed between the two Houses, respecting the qualification of the Governor by the Judges, the Senate insisting that that duty devolved upon their Clerk. Upon a reconsideration, however, the Senate concurred in appointing a Committee "to wait upon the Judges, and request their attendance to qualify the Governor."

March 30th.—"Both Houses having convened in the Representative Chamber, the several oaths prescribed were duly administered by the Honourable Joseph Anderson."

After his inauguration, Governor Sevier presented the following address:

"*Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:*—The high and honourable appointment conferred upon me by the free suffrage of my countrymen, fills my breast with gratitude, which, I trust, my future life will manifest. I take this early opportunity to express, through you, my thanks in the strongest terms of acknowledgment. I shall labour to discharge with fidelity the trust reposed in me; and if such my exertions should prove satisfactory, the first wish of my heart will be gratified.

"Gentlemen—accept of my best wishes for your individual and public happiness; and, relying upon your wisdom and patriotism, I have no doubt but the result of your deliberations will give permanency and success to our new system of government, so wisely calculated to secure the liberty, and advance the happiness and prosperity of our fellow citizens. JOHN SEVIER."

The machinery of the new State was not yet fully in motion. Its Legislature was organized and in session—its Governor had just been inaugurated according to the forms prescribed by the Constitution—but its sovereignty was not represented in the councils of the Union. The duty remained unperformed, of electing Senators for the State of Tennessee to the Congress of the United States. The mode adopted, in 1796, was somewhat different from that which obtains in the present day.

"*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Senate:*—This House propose to proceed to the election of the two Senators to represent this State in the Congress of the United States, and that the Senate and House of Representatives do convene in the House of Representatives for that purpose to-morrow, at 10 o'clock, and do propose Mr. William Blount, Mr. William Cocke and Mr. Joseph Anderson, as candidates for the Senate."

The Senate replied:

"*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen:*—We concur with your message as to the time and place of the election by you proposed, and propose Dr. James White* to be added to the nomination, as a candidate for the Senate.

"The Senate and House of Representatives having convened in the Representative Chamber, William Blount and William Cocke were duly and constitutionally elected."

A Joint Committee was then appointed "to prepare an address to Messrs. William Blount and William Cocke, informing them of their being elected to represent this State in the Congress of the United States." Mr. White, Chairman of that Committee, reported the following address:

Citizen WILLIAM BLOUNT, late Governor of the Territory of the United States of America, south of the River Ohio:

Sir:—Impressed with the grateful remembrance of your conduct during the time you was Governor of the Territory south of the River Ohio, now the State of Tennessee, the General Assembly of the said

* Judge Anderson and Dr. White were subsequently withdrawn by messages duly interchanged between the two Houses.

State, in the name of the people thereof, over whom you formerly presided, embrace the earliest moment to testify to you their entire approbation of your conduct and attention to promote their happiness during your continuance in that office, the exercise of which was rendered more difficult and arduous, by the frequent inroads of the neighbouring nations of Indians. We recollect, with pleasure, that under your administration, we, as a people, have experienced growing energy and increasing power. That your exertions, in subordination to the Federal Government, have been the cause of the present peace, which for some time past, has existed between us and the adjoining Indian tribes, and which, we hope, will long exist, on the principles you have established.

The Territorial Government now being ended, we will only say, in respect thereof, that if the exercise, alone, of a Government, constituted on the principles it was, could render a people happy under it, we should have been so. We rejoice that while the Territorial Government has closed with honour to you, it has left us in a state of prosperity and peace.

You are now, sir, called by the unanimous voice of a free people, to represent them in the Senate of the United States of America—the highest proof in their power to offer, of their confidence in your integrity and ability to serve them.

JAMES WHITE, Chairman.

To the other Senator elect, the committee presented the following address:

Citizen William Cocke:—Your fellow-citizens have called you to represent them in the Senate of the United States of America. Impressed with recollections of your past conduct, from an early period of the settlement of our common country, they have given you this testimony of the confidence they repose in your integrity and abilities to serve them.

JAMES WHITE, Chairman.

To these addresses, citizen Blount and citizen Cocke replied. Mr. Blount says:

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Senate, and Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

The entire approbation of the people, of my conduct in office, by you testified, is the highest reward I could receive. Accept, gentlemen, my thanks for the prompt and warm manner in which you have been pleased to convey it to me.

With you I hope that the peace which exists between the citizens of the United States and the Indian tribes will long continue; as in peace consists the happiness and prosperity of both parties; and thus impressed, it shall be my duty, in whatever situation I may be placed, to use my efforts to its preservation.

I feel, as I ought, the unanimous call of my fellow-citizens, to represent them in the Senate of the United States, and shall devote myself

to the promotion of their interests, as far as is consistent with that of the whole body politic, of which they are a part.

Accept, gentlemen, my best wishes for your individual happiness.

WM. BLOUNT.

Mr. Cocke's reply:

Gentlemen:—I accept of the appointment conferred upon me by the General Assembly. It will be my first, my greatest wish, to promote the interests of our common country. The honour of serving a free and enlightened people, is truly flattering, and my highest reward will consist in my conduct continuing to meet their approbation.

Accept, gentlemen, my respects.

WILLIAM COCKE.

JAMES WINCHESTER, S. S.,
JAMES STUART, S. H. R.

William Maclin was elected Secretary of State; John McNairy, Willie Blount* and Archibald Roane were elected Judges of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity.

Landon Carter was elected Treasurer of the Districts of Washington and Hamilton, and William Black, Treasurer of the District of Mero.

The condition of the citizens of Tennessee inhabiting the section of the State south of French Broad and Holston, was peculiar. It had been settled partly under treaties with the Indians, held under the authority of the State of Franklin. The inhabitants were yet without perfect titles to their lands, and holding them only by the right of occupancy, were apprehensive of future disturbance. Governor Sevier early brought the subject before the Legislature by the following message:

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Legislature:

Permit me to remark to your honourable body, that, as our Senators are about to proceed to the Federal Legislature, it may not be inexpedient to remind them of the necessity of taking under consideration, the embarrassed situation, claimants of land are under, to those south of the line concluded on in the treaty of Holston, and now within the Indian boundary.

In my humble opinion, it is a matter of great public importance, and particularly interesting to the State and to individuals, to either have the

*John McNairy declined this appointment, and Howell Tatum, Esq., of Davidson, was commissioned in his place, May 12th, 1797. Willie Blount also declined, and his place was filled by W. C. C. Claiborne, of Sullivan county, commissioned September 28th, 1796. April 9th, 1796.—John C. Hamilton, Esq., was appointed Attorney for the State, vice Howell Tatum, appointed Judge.

Indian claims extinguished, or the adventurers compensated for their lands.

I have no doubt but you will take the premises under due deliberation, and give your Senators such instructions as you, in your wisdom, may deem necessary and advisable.

JOHN SEVIER.

The subject was at once referred to a Select Committee, who reported the following resolution—

Resolved, That it be an instruction to the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States, to state to that body, that it is essential to the preservation of peace, between the Indian Tribes and the United States, that measures be by them taken to relieve and quiet the grantees of lands under the State of North-Carolina, the possession of which is guaranteed to the Indians by treaty, which claim we wish extinguished, and the claimants put in peaceable possession of their lands.

THOMAS JOHNSON, Ch.

The bill to preclude persons of a certain description, from being admitted as witnesses, &c., was then taken up, to which Mr. Gass proposed the following amendment: Be it enacted, by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee—That from and after the passing of this Act, if any person in this State shall publicly deny the being of a God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, or shall publicly deny the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments, on being convicted thereof, by the testimony of two witnesses, shall forfeit and pay the sum of dollars for every such offence, etc.

The foregoing amendment being received, the question was taken on the passage of the amended bill, which was carried. Whereupon the yeas and nays were called for—

Yeas.—Blair, Black, Conway, Clack, Crawford, Gass, Houston, Johnson, Looney, Montgomery, Newell, Outlaw, Peck and Weakley.

Nays.—Cantrell, Cocke, Fort, Henderson, Lewis, Menefee and Rhea.

Mr. Lewis entered the following protest—

To this question we enter our dissent, as we conceived the law to be an inferior species of persecution, which is always a violation of the law of nature; and also that it is a violation of our constitution.

SETH LEWIS,
JOHN COCKE,
WILLIAM FORT,
JOHN RHEA,
STEPHEN CANTRELL,
JOHN MENEFEE,
THOMAS HENDERSON.

The bill, with the amendment, was, upon its first reading in the Senate, rejected.

Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, were elected by joint ballot of the two Houses, and

not by the people, as now provided for in Tennessee and most of the other States. Joseph Greer, Daniel Smith, Hugh Neilson and Joseph Anderson, were elected.

Upon the same day, Hopkins Lacy was elected Attorney-General for Washington District; John Lowry for Hamilton, and Howell Tatum, for Mero District.

The day preceding the adjournment of the Legislature, Governor Sevier, by message, brought to the attention of the Legislature, the condition of the frontier, and recommended friendship with the Indians, as the principal mode of security and defence. He notices the large emigration to the State, and that the soldiers of the late campaigns were still unpaid for their services; he proposes, with the leave of the Legislature, to attend in person at the next session of Congress, to urge upon that body the payment to the troops for their hazardous and toilsome services."

To which a Joint Committee, appointed for that purpose, replied—That while they were sensible of the necessity of preserving the existing peace, and were most solicitous that Congress should not only provide for the defence of the frontier, but also make full compensation for the payment of the troops heretofore employed in that service, yet they did not advise the visit of the Governor to Congress, and suggested that the duty he proposed to assume in that behalf, should be devolved on the members of Congress from Tennessee.

At this session, Tennessee county was divided, and the counties of Robertson and Montgomery established out of its territory. The former was so named in honour of General James Robertson, the patriarch of Watauga and the founder of the Cumberland settlements. He was a native of North-Carolina, and emigrated to Watauga in 1769. These Annals have abounded with incidents of his life, performed in the civil, political and military service of his country, in every period of difficulty, embarrassment and danger. His efforts, in a more private capacity, to benefit his fellow-citizens were disinterested, great and unremitted. "He treated the Indians, when known enemies, as the enemies of his country; when known friends of peace, as its friends. His fellow men he treated as such, according to known

merit—for the errors of the misguided, he exercised charity to a proper extent—those hardened in vice, he let the law punish. He practised virtue, and encouraged it in others; vice he discountenanced, by precept and by example. His house, and all he had, were opened freely to the distressed of every condition. He loved his friends, and he held his enemies at defiance. To his wife he was indebted for a knowledge of the alphabet, and for instruction how to read and write. To his Creator he was indebted for rich mental endowments—to himself, for mental improvement. To his God was he indebted for that firmness and indomitable courage, which the circumstances that surrounded him, called so constantly into exercise,"* Besides the civil and political positions which General Robertson occupied, as already mentioned, in the Watauga Association, in the Legislature and Convention of North-Carolina, the Territory, and the State of Tennessee, he was Deputy Superintendent on the part f the United States, for the Chickasaw and Choctaw Tribes; and was several times appointed to treat with the southern Indians, for a relinquishment of their claims to land in the South-west. Previous to and at the time of his death, Gen. Robertson was the United States Agent to the Chickasaw nation. A detail of his acts in behalf of his country, and an enumeration of his sufferings, by personal exposure, in the wilderness, in the field of battle, in the besieged fort and the assaulted station, in losses of relatives and of private pro perty, would fill a volume. He was faithful to his God, his country and his fellow men. The memory of no one is held in greater esteem and veneration, than that of James Robertson.

William Johnston, Sen., James Norflet, John Young, John Donelson and Samuel Crocket, were Commisioners to lay off the county seat for Robertson County. The first court was held at the house of Jacob McCarty. The county was attached to Mero District. On the 20th of April, Springfield was established as the seat of justice for Robertson county.

Montgomery embraced the remainder of Tennessee county,

* Blount's Papers.

and was called after Col. John Montgomery, a native of Virginia. He emigrated early to the West, and became a member of the North-Carolina Legislature, and also of the Convention of that State, which ratified the Constitution of the United States. Besides the civil appointments which he filled, he was colonel of the militia of his county, and led more than two hundred of his fellow soldiers in the Nickajack campaign. He was a patriot and a hero, and lost his life in giving protection to the frontier. Clarkesville, the county seat, was so called in honour of Gen. George Rogers Clarke. George Neville, Sen., Francis Prince, Heyden Wells, Robert Edmonson and Robert Dunning, were appointed by the Legislature, to erect public buildings in Clarkesville.

April 9.—The Legislature divided, again, the mother county, Washington, and established Carter county. Landon Carter, Reuben Thornton, Andrew Greer, Sen., Zachariah Campbell and David McNabb, were Commissioners to select the site for the court-house, and to erect county buildings, The first court was held at the house of Samuel Tipton. Carter county was attached to Washington District. Carter county was thus named, in honour of General Landon Carter ; he was a native of Virginia, emigrated at an early day, with his father, Col. John Carter, to the wilds of Watauga. He was educated at Liberty Hall, Mecklenburg county, North-Carolina, and became qualified for the wide range of duties afterwards assigned him by his countrymen. He was brave, prompt and useful, in repelling Indian invasion and attack. He was a member of the Franklin Convention and Legislature, its Secretary of State, and Treasurer of Washington District under the Territorial Government He was a member of the Convention of 1796, and afterwards Treasurer of Washington District for the State of Tennessee.

The seat of justice for Carter county, was named Elizabethton, in honour of Elizabeth, the wife of General Carter.

April 23.—Additional Commissioners, for the regulation and management of the town of Jonesboro', were appointed, viz : David Deaderick, Sen., John Sevier, Jun., Christopher Taylor, John Tipton, Adam Reader, John Blair, John Adams,

William Chester, Allen Gillespie, Thomas Embree and Robert Allison.

Grainger county was laid off April 22, 1796. David Hayley, Major Lea, Benjamin McCarty, Bartley Marshall and James Blair, Jun., were appointed Commissioners, to lay off a town and erect county buildings. First court was held at the house of Benjamin McCarty. John Cocke and William Payne were appointed to run the boundary line. October 28, 1797, the county seat was established, and called Rutledge, in honour of George Rutledge, Esq., of Sullivan county.

Grainger county, was so called, for Mary Grainger, the wife of Governor William Blount. She was a native of North-Carolina, and arrived on Watauga at the commencement of the Territorial Government. After Knoxville became the residence of the Governor, many of the friendly chiefs paid frequent visits to the new capital; and Mrs. Blount became much interested in them, and used her address and persuasion, to induce them to restrain their young warriors from further aggression upon the frontier people. With these she was a deserved favourite. Fort Grainger, at the mouth of Tennessee, was also called for Mrs. Blount. She was an accomplished lady, and she did much to soften and refine the manners of the first inhabitants of Knoxville. Under her administration, a grace and a charm was given to the society of the place—the more remarkable and attractive from the external circumstances under which they were, from the necessity of the case, exhibited in the new town upon a distant frontier.

George Rutledge was elected Brigadier-General, in place of General Sevier, and James Winchester, Brigadier-General, in place of General Robertson; and George Conway, Major-General. He was succeeded by Andrew Jackson.

The Committee of Finance reported the following statement of the public funds:

Amount received by the Treasurer of Washington and Hamilton Districts, - - - - -	$6,380 63
Amount disbursed, - - - - - -	5,838 03
Leaving balance in the Treasury of - - -	542 60

Amount brought forward, - - - - -		542 60
Amount received by the Treasurer of Mero District, - - -	$4,900 37	
Disbursements, - - -	2,297 33	
Leaving in the Treasury of Mero District, - -		2,603 04
Unexpended and on hand, - - - - -		$3,145 64

Subjoined will be found the captions of some of the Acts, passed at this first session of the Tennessee Legislature.

1. An Act, ascertaining the number of Judges of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity, fixing their salaries, &c.

4. Amending an Act for the promotion of Learning in Davidson County.

6. Establishing a Treasury Department.

10. Directing the mode of electing members to Congress. This Act divides the State into two divisions, to be called the Holston and the Cumberland divisions; each of which is entitled to one Representative to Congress.

11. Providing for the appointment, by the Legislature, of Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States.

17. Providing for the payment of the Governor, (gives him, annually, seven hundred and fifty dollars,) and directing the place of his residence.

18. Making compensation of one dollar and seventy-five cents, for each day, to every member of the Legislature, and a like sum for every twenty-five miles travel, in going and returning; and to the clerks and other officers, a corresponding amount.

29. Amendatory of an Act for the establishment of Nashville. The ninth section of this act authorizes the Trustees of said town to execute a deed to a religious society, for a site for a meeting-house, "with the express limitations following, viz: said meeting-house shall be and remain to the use of the said society, so far only as to give a right to their ministers to preach therein; but shall not extend to authorize them to debar or deny to any other denomination of Christians the liberty of preaching therein, unless when immediately occupied by the said society."

Governor Sevier, after the establishment of the State Government, proceeded to issue commissions to all the civil and military officers in all the counties of the State. The names of the magistrates, in Washington county, at the first court after the State Constitution was formed, are James Stuart, John Tipton, John Weir, John Adams, John Strain, Henry Nelson, Joseph Young, Joseph Crouch, William Nelson, Robert Blair, Jesse Payne, Isaac Depreve, Charles

McCray, Samuel Wood, Jacob Brown, John Alexander, Joseph Brittain, John Norwood and John Hammer.

The first court held for Sevier county, under the Constitution of the State of Tennessee, was begun and held at the Court House in Sevierville, July 4.

1796.—The Justices were Samuel Newell, Joshua Gist, Joseph Wilson, Joseph Vance, Robert Pollock, Peter Bryant, Mordecai Lewis, John Clack, Robert Calvert, Andrew Cowan, Adam Wilson, James Riggin, Alexander Montgomery, Jesse Griffin and Isam Green. Samuel Wear was appointed Clerk; Thomas Buckingham Sheriff; James McMahon, Register; James D. Puckett, Coroner; Alexander Montgomery, Ranger.

TAVERN RATES.—Rum per half pint, 25 cents; Wine do.; French Brandy and Gin, do.; Peach Brandy, 12½; Whiskey, 8⅓; Beer per quart, 8⅓; Cider, 12½; Metheglin, 12½.

DIETS.—Breakfast, 16⅔; dinner, 21; supper, 16⅔; lodging, 5; horse per night, fodder or hay, 12½; oats or corn, per gallon, 8⅓; pasturage, twenty-four hours, 8⅓.

May, 1796.—Governor Sevier commissioned justices in Jefferson county, viz: George Doherty, James Roddye, Josiah Jackson, Thos. Snoddy, Garret Fitzgerald, Parmenas Taylor, John Blackburn, A. Henderson, Abednego Inman, John McNabb, Abraham McCay, Adam Peck, Wm. Con, James Wilson, Wm. Lillard, David Stuart, Ebenezer Lith, Joseph McCollah, Samuel Jacks, Adam Meek, George Evans, James Lea, Alexander Outlaw, John Gore. Jos. Hamilton, Clerk; Robert McFarland, Sheriff; Samuel Lyle, Register.

Second Monday, May, 1796.—Court of Greene county met. Daniel Kennedy was elected Clerk; George Conway, Sheriff; and James Dunwoody, Register.

ACTION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ON THE ADMISSION OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE, AS ONE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Soon after the rise of the Convention of 1796, its President, Governor Blount, communicated a copy of the Constitution, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Pickering. His letter is dated

KNOXVILLE, February 9th, 1796.

Sir:—As Governor, it is my duty, and as President of the Convention, I am instructed, by a resolution of that body, to forward to you, express, a copy of the constitution formed for the permanent government of the State of Tennessee, which you will herewith receive by the hands of Major Joseph McMinn, of Hawkins county, who was himself a member of the Convention.

The sixth section of the first article will inform you that the first General Assembly to be held under this constitution is to commerce on the last Monday in March next. The object of the Convention, in determining on this early day, is a representation in the Congress of the Uni-

ted States before the termination of the present session. And the third section of the schedule will inform you how long it is contemplated, the temporary form of Government shall continue.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, Esq., *Secretary of State, Philadelphia.*

On the eighth of April, the President communicated this letter, with its enclosures, to Congress—accompanying them with the following message:

UNITED STATES, April 8th, 1796.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

By an Act of Congress passed on the 26th of May, 1790, it was declared that the inhabitants of the Territory of the United States south of the River Ohio, should enjoy all the privileges, benefits and advantages set forth in the ordinance of Congress for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio, and that the Government of the said Territory south of the Ohio, should be similar to that which was then exercised in the Territory northwest of the Ohio, except so far as was otherwise provided in the conditions expressed in an Act of Congress, passed the 2d of April, 1790, entitled "An Act to accept a cession of the claim of the State of North-Carolina to a certain district of Western Territory."

Among the privileges, benefits and advantages thus secured to the inhabitants of the Territory south of the River Ohio, appear to be the right of forming a permanent Constitution and State Government, and of admission, as a State, by its delegates, in the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever, when it should have therein sixty thousand free inhabitants: provided, the Constitution and Government so to be formed, should be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in the articles of the said ordinance.

As proofs of the several requisites to entitle the Territory south of the River Ohio, to be admitted, as a State, into the Union, Governor Blount has transmitted a return of the enumeration of its inhabitants, and a printed copy of the Constitution and form of Government, on which they have agreed, which, with his letters accompanying the same, are herewith laid before Congress.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

The subject was referred to appropriate Committees. On the 12th of April, the House Committee, through its Chairman, Mr. Dearborn, reported the following:

Resolved, That by the authenticated documents accompanying the message from the President of the United States to this House, on the 8th day of the present month, and by the ordinance of Congress, bearing date the 13th of July, 1787, and by a law of the United States, passed on the 26th of May, 1790, it appears that the citizens of that

part of the United States, which has been called the Territory of the United States, south of the River Ohio, and which is now formed into a State under a republican form of Government, by the name of Tennessee, are entitled to all the rights and privileges to which the citizens of the other States in the Union are entitled under the Constitution of the United States; and that the State of Tennessee is hereby declared to be one of the sixteen United States of America.

Mr. King, from the Senate Committee, to whom the same subject had been referred, made a long report against the admission of the State of Tennessee into the Union, but recommending "that leave be given to bring in a bill laying out the *whole* of said Territory, ceded by North-Carolina, into *one* State." The report results in this conclusion—"That Congress must have, previously, enacted that the whole of the Territory ceded by North-Carolina, and which is only a part of the Territory of the United States, south of the Ohio, should be laid out into *one State*, before the inhabitants thereof, (admitting them to amount to sixty thousand free persons,) could claim to be admitted as a new State into the Union." The Senate report objects that the enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory had not been made by the authority of Congress, and that the guards against error had been omitted by the *Territorial* law; and that, "instead of confining the enumeration to the free inhabitants of the Territory, that law authorizes and requires the enumeration of *all the people* within the said Territory, etc."*

Notwithstanding this unfavourable report of the Senate Committee, the Congress of the United States passed an Act in June, admitting Tennessee into the Union.

In the meantime, the Senators elect from the State of Tennessee, had repaired to the seat of the General Government; but having been elected before Tennessee was admitted into the Union, they did not take their seats in the Senate. The Act X, laying off two Congressional Districts in the State, when but one member of Congress was allowed for Tennessee; and Act XI, providing for the election of four Electors of President and Vice-President, when the State was entitled to but three Electors, created unforeseen difficulties, which

* State Papers, Vol. XX, page 150.

could be obviated only by repealing these acts, electing the Senators anew, and remodeling the legislation that had taken place, so far as the Federal relations of Tennessee were concerned.

Such was the political condition of the State of Tennessee in the summer of 1796. Governor Sevier acted promptly, and adopted at once the only measure that could extricate the new State from the embarrassments by which her Federal relations had become unavoidably involved.

On the 4th of July, he issued from the seat of Government, at Knoxville, his proclamation:

"*Whereas*, I have lately received authentic information, that an Act of the Congress of the United States, passed at their last session, involved several Acts of this State in difficulty, and renders the same incomplete; to answer the purposes and salutary uses and effects intended to be obtained therefrom, by the Honourable the Legislature of this State:

"I have thought it necessary and highly expedient, to summon the members of the General Assembly, to convene on the last Saturday in the present month: And do strictly request and enjoin them, and each of them, to be punctual and particular in giving their attendance accordingly, in order to take under their due deliberation such matters as may be laid before them.

"Given under my hand and seal, at Knoxville, this fourth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and in the twenty-first year of American Independence.

Signed, JOHN SEVIER."

Accordingly, on the day appointed, the General Assembly met and the Governor sent in the following Message:

"*Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives*:— The short time in which I conceived it was necessary to convene the Legislature, compelled me to call you together on so short a notice. In the first instance, it was necessary to give all the time the emergency of the occasion would admit of; and, in the second, from a circumstance that the election to be held for Representatives was approaching so near at hand, made it necessary, as I conceived, for the Assembly to have it in their power, by a timely meeting, (should they in their wisdom deem it proper) to make an alteration in the Act, directing the mode of electing Representatives to represent this State in the Congress of the United States, before the day of election should arrive, as directed in the aforesaid Act, otherwise it might be attended with disputes and contentions of a disagreeable nature; for, by a late Act of Congress, the intended number of our Representatives is diminished, of course it proportionably lessens our number of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States.

"Thus such a derangement will necessarily require an alteration in our Acts passed for such purposes.

"Our Senators not being recognized in the Senate of the United States, is another matter for your consideration and attention; and for your more ample information, the several Acts and communications accompanying this address, will elucidate unto you the propriety of my calling the Assembly together at this time.

"I hope I may be permitted to observe, that it is of importance, and conducive to public happiness, to arrange your Acts comformably with those of Congress, so far as they shall respect this State.

"The foregoing are the reasons why I have thought proper to convene the Assembly, in session on the present day; and I make no doubt you will, through your paternal care, wisdom and patriotic deliberations, adopt such measures as will tend to promote the public interest and general utility of the State.

"I have the pleasure of announcing to you, gentlemen, the admission of the State of Tennessee into the Federal Union, a circumstance pregnant with every prospect of peace, happiness and opulence to our infant State.

"The period has at length arrived, when the people of the South-Western Territory may enjoy all the blessings and liberties of a free and independent republic.

"Permit me to wish you public, domestic and individual happiness, while I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

"Your devoted and obedient servant,

JOHN SEVIER."

The usage at that day required a reply from the General Assembly, to every communication made to it by the Governor; and on the 8th, Mr. Rhea, as the organ of the two Houses, reported the following address:

Sir:—We are fully sensible, that the important objects by you laid before this General Assembly, made it necessary for you to convene the Legislature at this time.

We rejoice with you, in the event of this State being formally admitted into the Federal Union; and our minds are filled with the most pleasing sensations, when we reflect on the prosperity and political happiness to which we view it, as a certain prelude. Be assured, sir, it will be our first and greatest care, to adopt such measures as will promote the true interests of this State, as connected with the American Union.

With respect to our representation, in the Senate of the United States, in particular, we flatter ourselves, such steps have been taken, that no reason now remains, sufficient to justify that body in refusing any longer to recognize our Senators.

The measures here alluded to, as having been adopted by the Legislature, were, the election, again, of the Senators from Tennessee to the United States Congress—the repeal of

the act of its last session, providing for the election of two Representatives, and the enactment of a law for the election of a single member from the State—and lastly, the annulment of the legislative election, April 21, of four Electors of President and Vice-President, and provision for the election of three.

William Blount and William Cocke were again elected Senators. To the address of the Legislature, informing Mr. Cocke that he was again elected to represent the State of Tennessee in the United States Senate, and re-assuring him, on behalf of the citizens of the State, of the entire confidence reposed in his fidelity and integrity, that Senator replied in terms, and with a spirit, that probably reflected truly, the feelings and temper of the people. He said:

Gentlemen:—Nothing can be a higher reward for faithful services, than the approbation of a free people—I call my country free, because by their Constitution, they are so.

I cannot help mentioning to you, I feel the deepest concern to see our dearest rights invaded by the supreme legislature of the nation. We are by them made subject to the payment of taxes, while we have been unjustly deprived of representation.

We have been deprived of the use of our property for public convenience, without any compensation being made; and acts in the style of laws have passed, declaring it highly penal to enjoy the free use thereof; such rude attacks on our constitutional rights should be remonstrated against with freedom and firmness.

I hope our opponents in the Senate of the United States, will be unable to find another quibble whereby to deprive us of an equal share of the representation that shall make the laws by which we are to be governed. I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM COCKE.

August 3.—An act was passed providing for the election of one Representative to Congress, and repealing the act of 28th March, authorizing the election of two.

Aug. 8th.—An act was passed, providing for the election of three Electors of President and Vice-President. At the previous session, four electors had been elected by joint ballot of the two Houses. The mode of electing, in this instance, is still more anomalous. The State is divided into three—Washington, Hamilton and Mero Districts; and in the words of the act, "that the said electors may be elected with as little trouble to the citizens as possible—Be it enacted, That John

Carter, John Adams and John McAllister, of Washington, John Scott, Richard Gammon and James Gains, of Sullivan county," and three others for each of the remaining counties of Washington District, and, in like manner, three others, for each of the counties in Hamilton and Mero Districts, "are appointed electors to elect an elector for their respective Districts." The electors named in the act were to meet at Jonesboro', Knoxville and Nashville, and elect an elector for each District. The three electors thus elected, were to convene on the first Wednesday of December, at Knoxville, and "proceed to elect a President and Vice-President of the United States, pursuant to an act of Congress."

August 9.—Mr. White, from the Committee appointed to draw up a remonstrance to Congress, presented, for the consideration of the Assembly, an address and remonstrance to the Congress of the United States. In this document, which is of great length, the remonstrants recapitulate: That Tennessee is admitted into the Federal Union, on an equal footing with any of the original States; that the United States, at the beginning of the Revolution, guaranteed to each State its sovereignty, according to its chartered limits, and that that sovereignty was acknowledged by Great Britain, by the treaty of Paris; that, acting on these principles, North-Carolina had opened land offices, for the sale of land within her chartered limits; and in agreement with her laws, entries had been made, warrants issued, and grants had been made for lands in her territory; that North-Carolina had ceded her western territory to Congress, under certain express conditions—one of which, as provided for in her Deed of Cession, was, that the Governor of North-Carolina, for the time being, shall be, and is required, to perfect land titles in such manner as if the Cession had not been made; that, as the Constitution of the United States confirms all engagements made by Congress, previous to its adoption, the enterers and grantees of lands thus ceded, expected that they were secure, as to their right in fee, and of possession of the land by them purchased and paid for; that, at the treaty of Hopewell, William Blount, as Agent of North-Carolina, had protested against one of its articles, respecting the boundary of the Cherokees; that, by an act of the last

Congress, fines, forfeitures and imprisonment are enacted against claimants and grantees of lands lying beyond said boundary; by which, they are much injured—being prohibited from any act of ownership of lands, long since bona fide contracted and paid for, and for which, in part, grants have already issued by North-Carolina, under the good faith of the United States; and that

"This Legislature, ever willing to support the Constitution and Laws of the United States, made pursuant thereto, being impressed with a sense of the injury and grievances sustained by the citizens in consequence of the line of the treaty of Holston, and the act before mentioned, do earnestly request, that the prohibitions preventing them to possess the lands before alluded to, may be removed; that provision, by law, be made, for extinguishing the Indian claim to said lands; that the owners and grantees of said lands may enter upon, occupy and possess the same in a full and ample manner, and have every right, privilege and advantage, which they are entitled to by constitutional laws; which justice being done to the citizens of this State, the officers of Government will be enabled to execute the constitutional laws of the United States with ease and convenience."

It was afterwards further resolved, by both Houses, "that it shall be a duty of the Senators and Representatives of this State, in the Congress of the United States, to lay the remonstrance of the Legislature before Congress, and endeavour that the object thereof be obtained."

At the election held under the act of this called session, Andrew Jackson, of Davidson county, was elected Representative from the State of Tennessee in the Congress of the United States. That body assembled December 5th, 1796, at Philadelphia, when Mr. Jackson was qualified and took his seat.

In accordance with the law passed for that purpose, Gov. Sevier wrote, April 25, to the Tennessee Senators, requesting them to have a suitable seal of the State made by "ingenious mechanics in Philadelphia—such an one as will be elegant, comprehensive, and sufficiently expressive of the purposes and uses intended. Under their direction, the present Great Seal of the State of Tennessee was engraven. It has upon it: the cotton plant, the sheaf of wheat, and, as "comprehensive," the plough, to represent agriculture; and a sail-vessel, there then being no steamboats in the West, nor

elsewhere, to represent commerce. The XVI at the head of the seal, designated Tennessee as, numerically, the sixteenth at the date of its admission into the Union.

The Senators and Representatives in Congress from Tennessee, brought to the attention of the Secretary of War, the claims of the militia of that State for their services against the Indians, on the Etowah campaign. The Secretary made an unfavourable report to the House. General Cocke, in a letter to the Gazette, says: "Your representative, Mr. Jackson, has distinguished himself by the spirited manner in which he opposed the report. Notwithstanding the misrepresentation of the Secretary, I hope the claim will be allowed; if it is, a principle will be established for the payment of all services done by the militia of the Territory."

In support of the resolution to pay for the military services against the Indians, Mr. Jackson said—

"The rations found for the troops on this expedition had been paid for by the Secretary of War, and he could see no objection to the payment of the whole expense. As the troops were called out by a superior officer, they had no right to doubt his authority. Were a contrary doctrine admitted, it would strike at the very root of subordination. It would be saying to soldiers—'Before you obey the command of your superior officer, you have a right to inquire into the legality of the service upon which you are about to be employed, and until you are satisfied, you may refuse to take the field.' This, he believed, was a principle which could not be acted on. General Sevier, said Mr. Jackson, was bound to obey the orders he received to undertake the expedition. The officers under him were bound to obey him. They went with full confidence that the United States would pay them, believing they had appointed such officers as would not call them into the field without proper authority. If, even, the expedition had been unconstitutional, (which he was far from believing,) it ought not to affect the soldier, since he had no choice in the business, being obliged to obey his superior. Indeed, as the provision had been paid for, and as the ration and pay-rolls were always considered as checks upon each other, he hoped no objection would be made to the resolution which he moved."

The winter of 1796–7 is chronicled as the coldest ever experienced by the oldest inhabitant. On the evening of the 22d December, the river was entirely free from ice. On the morning of the 23d, the ice was moving down the river in great quantities; on the 24th, the river was frozen over, and

was crossed by horsemen upon the ice. On the 25th, a Christmas dinner was given upon the ice, by the Federal officers, at Tellico Block-house, to a large company of gentlemen and ladies. "Contiguous to the place of entertainment, two quarters of a bear were barbecued, where the ice was found to be, in thickness, sufficient to bare fire enough to have roasted an ox, without being materially weakened by the heat."*

Early in this year, disturbances of a serious nature prevailed among the Upper Cherokees. Edward Mitchell and William Livingston went to the camp of some Indian hunters, where they were informed, by Lame Will, that Red Bird had gone to the camp of some white people. On his return he was met by Mitchell and Livingston, who fired upon and killed him. They then returned to the Indian camp, when Mitchell fired at, but missed, Lame Will, who, with a knife in one hand and a crutch in the other, made towards Mitchell, who ran off. Livingston then coming up, encountered Will, and, after several unsuccessful attempts to shoot him, drew his tomahawk and killed him.†

1797 Jan. 31.—An Act was passed by Congress giving effect to the laws of the United States within the State of Tennessee. By the second section of this Act, the State was made to embrace one District, to be denominated the Tennessee District. A District Court was established, four sessions of which should be holden alternately at Knoxville and Nashville. By the fourth section of this Act, the State was made one Collector's District, whose office should be held at Palmyra, which was the only port of entry, or delivery of any goods, wares or merchandize, not the growth or manufacture of the United States. The salary of the collector at Palmyra was one hundred dollars.

* Knoxville Gazette, January 9, 1797.

† For many of the incidents occurring in Blount county, I am indebted to Samuel Bogle, Esq. one of its worthiest pioneers, now nearly one hundred years old, but still vigorous and clear-minded. He was, himself, an active participator in most of the difficulties with the Indians. Mr. Bogle is, in every respect, an excellent specimen of the frontier citizen and soldier, and is one of the few surviving pioneers of Tennessee, living, in patriarchal simplicity and rural quiet, on Elijah, near the old Indian War Trace.

Two companies of United States troops, commanded by Captain Richard Sparks and Captain John Wade, were stationed at Knoxville. The object of the Secretary of War, in placing them there, was to enforce an "Act of Congress to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve peace on the Frontier." South of Holston, some settlements had been formed on lands ceded by the Cherokees, under the Dumplin and Coyatee Treaties; but across the Indian boundary, as fixed by the Treaty of Holston, and in Powell's Valley, settlers were opening their farms under grants from North-Carolina, but upon lands to which the Cherokee title was not yet extinguished. To these settlers Captains Sparks and Wade issued their manifesto, informing the intruders of their powers, and of the extent of the provisions of the Act of Congress which it was made their duty to enforce.

"It is not our wish, said they, to enter rashly upon the duty assigned us, nor do we conceive there will be a necessity for it; and, in order, therefore, to give you full time to prepare your minds for the event, we have deemed it proper to notify you that on or about the 20th instant, we shall meet you at Yocum's Station, where we hope your numbers will be full and respectable, and your tempers calmly disposed to argue on a subject which involves in itself consequences of material magnitude to the Union at large, and to you in particular. We are assured that the reflection of a moment will evince to you how much better it is to observe a strict obedience to the laws, than by a refractory disposition to involve your fellow-citizens in the tumults of anarchy, and probably in the horrors of war, and create in your own minds a self-reproach which will be forever felt.

"Fellow-Citizens:—At our meeting we will not scruple to read to you the instructions we have received, and by which we are to be governed; and after your hearing them, we cannot admit of a doubt, but that in a given time you will remove to that side of the line to which we have a just claim, and save the necessity of any unnecessary altercation."

The influence of the authorities of Tennessee assisted in promoting obedience to the law of Congress. The *Gazette*, already an organ of admitted potency in the new State, also contributed its weight, in support of the Federal enactment. Commenting upon the circular addressed by the two United States captains to the intruders, and published in its columns, the *Gazette* says:—"It is so replete with mildness and

moderation, that the most obstinate disposition cannot but concur with them in opinion, that it is better to meet the wishes of these gentlemen, than by a perverse conduct compel them to measures which may terminate in unhappy consequences," etc.

A communication to the same purport from "*Many*," dated Jefferson county, also appeared in the *Gazette*. In this the writer earnestly dissuades the intruders from rushing, "without consideration, into the horrors of civil confusion, and thereby involve the innocent with the guilty."

But there were not wanting, on this occasion, writers, who, while they did not advise resistance to, or disobedience of the Federal authority, stated emphatically the argument on behalf of the settlers. One of these, in a reply to Capts. Sparks and Wade, remarks:

"It was not from refractory or disorderly dispositions we were influenced to take possession of the lands we now occupy. We had regard to the laws of nature, of nations, the statutes of North-Carolina, and to our own civil code. The Constitution of the State of Tennessee, in the 31st Article of the Bill of Rights, guarantees to the people residing south of French Broad and Holston, between the Rivers Tennessee and Big Pigeon, the right of pre-emption and occupancy in that tract. Congress recognized that Constitution in all its parts by receiving the State into the Federal Union. Many of us hold grants for our lands, legally obtained from North-Carolina whilst under her jurisdiction. Under these plausible claims we settled ourselves on the lands from which you command us to remove." . . . . "Legislators of the great American Republic! is it nothing to you to see our wives and children, who by their industry have hitherto lived in affluence on their own farms, beggared by your unconstitutional laws? We say your laws are unconstitutional, because they deprive us of property, for which we had a legal right before the Treaty of Holston. Do you feel no remorse at our impending ruin? Are you callous to our sufferings? Accustomed to wallow in luxury, you cannot feel for the distresses of the poor." . . . . "We have now, gentlemen, delineated to you the outlines of our claims. We have also stated in miniature, the wrongs we are about to sustain from the operations of the General Government. A volume would not contain the reasonings we could advance on the justice of our claims. The earth was created for the use of man. We could plead purchase, occupancy, conquest and relinquishment by the Aborigines; but all these reasonings, we suppose, would be in vain. Power is in the hands of the General Government, and we are disposed to obey her will *for the present*."

Another communication, signed "*The Frontier People of*

Tennessee," appeared soon after. In this the writer premises that redress for the grievances inflicted on them by the act of Congress, concerning the intruders upon Indian territory, should be sought only in the mode which the Constitution and the genius of the Government point out. Speaking of the act of May, 1796, the writer says—

"We conceive that law to be an invasion of our *natural* rights; we claim it as a power inherent in us, and derived from the author of our existence, to cultivate and to convert to our use, any unappropriated part of the habitable globe, and to make it bring forth the fruits of the earth. This general position we assert to be of divine right, and acknowledged from age to age, by all the nations of the christian world, and recognized by the laws, customs and usages of the people of America, from its discovery to the present day." . . . . "We submit the justice of our claims to the laws and constitution of our country—we ask from whence does the Federal Government derive the power, to exercise legal jurisdiction over the land on which we are settled? We claim the right to settle these lands under the laws of North-Carolina, made previous to ceding this country to the United States, and the laws made subsequent thereto." . . . . "If we are not now permitted to take possession of these lands, the consideration paid for them is violated; and it is a distinction new and incomprehensible to us, that a grant from a sovereign and independent State, can convey a right without the power to enjoy it. We then assert, that our claims are founded on the act of that very body, whose successors, at the expiration of less than five years, have thought proper to deprive us of those rights properly vested in us." . . . . "Why has a law been made to oblige us to the observance of this bargain, (the treaty of Holston,) which has been cancelled with the blood of our fellow-citizens? We acknowledge to feel the force in all its various powers, which binds the members of a community to respect its laws, and pay to them a necessary submission; but we hope, that we or our posterity, to the latest generation, will never lose sight of the point to which these obligations ought to go, and beyond which it is our province, as men, to restrain their progress. It is, therefore, with pain we contemplate the infractions of our unalienable rights, made by the law of 1796—a law which we protest against, as unconstitutional, because it invades the rights of our property." . . "Is this the tribunal before which we are to argue? and can a law be binding which places the scales of justice in the hands of a troop of soldiers? However virtuous that soldiery may be, the original principles of our national compact forbid it. Let it not be said we wish to fan the coals of sedition in our country. As *men*, we are bound to assert our rights; as citizens of a free and enlightened State, we claim attention to our grievances. Instead of meeting at our doors the soldier, who is ordered to sound the din of war in our ears, we would call on the guardians of our country to defend us in the possession of our rights. We rely on the justice of Congress, and we assure our fellow-citizens of the

Union, that general order and universal acquiesence, under the just laws of government, are the first wishes of our hearts."

Another writer, over the signature of "*Campbell*," addresses "The citizens of Tennessee, who are about to be alienated and dismembered by the acts and proceedings of the Federal Government." In this address he examines the question, whether Congress has a right to alienate any part of the State of Tennessee, and what are the rights of those who may be dismembered from it. Establishing the principle that North-Carolina had the right to open a land office within her chartered limits, he argues that the State of Tennessee, in consequence of that right, may guarantee to her citizens, the settlement and occupancy of the lands on which it is alleged they are intruders. That the parent State, previous to the act of Cession, possessing then, as she did, sovereign power over them, had granted these lands, and that Tennessee and Congress itself, by accepting its constitution, had recognized the validity of the grants; and that, of course, the occupants cannot be considered to be in a state of rebellion against their own, or intruders on any other nation. He advises deliberation, deprecates hasty action, and urges the intruders to depend upon the legality of their claims. "They are founded on facts, principles and laws which cannot be controverted. That as the lands in dispute are held by legal titles, Congress has no right to declare war or resort to force for the purpose of expelling the occupants. The civil law ought to decide the contest in the District or Federal Courts." Enlarging upon these and similar topics, "*Campbell*" closes his second number with these patriotic and wise remarks: "Let us pursue order and acquiesce in the laws, until we can make a constitutional appeal to Congress. Let us act as if we were only one entire harmonious family, and let the spirit of concord be kept up in the State of Tennessee forever. Friendly, true and pathetic applications to Congress, through our representatives, will have greater weight with them, than hostile threats and preparations."

In his third number, addressed to the United States Commissioners, Hawkins, Pickens and Winchester, about to hold further negotiations with the Cherokees, "*Campbell*" says: "Let

us hope then, that you will not, by a strained construction of the words of the treaty, in favour of the Indian claim, force those citizens who have the right of property and the right of possession, to engage in a litigious controversy with the military who may be ordered to dispossess them. Justifiable opposition to the illegal orders of the Executive, might extend its influence to that which would not be legal, and those whose claims are not fully sanctioned by law, follow the example—an evil which we deprecate or pray may not happen. But we should think it treason against the government we live under, and which we admire—treason against ourselves, and high treason against posterity—were we to suffer ourselves to be tamely deprived of our lawful property, by military force or diplomatic authority."

Col. Arthur Campbell is thought to be the writer of these pieces. These extracts from them are meagre, and do not present, in their full force, the weight of his argument and the legitimacy of his reasoning. The subject, soon after, received attention in every part of the Union, and "*Campbell*" may be considered as a pioneer writer in the backwoods of Tennessee, investigating a subject that, soon after, was embraced in the "Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions," of 1798 and 1799.

Another correspondent, "*Andrew Rights*," continues the same subject:

"We are here, settled on our own lands, granted to us by our mother State, North-Carolina; the rights are, in fee simple, ratified by a solemn act of Congress. . . . . The Executive of the United States has paid little attention to our rights, by the manner in which it has communicated its will to us, or otherwise it has adopted the method of reasoning made use of by Louis XIV., of France, who inscribed on the muzzles of his cannon—"*This is the logic of Kings;*" and with the same propriety may say—"*This is the logic of the United States.*"

Then, referring to "*Many*," published in the Gazette—

"I would have him to know that we not only call on the State of Tennessee, but upon every State in the Union, to assist us in obtaining our rights and privileges as secured to us by law, and doubt not of their assistance, if necessary; and I would refer him to this clause in the Constitution, that government being instituted for the common benefit, the doctrine of non-resistance to arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind.

"One of the usual methods of arbitrary governments, is to include forfeiture of estate, under the pretence of a punishment of some crime. Our Constitution has wisely guarded against such, that even for treason, it has forbidden corruption of blood or *confiscation of property*, and yet, in sec. five of this law, 'That if any citizen shall make a settlement on any lands granted, by treaty, to any Indian tribe, such offender shall forfeit all his right, title and claim, if any he hath, of whatsoever nature or kind the same shall be, to the lands aforesaid whereupon he shall make settlement or otherwise.' Such a law is cruel, tyrannical and oppressive. The punishments inflicted by it do not stop here. 'He shall also forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, and suffer imprisonment not exceeding twelve months.' . . . The Constitution of Tennessee is admitted into the Union, by Congress, and it prohibits the courts here from inflicting a fine exceeding fifty dollars, except by a jury, and leaves the same to the courts. . . . . I address the members of Congress from this State to use their industry to have this act repealed. Such an act might look tolerably well in a proclamation from Britain, but I beg you to erase it out of the records and existing laws of a republican government. Let it be wiped away, and never one more of the sort be seen—an enemy to liberty, nature, good policy and humanity."

Mr. Blount and Mr. Cocke, Senators, and General Jackson, the Representative, of Tennessee, were, in the meantime, active in relation to the affairs of the State they represented, and with whose interests they were so familiar. On the third day of March, this resolution was introduced in the Senate:

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to cause a treaty or treaties to be held, as speedily as may be, with such of the Indian tribes as may have claims to certain western lands, ceded by North-Carolina to the United States, for the purpose of obtaining an extinguishment of their claim to so much thereof as lie to the north and east of the River Tennessee, within the State of Tennessee."

The resolution was rejected, only eight Senators voting in the affirmative.

Previous to the introduction of this resolution, to wit, on the 1st of March, it had been, in the same body,

"*Resolved*, That provision ought, by law, to be made for opening a land office for the sale of lands lying within the limits of the State of Tennessee, belonging to the United States, to which the Indian title has been extinguished, providing that the occupants shall have a priority in the location of such of the said lands as are now in their actual possession and improvement, upon such reasonable terms as may be fixed by law."

This had been introduced into the Senate by Mr. Hill-

house, chairman of a committee to whom the whole subject had been referred, and to whom the Tennessee Senators had fully explained the situation of the people to be affected by it. The session of Congress terminated on the third, and there was not time to act upon it. It was, therefore, laid over till the next session.

On the same day, Mr. Hillhouse, from the committee to whom was referred the letter and enclosures from the Governor of North-Carolina, relative to the extinguishment of the Indian title to lands granted to T. Glasgow & Co., by the State of North-Carolina—the address of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee on the same subject, and also the petition of J. Glasgow and others, relative to the land entered in the office of John Armstrong, and since ceded to the United States, made an elaborate report, and recommended the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That as soon as the title to the said lands shall be extinguished, under the authority of the United States, by purchase, or otherwise, provision ought, by law, to be made, to secure to such of said claimants, as by conforming to the laws of North-Carolina, have secured to themselves a title to the right of pre-emption under such laws, the occupancy and possession of such lands."

It is worthy of remark, that in a contest of this kind, involving, as it did, State pride, State sovereignty—the right of property—in which, many of the citizens of Tennessee felt a direct personal interest, not a single appeal is made to the passions of the occupants, nor one exhortation made to insubordination or resistance. Most of the writers advise a contrary course. In his last number, "*Campbell*" examines the question involved, at great length. He closes thus: "I have not hesitated to speak the truth, even when it compelled me to charge the Executive of the United States with a violation of the rights of the individual States, and of the people. You have heard my reasonings as a citizen; hear my advice as a friend. Acquiesce in the operations of Government; submit to the legal transactions of her ministers; petition Congress for negotiations, to be set on foot with the Indians, to secure your settlements; countenance no irregularities; commit no outrages. I have announced you to the

world as regular and orderly citizens. Let your conduct prove, to the latest ages of posterity, that I have pronounced the truth. Let us attribute our misfortunes to the true sources whence they originated; to the misunderstanding of the words of the treaty, and to the narrow and contracted policy of the General Government."

No outbreak followed—no conflict between the military and the citizens. A rash and imprudent procedure on the part of the United States troops, like a spark in a powder magazine, would have ended in their annihilation. But the conciliatory tone of the circular—the good temper and wise discretion of the officers—the force of general public sentiment and the disposition of the State authorities, prevented a collision. Legislative action and negotiations followed, and the difficulty was settled without violence.

Feb. 27.—Commerce, by means of the river, began to reach Knoxville. On that day, the Gazette notices the arrival of two boats, carrying five tons each, from the South Fork of Holston, in Virginia—the distance estimated to be, by water, above three hundred miles. The pioneers in this navigation were Messrs. Russell and Barry, the owners. The cargo consisted of flour, salt and whiskey.

March 4.—Thomas Shields was killed by the Indians in Sevier county. They cut his head nearly off, ripped open his body, took out his bowels, and otherwise shockingly cut and mangled him.

Louis Philippe and his brothers in Knoxville.

April 30.—"Arrived in Knoxville, three sons of the Duke of Orleans; and on the next day, set out on their journey to the westward, by Tellico, Fort Grainger, Nashville, &c. At the age of fourteen, the eldest of those gentlemen commanded one of the wings of Dumourier's army at the famous battle of Jenappe; and the two younger were imprisoned forty-three months, by the French Government, at Marseilles."*

Mail facilities were necessarily small and exceedingly inadequate, at this time, in Tennessee. There was a post-office at Knoxville, of which George Roulstone was the

*Gazette, May 1, 1797.

Postmaster. To this office, letters were sent, for much of the country east, and for all the country west of it. In the list of letters published, as remaining on hand, January 1, 1797, are letters sent to Nollichucky, to Sumner county, to Buncombe, to Jonesboro', to Blount, to Davidson, to Jefferson, to North Fork, to Bledsoe's Lick, to Nashville, to Haysboro', to Powell's Valley, to Palmyra and to Dixon's Creek. The mail to Knoxville was at first bi-monthly. To remedy this infrequency and consequent inadequacy of mail facilities, different expedients were adopted. The publisher of the Gazette, wishing to extend the circulation of that journal, engaged Mr. Munford Smith to ride post for him. Mr. Roulstone advertised in the Gazette—

"His route will be as follows, provided a sufficient number of subscribers can be obtained. He will set out every other Monday, and go by Maryville to Sevierville; from thence, by Dandridge, to Hugh Neilson's, Esq., on Lick Creek; from thence to Hawkins' Court-House; and from thence, by Haine's Iron Works, crossing at McBee's Ferry, to Knoxville. The route will be extended, as subscribers may enable him; and as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers are obtained, he will start the post once a week. Each subscriber is to pay one cent a paper, in addition to the subscription, which is three dollars per annum."

Besides this private *post* of Mr. Roulstone, every emigrant and traveller, who came to the country, was a self-constituted letter-carrier. Every horseman had, in his saddle-bags or portmanteau, a small wallet, in which he carried letters from citizens of the old States to the settlers in the new. This was carefully opened and examined at the several stations or places where he lodged; the letters were then delivered, distributed or *re-mailed*, as the case required. The inhabitants conscientiously and cheerfully performed, gratuitously, the duty of forwarding, sometimes to distant points, letters thus brought into their care and possession. Official despatches were sometimes received and forwarded in the same way. An endorsement, "on the public service," secured the transmission of a letter by a volunteer express, if not with the celerity and despatch of the present United States mail, certainly with as much certainty and fidelity.

According to the provisions of the Constitution, elections were held in August, of this year. John Sevier was again

elected Governor, and William Charles Cole Claiborne, Representative to Congress.

"On Monday, September 18, the General Assembly convened at Knoxville. The Senators were, from—

WASHINGTON—John Tipton.
GREENE—Samuel Frazier.
SULLIVAN—George Rutledge.
HAWKINS AND GRAINGER—Joseph McMinn.
KNOX—James White.
JEFFERSON—James Roddy.
BLOUNT—Alexander Kelly.
SEVIER—John Clack.
DAVIDSON—Thomas Hardeman.
SUMNER—Edward Douglass.
ROBERTSON AND MONTGOMERY—James Ford.

James White was elected Speaker; George Roulstone, Principal Clerk; and N. Buckingham, Assistant Clerk.

The Representatives were, from—

WASHINGTON—James Stuart and Leeroy Taylor.
GREENE—Joseph Conway and John Gass.
SULLIVAN—John Rhea and John Scott.
HAWKINS—John Cocke and James Ore.
KNOX—John Manifee and John Sawyers.
JEFFERSON—Adam Peck and William Lillard.
SEVIER—Spencer Clack and Peter Bryan.
BLOUNT—James Scott and James Greenway.
DAVIDSON—Robert Weakly and Isaac Roberts.
SUMNER—Stephen Cantrell and William Hall.
TENNESSEE—William Fort and James Norfleet.

James Stuart was elected Speaker; Thomas H. Williams, 1st Clerk; Jesse Wharton, 2d Clerk; and John Rhea, Door-keeper."

September 22.—In his message to the Legislature, Governor Sevier begged the members to express to the people, in the liveliest terms of sensibility, his gratitude for the honour they had again conferred upon him. He noticed the rapid increase of the population of Tennessee and the prosperous condition of its agriculture. "But this bright prospect of affairs," he continues, "is considerably darkened by the extension of the Indian boundary."——"A large tract of settled and well improved land is said to be within the boundary guaranteed to the Cherokees by treaty;" and "that if the people are compelled to abandon their possessions, great injury must result to individuals and to the public." He invites the early attention of the Legislature to this subject,

and suggests the necessity of memorializing Congress, "from whose authority adequate relief can only be obtained." He congratulates the country on the continued peace with the Indians. Referring to the threatening aspect of European affairs, he urges early "provision for holding in readiness the quota of troops assigned to this State," and recommends further improvement in its militia laws.

William Maclin was elected Secretary of State.

Hon. Joseph Anderson was commissioned Senator from State of Tennessee, for remainder of the term for which the late Senator, William Blount, had drawn.

Oct. 28.—Howell Tatum, Esq., was commissioned Judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity.

At this session, Jefferson county was divided and the county of Cocke laid off. Henry Ragan, William Job, John Caffee, Peter Fine, John Keeney, Reps. Jones and John McGlocklen, were appointed to select a place for the court-house and erect the county buildings. The first court was held at the house of Daniel Adams.

Cocke county was named for Gen. William Cocke, a native of Virginia, and an emigrant to Holston. He has been repeatedly mentioned as having participated in the military, civil, legislative and judiciary services of Virginia, North-Carolina, Franklin and Tennessee, where he was known as an efficient and zealous officer, from his *debut* at Long Island, to his seat in the United States Senate, which he held for twelve years. He will be seen, thereafter, as one of the Circuit Judges for Tennessee. A member of her Legislature at the commencement of the Creek war in September, 1813, after assisting to pass an act to authorize an augmentation of the forces to march against the Creeks, and to protect the defenceless settlers in the most exposed part of the Mississippi Territory, and repel invasion, he, at the rise of the Legislature, though above sixty years of age, and before visiting his home in East Tennessee, volunteered his services as a private in that war, and acted therein most bravely and usefully. He was afterwards appointed United States Agent to the Chickasaws. He afterwards settled in Mississippi,

and represented his county in its legislature. In private life, he was most hospitable and benevolent.

To encourage commerce, promote industry, and advance the agriculture of the country, the legislature established a public inspection of tobacco in Waynesboro', Davidson county.

Coxe still entertained the design of occupying the Muscle Shoals purchase. The boat to transport the troops, guns and provision necessary to carry into effect the settlement at the Muscle Shoals, was built at the mouth of Chucky. It was of immense dimensions, and was, at that day, from its size and structure, called a ship—having, on all sides, such barricades as would make it impregnable to small arms. It was well provided with howitzers and small ordnance, and constituted a good floating battery.

To prevent the descent of this boat down the river, Col. Thomas Butler, of the United States Army, issued orders to the troops under his command at South-West Point and Bell Canton, to exercise the utmost vigilance, and to fire upon and sink it. It was believed that the most suitable plan for defeating the expedition, was to allow it to pass unmolested, as far as Bell Canton.* There the Holston was narrow, and the position otherwise favourable. Standing orders were issued on the 2nd November, 1797, to the officer in charge of the battery, to "have his ordnance in perfect order, and the implements judiciously arranged, to prevent confusion, when it may be necessary to man the works." A look-out boat was to be detached at proper intervals, to make discovery of the approach of Coxe's party, and signals were arranged, to prepare for the attack. Should any boat belonging to the expedition, approach within one mile of the battery, the commander was directed to fire one shot wide of it. Should this notice be disregarded, he was directed to fire on it, and, "if possible, sink all boats that may dare to pass your works."

At the time of its date, Governor Sevier found it necessary to address to Zachariah Coxe the following letter:

*This fort was above the former residence of the late Major Lenoir, and its ruins are yet to be seen on the farm heretofore occupied by Colonel R. A. Ramsey, now of Georgia.

KNOXVILLE, 20th August, 1797.

Since your arrival in this State, various reports are in circulation, respecting an intended expedition you are about to make.

It appears to be a matter of importance to this Government, to be informed of your intentions and place of destination. I flatter myself you will have no objections to communicate, and lay before the Executive of this State, the plan of your intended operations and movements; at what place you intend making a stand or settlement; and by what authority you conceive yourselves at liberty to prosecute the same.

No answer to this communication has been preserved in the Executive Journal. By a special message, September 23d, 1797, the Governor's letter and Coxe's reply were communicated to the legislature, and referred to a committee, who, on the 10th of October, reported, that from "the papers they have had before them, it appears that no expedition of a hostile nature, or plan inimical to the Government, is intended or contemplated."

The execution of the Act of Congress of 1796, heretofore mentioned, had produced uneasiness among the people. The legislature sympathizing in that feeling, adopted the following preamble and resolution:

WHEREAS, official information has been laid before the General Assembly of this State, contained in an order from Colonel Butler, addressed to the people who are within the Indian boundary, and, forasmuch, as it is conceived, great and irremediable injury would arise, should the inhabitants be reduced to the necessity of a compliance with that mandate, at a season when their crops are not fit for transportation, or storing up; also, putting it entirely out of their power to secure their forage. These evils will be rendered doubly distressing, by the gloomy horrors of famine, which threaten to pervade a great part of the country.

Seeing, then, the favours of heaven have, in some degree, been withheld, humanity and justice cry aloud for the legislative interposition, in behalf of those of our fellow-citizens, with the executive power.

It is therefore Resolved, That the Governor of the State of Tennessee be requested to lay before the President of the United States, by the earliest opportunity, the true state and condition of those citizens resident within the Indian boundary, agreeable to the line lately run, setting forth, that their request for the present is, that the execution of the order to Colonel Butler, for their removal, be suspended until the next session of Congress.

A copy of these was sent to the Governor, accompanied by a communication to him, urging his official application to the President, to obtain a suspension of the order for the removal of the intruders.

1798 { Governor Sevier found it necessary, to appease popular clamour on the frontier, to give, through the press, the prospect of further negotiations, by the Federal Government, with the Cherokees. On this subject he says, in a circular:

KNOXVILLE, 23d April, 1798.

* * * * * * *

George Walton, Alfred Moore, and John Steele, Esqs., are appointed Commissioners to hold a treaty with the Indians. Walton is from Georgia, Moore from North-Carolina, and Steele from Virginia; gentlemen of high respectability, and from their known patriotism and abilities, I have every reason to believe that the interest of the western country will be deliberately and duly considered.

The Federal Legislature has appropriated twenty-five thousand eight hundred and eighty dollars for the purpose of the negotiation—a sum, I hope, that will be fully commensurate and adequate to the object, and evince to our fellow-citizens the good disposition of the Federal Executive and Legislature towards the interest and welfare of this State, and particularly in the relief of our unhappy fellow-citizens, who have been compelled to remove from their homes and plantations. It is expected the treaty will commence about the middle of next month; the Commissioners have not, as yet, arrived, but are expected in a few days. With respect to the intended treaty, I presume it will be readily conceded that the State of Tennessee is very much interested in the event, and, perhaps, more so than may happen in any future period. On this important occasion, it will be particularly useful and beneficial to the Executive, to have the aid and instructions of the legislature; but as that body cannot, with conveniency, be convened, and it is at all times attended with considerable expense, and, at the present, would be embarrassing to the local circumstances of many of the members, and also our public funds, the Executive will, therefore, be under the necessity of resorting to such measures as to him may appear most likely to promote the public interest, assuring his countrymen that nothing shall be lacking that may tend and lead to their present and future advantages, so far as he may be enabled under existing circumstances.

The boundary between the Cherokees and the whites had not been run and marked; some of the settlers had crossed what has been known as the experimental line, and to prevent further difficulties, the Federal Government ordered a removal of these trespassers, and proposed a further treaty of limits, &c. The Commissioners appointed for that purpose, were George Walton, Alfred Moore and John Steele. The Agent of the United States, Silas Dinsmore, was directed to convene the Indians at the shortest notice, and the commandant of the Federal troops in Tennessee was directed

to hold in readiness a detachment to cover and protect the parties.

Soon after their arrival in Tennessee, the Commissioners issued the following:

BELL CANTON, 21st May, 1798.

Sir:—Being arrived at this place, with powers to hold a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, on behalf of the United States, and being informed, by divers persons, since our arrival in the State of Tennessee, that the persons who were removed from the settlements on the Indian lands, do frequently cross the line, and cultivate the soil, in violation of the law and the orders to Colonel Butler, and much against the will and consent of the Indians—we, therefore, have thought it our indispensable duty to interfere, and admonish the persons so trespassing, of the bad effects a perseverance in such conduct may produce; assuring the people so concerned, that we very sensibly feel for their condition, and that we will do everything in our power for their most speedy relief; but, at the same time, we warn them that they, by persisting in the conduct so complained of, may put such relief entirely out of our power.

We wish you to make this communication as extensively known as possible, and that you will impress the importance of our advice upon the minds of the people as much as possible.

We are, sir, your ob'd't serv'ts.

June 21.—Preparatory to the treaty, the Agent of the United States, Mr. Dinsmore, was instructed to request the Indians to convene at such place as he might think most convenient for them to assemble, and which, at the same time, would most facilitate the obtaining the necessary supplies of provisions. With these objects in view, he was desired, by the Commissioners, to remonstrate against meeting the Indians at Oostinahli, on the 14th, as they had proposed, and to invite them to assemble at their beloved town, Chota, or any other place on the banks of the Tennessee convenient for them. They abandoned the idea of meeting at Oostinahli, and determined to assemble at Tuskeegee, on the 25th. The place of meeting was afterwards changed to Tellico, where they met the Commissioners.

June 20.—Governor Sevier having named General Robertson, James Stuart and Lachlan McIntosh, as Agents to represent the interest of Tennessee, at the treaty about to be held at Tellico, proceeded to give them minute instructions on some points of special importance to the State. These were—

1st.—To obtain as wide an extinguishment of the Cherokee claim, north of the Tennessee, as was attainable.

2d.—An unimpeded communication of Holston and Clinch Rivers with the Tennessee, and the surrender of the west bank of the Clinch, opposite South-West Point.

3d.—To secure from future molestation, the settlements as far as they have progressed on the northern and western borders of the State, and the connection of Hamilton and Mero Districts, then separated by a space of unextinguished hunting ground, eighty miles wide.

4th.—To examine into the nature and validity of the claim recently set up by the Cherokees, to lands north of the Tennessee River. Does it rest upon original right? Is it derived from treaties? Is it founded only upon a temporary use or occupancy?

He further advises that, acting as they were with Commissioners of the United States, they might yield, for the sake of harmony, everything but the interest and dignity of Tennessee.

The gentlemen thus appointed and instructed, met July 2d, at Knoxville, and having appointed John Smith, Esq., their Secretary, and Joseph Sevier, Interpreter, repaired to the treaty ground, near Tellico Block-house. On the seventh, they made known to the United States Commissioners the object of their appointment, and their desire of forwarding, by all the means in their power, the object of the mission, and "occasionally to state the ground on which Tennessee rests her expectation of such effectual interference on the part of the Union, as shall consolidate her detached settlements, and afford to her inhabitants the uninterrupted use of streams destined by nature for their accommodation."

Col. Butler, the commandant of the post, treated the Agents with marked attention, and offered to convey them, from time to time, during their negotiation, in his barge, from their place of encampment to the Council House. The Commissioners informed them, "that a seat in the Council would be provided for their accommodation, but any proposals you may have to make or information to give, will be

received by us, at such time as may be convenient, at this place."

"The Council opened. The Bloody Fellow having prefaced the subject, delivered a paper which he stated to contain their final resolutions, which were a peremptory refusal to sell, and an absolute denial to permit the inhabitants to return to their homes."

Monday, July 9.—The State Agents feeling considerable doubt of the favourable result of pending negotiations, in the manner they had been and were likely to continue to be conducted, transmitted to the Commissioners a communication in writing, prepared with great care and exhibiting much research and familiarity with all the principles involved in the matter of their agency. It covers eight closely written pages of the Journal of the Agents now before this writer. It is worthy of a careful reading, and should be preserved, but its great length forbids its insertion on these pages.

To this elaborate communication, the Commissioners replied verbally, that though an able paper, much of its contents was irrelevant to the subject of present negotiations and that it would be their duty to forward it to the Government.

The chiefs manifesting the same determined opposition to a relinquishment of territory, the Agents of Tennessee made an effort to secure from them and the Commissioners, leave to the inhabitants who were beyond the experimental boundary, to harvest and remove the crops of small grain, then ripe and liable to injury and loss. The Commissioners considered this application to be "wholly without the objects of their mission."

Further negotiation was postponed until the ensuing fall. James Stuart, Esq., having resigned, his place was filled by Gen. James White, of Knoxville, and the negotiations were resumed at Tellico, on the 20th of September. The commission to Gen White, is thus expressed on the Executive Journal—

James White, Brigadier-General of the District of Hamilton, commissioned as Agent on the part of the State of Tennessee, with full

power to attend the treaty which the President of the United States has authorized to be held with the Cherokees, and there to state the obligations of the United States to extinguish the Cherokee claim to such lands as have been granted to individuals by the State of North-Carolina, and in all things to represent the interests of the State of Tennessee."

The United States Commissioners were Col. Thomas Butler and George Walton, Esq.

During the progress of the treaty, it was found impracticable to effect the primary objects had in view, in the appointment of the State agents. Gen. Robertson failed to attend, and Mr. McIntosh resigned. It became necessary for the Governor, himself, to attend. He did so. The Commissioners succeeded, at length, in effecting a treaty. It was signed by Thomas Butler, George Walton, and a long list of Cherokee chiefs.

By this treaty, the boundary was stipulated to be: Beginning at a point on the Tennessee River, below Tellico Block-house, called Wildcat Rock, in a direct line to the Militia Spring, near the Maryville road; from the said spring to the Chilhowee Mountain, by a line so to be run, as will leave all the farms on Nine Mile Creek to the northward and eastward of it; and to be continued along Chilhowee Mountain, until it strikes Hawkins's line; thence along the said line, to the great Iron Mountain; and from the top of which, a line to be continued, in a south easterly course, to where the most southwardly branch of Little River crosses the divisional line to Tugalo River. From the place of beginning, the Wildcat Rock, down the north-east margin river, (not including islands,) to a point or place, one mile above the junction of that river with the Clinch; and from thence, by a line to be drawn in a right angle, until it intersects Hawkins's line, leading from Clinch; thence down the said line to the River Clinch; thence up the said river to its junction with Emmery's River; thence up Emmery's River to the foot of Cumberland Mountain; from thence a line to be drawn north-eastwardly along the foot of the mountain, until it intersects with Campbell's line.*

1798

* State Papers, vol. v., page 638.

The treaty provides for the running and marking of the boundary, and the payment to the Cherokees, for this cession of territory, of five thousand dollars, and an annuity of one thousand dollars.

The people of Greene county participated in the sentiment of the nation, in reference to the difficulties with France. The following proceedings were had:

At a meeting of the citizens of Greene county, held at Greeneville, Tenn., Colonel Daniel Kennedy was called to the chair, and George Duffield appointed secretary. A committee was appointed to "draw up and transmit to General Washington an address, expressive of the grateful sensibilities of the people, at his acceptance of the appointment of Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the American Armies at the present eventful crisis." The committee discharged the duty assigned, and received from General Washington this reply:

To the inhabitants of Greene county, in the State of Tennessee:

Gentlemen:—Having once more engaged in the arduous duties of public life, (after I had retired therefrom, with the most ardent wishes and pleasing hopes, that no circumstances would occur to call me from my peaceful abode, during the few remaining years of my life,) I cannot be insensible to the approbation of my fellow-citizens; and while I thank you, gentlemen, for your warm and friendly address, permit me to observe, that I can take no merit to myself for my personal sacrifices I may make ———, in accepting the important trust with which I have been honoured; for when the property of our citizens has been spoiled, our sovereignty encroached upon, our constituted authorities threatened, can that man be deserving the appellation of an American citizen, who would suffer any motives of personal consideration, to withhold his exertions at such an eventful crisis? It certainly appears, gentlemen, as you observe, that the mild and pacific policy of America has been mistaken for cowardice and a base desertion of our rights. But I trust that the injured spirit of our country will now be roused, and that we shall show to the world, that we can and will support our rights and the government of our choice, against all aggressions, and that we will yield our independence only with our lives. To do this, requires a spirit of unanimity, which, I presume, will shortly prevail in every part of the United States, and that every virtuous citizen will see the necessity of his exertions, to preserve the invaluable blessings which we have yet in our power.

George Washington.

Mount Vernon, Sept. 8th, 1798.

1798 { Agreeably to the proclamation of Governor Sevier, the second session of the second General Assembly of the State of Tennessee began at Knoxville, December 3, 1798.

Thomas Hardeman, Senator from Davidson, had resigned, and James Robertson was elected in his place. William Blount was elected Senator from Knox, in place of James White, resigned. Governor Blount was elected Speaker of the Senate; George Roulstone, Clerk; and N. B. Buckingham, Assistant Clerk.

Edward Scott was elected Principal Clerk, and Stephen Hurd, Assistant Clerk, of the House of Representatives.

In the message to the Legislature, transmitted by Governor Sevier, he suggests an amendment of the militia law, "at this moment, when the United States are menaced with foreign aggression;" and also "an appropriation to prevent deficiency in arms and ammunition." He calls attention to the "recent proceeding of North-Carolina, militating with the Act of Cession and closing her offices, by which that State prevents the inhabitants of Tennessee from perfecting their land titles." He directs legislative attention to the lands recently acquired from the Cherokees, and congratulates the country on the return to their homes, of such of the citizens as had been excluded temporarily from their quiet possession.

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE STATE OF TENNESSEE.

Fourth Congress—Second Session—Began 5th December, 1796, ended 3d March, 1797.
Senators—William Cocke,
William Blount.
Representative—Andrew Jackson.

Special Session of the Senate for one day, being 4th March, 1797.
Senator present—William Blount.

Fifth Congress—First Session—Began 15th May, 1797, ended 10th July, 1797.
Senators—William Cocke,
Wm. Blount, attended 16 May, 1797. } Expelled, 8 July, 1797. }

(It does not appear that any Representative from Tennessee attended at this session.)

Fifth Congress—Second Session—Began 13th Nov., 1797, ended 16th July, 1798.
Senators—ANDREW JACKSON,
JOSEPH ANDERSON.
Representative—WILLIAM CHAS. COLE CLAIBOURNE.
Special Session of the Senate, began 17th July, and ending 19th July, 1798.
Senator—JOSEPH ANDERSON—(one seat vacant.)
Fifth Congress—Third Session—Began 3d Dec., 1798, ended 3d March, 1799.
Senators—DANIEL SMITH,
JOSEPH ANDERSON.
Representative—WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBOURNE.
Sixth Congress—First Session—Began 2d December, 1799, ended 14th May, 1800.
Senators—JOSEPH ANDERSON,
WILLIAM COCKE.
Representative—WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBOURNE.

July 8th.—William Blount, Senator from Tennessee, was, on this day, expelled from his seat in the Senate of the United States. Three days before that time, he wrote the following letter:

PHILADELPHIA, July 5th, '97.

In a few days, you will see published by order of Congress, a letter said to have been written by me to James Carey. It makes quite a fuss here. I hope, however, the people upon the Western waters, will see nothing but good in it, for so I intended it, especially for Tennessee.

The letter to Carey became the platform of proceedings against Senator Blount. The Sergeant-at-arms of the United States Senate, James Matthers, soon after repaired to Knoxville, with the purpose of arresting the ex-senator, and of taking him in custody, to the seat of Government. After the service of process upon Blount, the Sergeant-at-arms found it impossible to execute that part of his official duty, which required him to take the accused to Philadelphia. He refused to go. Matthers was treated by the citizens of Knoxville with marked attention and civility. He became, for several days, the guest of Governor Blount, and was hospitably entertained by the State authorities. After some days, wishing to return with his prisoner to Philadelphia, he summoned a *posse* to his assistance. But not a man could be found willing to accompany him. Whatever foundation there may have been for the impeachment of William Blount, and whatever truth there may have been in the

charge preferred against him, there was no one in Tennessee who viewed his conduct as criminal, unpatriotic, or unfriendly to the true interests of the State, or the West; and all refused to sanction the proceedings against him. The influence of the Marshal of the District was either withheld, or was impotent amongst the countrymen of Blount. The Sergeant-at-arms, convinced of the fruitlessness of further attempt, to execute one part of his mission, started homeward. Some of the citizens accompanied him a few miles from town, where, assuring him that William Blount could not be taken from Tennessee as a prisoner, bade him a polite adieu.

Next to Sevier, Blount was the most popular man in Tennessee. He had been identified with her people from the earliest settlement of the country, and his public services had been particularly advantageous to their interests, and had secured their approbation, and were rewarded by their esteem and their gratitude. Whatever may have been public sentiment elsewhere, at home he never lost the confidence, nor forfeited the good opinion of his countrymen. An opportunity occurred, soon after the impeachment of Mr. Blount, in which the people of Knox county and the Senate of Tennessee demonstrated their appreciation of his fidelity to their interest, and of his capacity to serve them. General James White, the Senator from Knox county, sympathizing in the general feeling, resigned his seat in the Senate of Tennessee. With this resignation, the Speaker's chair, to which he had been elected, became also vacant. The voters of Knox county seized the opportunity, and elected William Blount their Senator; and upon its meeting at the called session of Dec. 3, 1797, the Senate unanimously elected him its Speaker. And it is a circumstance somewhat remarkable, that while that body was acting as a Court of Impeachment, of which Speaker Blount was the President, the United States Senate was, at the same time, engaged in trying the impeachment against him.

In the meantime, the trial of Mr. Blount progressed.

"MONDAY, Dec. 17, 1798.

"The process issued on the first day of March last, against William Blount, together with the return made thereon, were read."

The Articles of Impeachment, in substance, charged that William Blount did conspire to set on foot a military hostile expedition against the territory of his Catholic Majesty in the Floridas and Louisiana, for the purpose of wresting them from his Catholic Majesty, and of conquering the same for the King of Great Britain. "William Blount did not appear." Tuesday, Dec. 18, 1798.—Jared Ingersoll and A. J. Dallas asked and obtained leave to appear as Counsel for William Blount, and on the 24th, filed their plea, objecting to the jurisdiction of the Court, as William Blount was not now a Senator of the United States, and because, by the eighth article of the Constitution, it is declared and provided "that in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State or District wherein the crime shall have been committed," &c., &c.

January 3, 1799.—Mr. Bayard, in behalf of the managers, filed a replication. To this Mr. Ingersoll filed a rejoinder.

January 10.—Court proceeded in the debate on the motion, "That William Blount was a civil officer of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and, therefore, liable to be impeached by the House of Representatives, and that as the Articles of Impeachment charge him with high crimes and misdemeanours, supposed to have been committed while a Senator of the United States, his plea ought to be overruled." It was determined in the negative. Yeas, 11 ; Nays, 14.

January 14, 1799.—Judgment was pronounced by the Vice
1799 { President, that "The Court is of opinion that the matter alleged in the plea of the defendant, is sufficient, in law, to show that this Court ought not to hold jurisdiction of the said impeachment, and that the said impeachment be dismissed."

The failure to sustain the prosecution against Mr. Blount, and his elevation by his fellow-citizens and the Senate of Tennessee to the dignified position assigned him after his impeachment, testify sufficiently, that in their judgment, he had perpetrated no wrong—inflicted no injury, and purposed

no evil—especially against his own State. Had he lived longer, that State would still have confided in and rewarded him further. His services and his abilities were never more highly appreciated than at the time of his death, which occurred soon afterwards, at Knoxville, March 21, 1800, in the 53d year of his age. The several offices he had held, have been enumerated elsewhere in these Annals, and need not be here repeated. In all of them he had acquitted himself with signal ability, zeal and faithfulness. "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*" If he erred in the whole course of a patriotic life, let the error be ascribed to an overwrought devotion to North-Carolina and to Tennessee. To the special interests of the mother and the daughter he devoted his life, his energies and his character. In the latter, especially, his memory is still revered, and the name of Blount is gratefully remembered, even at the present day. Here, he was never censured for the conduct which was made the occasion of the Senate's proceedings against him; and his friends, conscious of his good intentions, never found it necessary to make a public vindication of his conduct. There is, however, in the hands of this Annalist, a vindication of William Blount, made in 1835, by Willie Blount, his younger brother, who was associated with him in most of the transactions of his public and private life, and who succeeded him in the administration of the duties of Governor of Tennessee for many years. His character for candour, truth and impartiality, will be nowhere questioned, and the position of no one could have been more favourable for the ascertainment of all the facts he mentions, or the purposes to which he alludes, in the vindication of William Blount. It is addressed to Richard B. Blount, and the other orphan children and the relatives of the deceased. This document covers several closely written sheets, and, on account of its length, cannot be here given.

This vindication was never necessary for the good name of the subject of it in Tennessee. Had he lived longer, other positions would have been assigned him in the public service; but he was cut off in the prime of life. A plain marble slab covers his remains, and points out his grave,

near the entrance of the burying-ground of the First Presbyterian Church in Knoxville, upon which there is only the simple inscription: "William Blount, died March 21, 1800, aged 53 years."*

During an early period of Governor Sevier's administration, he was mainly instrumental in procuring the passage of an Act by Congress compromising the land interest, or Tennessee claim to her soil, by securing the appropriation of two hundred thousand acres north and east of the Congressional reservation line, for the use of two colleges; and also, further appropriations for county academies and common schools.†

His administration was also signalized by efforts to connect Tennessee with her sister States, viz: through the Cherokee nation, from Tellico Block-house to Georgia; also, from Winchester to Georgia, by Lowry's Ferry; and still another, leading from Nashville to Natchez, through the Chickasaw and Choctaw country.

On the last day of the called session of 1798, viz: January 5th, 1799, the presiding officers of the two Houses thus addressed the Governor:

To John Sevier, Governor of the State of Tennessee:

The communication you have thought proper to make to both Houses of the General Assembly, at the commencement, and during the present session, afford additional proofs of the care which hath always marked your official character, since the first appointment to your present station.

In the course of the present session, the Legislature have taken into consideration, the object of your several communications, and acted upon the same consistent with the exigency.

The General Assembly, having finished the business before them, propose to adjourn this evening, without day.

James Stuart, S. H. R.
Wm. Blount, S. S.

*For some of these details, the writer acknowledges himself indebted to the last survivor of the pioneers of Knoxville, James Park, Esq., of that city, who, at an advanced age of a life of piety, usefulness and public spirit, has kindly contributed, from the rich stores of a well-informed mind and tenacious memory, his recollections of the past.

He is, also, in like manner indebted for letters from Hugh Dunlap, Esq, deceased, late of Paris, Tenn., who assisted in laying the foundation of Knoxville, and of civilization in Tennessee, from its eastern to its western section. He was the ancestor of the family of that name, already distinguished in their native State, and in Mississippi and Texas.

†Blount Papers.

Elections were held agreeably to law, and resulted again in the election of John Sevier as Governor of Tennessee, and W. C. C. Claibourne, Representative to Congress.

Sept. 16.—The first session of the third General Assembly, met at Knoxville on Monday, the sixteenth day of September, 1799, when Alexander Outlaw was elected Speaker of the Senate, and John Kennedy, principal Clerk.

William Dickson was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Edward Scott, Clerk.

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE.

BLOUNT AND SEVIER COUNTIES.—Samuel Glass.
COCKE AND JEFFERSON.—Alexander Outlaw.
CARTER AND WASHINGTON.—David Deaderick.
DAVIDSON.—Joel Lewis and Robert Weakly.
GRAINGER.—John Cocke.
GREENE.—Samuel Frazier.
HAWKINS.—George Maxwell.
KNOX.—John Crawford.
MONTGOMERY AND ROBERTSON.—James Norfleet.
SULLIVAN.—George Rutledge.
SUMNER.—Sampson Williams.

MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

BLOUNT.—James Scott.
CARTER.—Samuel Williams.
COCKE.—William Lillard.
DAVIDSON.—Wm. Dickson, Geo. Deaderick and Wm. Nealy.
GRAINGER.—Major Lea and Elijah Chishum.
GREENE.—John Gass.
HAWKINS.—William Hord.
JEFFERSON.—George Doherty.
KNOX.—John Menifee and John Sawyers.
MONTGOMERY.—William Bell.
ROBERTSON.—John Young.
SUMNER.—Wm. Hall, Isaac Walker and Wm. Montgomery.
SEVIER.—Spencer Clack.
SULLIVAN.—John Scott and Richard Gammon.
WASHINGTON.—Leeroy Taylor and John Sevier, Jun.

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

It is with peculiar satisfaction I have the honour, this day, of meeting your august body in this House, where I have the pleasure of informing you the State is blessed with peace and quietude—the fields of the husbandman abundantly supplied with the fruits of the earth—our

harvests have yielded to the labourer ample satisfaction for his toils, and the other crops of grain are equally proportionate.

The laws and regular decorum, so far as come within my knowledge, I have reason to believe, are duly observed and supported throughout the government. Emigration and population are daily increasing, and I have no doubt, under the propitious hand of Providence, your patronage, the wise and wholesome laws you, in your wisdom, may think proper to enact, that our State will become more and more respectable and conspicuous, and the citizens enjoy all that happiness and comfort this human life, in an ordinary course, will afford them. The poor and distressed claim the first share of your deliberations, and I have not the smallest doubt your attention will be duly directed to that, and every other object worthy of legislative consideration. Among other things, gentlemen, permit me again to remind you, that the landed estates of your constituents, in general, appear to be verging on to a very precarious and doubtful situation, and should a timely interference be neglected, it may become a subject of very great regret. I, therefore, beg leave to recommend, so far as may be consistent with the cession act, public and good faith, that you provide, in the most ample manner, for the security and peaceful enjoyment of all such property as may appear to be in jeopardy.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I now proceed to enjoin on you the great necessity of promoting and encouraging manufactories, the establishing ware-houses and inspections of various kinds. It will give a spring to industry and enable the agricultural part of the community to export and dispose of all the surplus part of their bulky and heavy articles. Providence has blessed this State with a soil peculiarly calculated for the production of wheat, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco and indigo; it abounds with ores and minerals, and has navigable rivers, amply sufficient to enable us to export to the best of markets. This being the case, gentlemen, you may readily conceive how essentially necessary it will be for the encouraging and promoting of all the advantages enumerated, for you to lend your early legislative aid and patronage. With respect to the affairs of Europe, I am not able to give you much satisfactory information. The public prints seem to furnish contradictory accounts, but so far as I am capable of judging, our affairs with France assume a less threatening aspect than heretofore, and I have the fullest confidence that the Executive of the General Government will use the greatest and wisest exertions to promote and secure the peace, safety and dignity of the United States.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I am deeply and sensibly impressed with the honour conferred on me by my fellow citizens, in being elected a third time, to preside as the Chief Magistrate of the State. I earnestly wish I possessed greater abilities and talents to enable me to discharge the important duties, trust and confidence they have reposed; but rest assured, so far as I am

enabled, nothing will be lacking or neglected in me, that will tend towards the interest, welfare and safety of the State. Before I close this address, I cannot forbear requesting a harmony of measures in your councils, and that you unite in endeavouring to promote our dearest rights and interests, and I have the fullest hope that, by your wisdom and policy, you may secure to our country the advantages and respect to which it is entitled and has a right to enjoy.

(Signed) JOHN SEVIER.

September 19th, 1799.

As was the custom of the day, the Speakers of the two Houses made a suitable response to the Governor's message. It is here inserted:

To his Excellency, JOHN SEVIER, Governor of the State of Tennessee.

Sir:—It is with peculiar satisfaction the Senate and House of Representatives received your communication announcing to them that our State is crowned with the blessings of peace and quietude; that the toils of the husbandman are amply rewarded with abundant crops; that the laws, throughout the State, are well and duly executed; that emigration and population are daily increasing; and we beg leave now to assure you that, under the directing hand of the All-seeing Providence, nothing, on our part, shall be wanting to increase the respectability of our rising State, and promote the welfare and happiness of our constituents.

Receive, sir, our assurances that the matters and things contained in your communications, and recommended to us as objects of legislative attention, shall meet with that due investigation and deliberation that the importance of the different subjects requires.

We beg leave, now, sir, to express our gratification of being the witnesses of your being once more called, by the unanimous suffrage of the freemen of Tennessee, to the seat of the Chief Magistrate of the State, and expressing our public confidence that you will continue to execute those duties, which appertain to your office, with that firmness, judgment and impartiality which have heretofore characterized the Chief Magistrate of Tennessee.

A. E. OUTLAW, S. S.
WM. DICKSON, Jun., S. H. R.

Oct. 26.—The county of Sumner was reduced to its constitutional limits, and a new county, by the name of Smith, established. Its first Court was held at the house of Major Tilman Dixon. Smith county was called for General Daniel Smith, who who was a native of Virginia, and was appointed, by Governor Jefferson, a Commissioner to run the dividing line between that State and North-Carolina. In the execution of this duty, he saw the beautiful country in the West, and soon afterwards removed to what is now

Sumner county, whose people he represented in the North-Carolina Legislature, and in the Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. He became Secretary of the Territory and a member of the Convention of 1796. He was afterwards elected one of the Senators from Tennessee. General Smith was a practical surveyor of lands, whose works never needed correction. For intelligence, well-cultivated talents, for integrity and usefulness, in soundness of judgment, in the practice of virtue and in shunning vice, he was equalled by few; and in purity of motive, excelled by none.*

Another new county was, at the same time, established. It was called Wilson, after Major David Wilson, a native of Pennsylvania, who emigrated to Sumner county, then North-Carolina. Here he was chosen a member of the Territorial Assembly, and, subsequently, Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was an active and valuable officer in the Revolutionary war, and, for his services, the State of North-Carolina, by a special act of her Legislature, presented him with a tract of valuable land within the limits of the State of Tennessee. He was an honest and highly meritorious citizen.

The first Court of Wilson county was held at the house of Captain John Harpole. First magistrates were—Charles Cavenaugh, John Allcom, John Lancaster, Elmore Douglass, John Doak, Matthew Figuns, Henry Ross, Wm. Gray, Andrew Donelson and Wm. McLain.†

Robert Foster was elected clerk; Charles Cavenaugh, chairman; Charles Rosborough, sheriff; Wm. Gray, ranger; John Allcom, Register; B. Seawell, Esquire, was appointed county solicitor.

Oct. 26.—The southern part of Davidson county was formed into a new county.

The new county was named Williamson. John Johnson, Sen., Daniel Perkins, James Buford, William Edmonson and Captain James Scurlock, were the Commissioners to lay off

* Blount Papers.

† Afterwards elected Clerk, which office he held for many years, His son, J. S. McLain, afterwards was elected, and still continues Clerk of Wilson county—1852.

and erect public buildings in the county seat. The first Court was held at Franklin. Williamson county was declared to be part of Mero District.

Caption of the principal Acts passed by the Legislature of Tennessee, at its session commencing September 16, 1799.

1. An act increasing the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace.
8. To suppress excessive gaming.
9. To prevent the wilful or malicious killing of slaves.
10. Making provision for opening a road from Hamilton to Mero District across Cumberland Mountain, through the lands of the Cherokee Indians, as stipulated by the Treaty of Holston.
26. Establishing Kingston, near South-West Point, in Knox county, under the direction of David Miller, Alexander Carmichael, George Preston, John Smith, Wm. L. Lovely, Merriweather Smith and Thomas N. Clark.
33. Establishing the town of Franklin. Abraham Maury, John Walthral, Joseph Porter, Wm. Boyd and David McEwen, are appointed Commissioners.
34. Authorizing John McNairy, Joseph Coleman, Robert Searcy, Joseph Philips and David McGavock, to contract for building a stone Court House in Nashville.
36. Establishing Haysborough, in Davidson county.
38. Establishing Dandridge, in Jefferson county.
46. Making provision for electing Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States.

"That the said Electors may be elected with as little trouble to the citizens as possible," the Legislature again selected three citizens in each of the counties of the three Districts of Washington, Hamilton and Mero, whose duty it was to meet at Jonesboro', Knoxville and Nashville respectively, and elect one Elector for each District. These three Electors were then to meet at Knoxville, and "elect a President and Vice-President of the United States."

Besides the distinguished sons of Tennessee referred to in these pages, and others still surviving, these Annals could have mentioned many others who have gone abroad, and acquired elsewhere fame and character—as her Holt's in Georgia; McClung, and Clay and Parsons of Alabama; Barton, W. E. Anderson, Lea and Dunlap of Mississippi; Claiborne and Gaines of Louisiana; Houston, Crocket and Dunlap of Texas; Sevier of Arkansas; Burnett of California; Barton, Gallaher and King of Missouri; Tipton of Indiana, and

Reynolds of Illinois. The list could be much enlarged, but the limits of this volume will not allow the writer to indulge himself in that grateful duty.

Sevier's Court.

The laws of Tennessee required the Governor of the State to reside in Knoxville. In compliance with this requirement, Governor Sevier kept the Executive office at that place, but had his domicil in the country, a few miles from the capital. To this he was driven, not less by necessity than his own taste, for rural quiet and the unrestrained habits, which use had imposed upon him in his intercourse with men.

After the organization of the State Government, the aspect of affairs at the capital underwent a change. *There* was no longer the source of power and patronage. These were no longer lodged in one individual, but were thrown broad-cast over the whole State, and were confided to the people themselves. The same court was, of course, not paid to Governor Sevier, that had been usually offered to his predecessor. There was discernible, too, less of courtly usage, and less deference to magisterial dignity and patronage. Sevier was, however, equally cordial, hospitable and generous. His private fortune was small. Like Clarke, Boon, and other pioneers, his public services had not been requited with pecuniary compensation. He was, indeed, a poor man. The inadequacy of his salary, forced him to adopt the most frugal and inexpensive habits. His attire was plain, but neat—his household limited, and his dwelling most simple, primitive and unpretending ; but even when thus restricted by the iron hand of poverty, his heart was generous and his feelings liberal. With less of the display of hospitality, with perhaps a smaller appreciation of some of its manifestations than Gov. Blount had shewn, the Governor of the State of Tennessee strove hard, for a time, to maintain the consequence of the Executive office, and at least not to allow it to fall beneath that of the Territorial administration. The effort was unavailing. His official duties he discharged, according to law, in town ; those of the citizen and gentleman, were transferred to his home in the country. The civilities due to all from the Governor, were dispensed at

his plain residence, south of the river, on a plantation still known as the "Governor's Old Place," and now occupied by Mr. George Kirby.

Upon the great road leading from Knoxville, the first Capital of Tennessee, and still the metropolis of the Eastern section of that State, and connecting it with Sevierville, Newell's and McGaughey's Stations, may be seen, at the distance of five miles from the former place, the ruins of an old station, now in a deserted and worn-out field. In early times it had given protection to several families adjacent to it. Before Knoxville was laid off, this station was a frontier post, which was reached by emigrants passing the trace from the mouth of French Broad to the lower settlements on Nine Mile and Pistol Creek. Near that trace, and after it crossed Bay's Mountain, at the foot of one of its rugged spurs, gushed forth a beautiful spring, surrounded by a hilly and rocky country. In this secluded spot stood the cabin of Governor Sevier. He enlarged the building, and made it, if not commodious and elegant, convenient and comfortable.

Here he received his guests in the olden style of primitive hospitality and backwoods etiquette. His house was always open, and not unfrequently crowded with his old soldiers and comrades in arms. A wandering pilgrim from Natchez or the Missouri, or his countrymen from Cumberland or elsewhere, passing anywhere through the country, would find out the abode of their old captain, and was sure there to receive an old-fashioned welcome. Amongst his visitors were some of the Cherokee chiefs, with whom he recounted past success to one, and defeat and disaster to the other. In his neighbourhood were his compatriots, White, Gillespie, Jack, Cozby and Ramsey, all of them once officers of Franklin, members and officers now of a well-regulated government, and of their mother church.

It is not true, as has been sometimes asserted, that Gov. Sevier was an Elder in the Presbyterian Church. It was far otherwise. He was a member of no church. With his family, he attended public worship at Lebanon, four and a half miles east of Knoxville, then under the pastoral care of Rev. Samuel Carrick, where he was a constant and respectful

hearer. On these occasions, he doffed the soldier and commander—his hunting shirt and his sword—wearing only his three-corned cocked hat, with citizen's clothes. He greeted his old friends with his accustomed cordiality. In the church, his demeanour was grave and reverential. He always occupied the pew of his well-tried and trusty friend, Doctor Cozby. This pew, in all its antique model and proportions, is still preserved, and can be seen on the left of the principal aisle, near the front entrance of the present old stone building. While at church, Sevier exhibited the well-bred Williamsburg gentleman, rather than the pioneer citizen. But his demeanour, though characterized by the greatest propriety and gravity, was never understood to imply any personal interest in religious truth. Sevier's "ethics did not run in that line." Gallio-like, "he cared for none of these things." He was too conscientious to appear to be what he was not. This was not only the purest day of the republic, but the soundest period of the church. The conscience of the individual would have been outraged by, and revolted at, a false profession, and public sentiment, far from tolerating, administered its severest rebuke of unworthy membership in any communion.

John Sevier.

The Annals of Tennessee, after the period to which this volume extends, will abound with further incidents in the public service of Governor Sevier. But it may not be deemed out of place to say here, that it was his destiny to wear out his life in that service. After his first series of six years as Governor had rendered him ineligible, he remained in private life two years. Becoming again eligible, he was biennially elected to the Gubernatorial Chair for another series of six years. He was then (1811) elected to the Congress of the United States from the Knoxville District, and re-elected to the same place in the succeeding Congress (1813). This period embraced the twelfth and the thirteenth Congress, in which the war of 1812 was declared and carried on. During this time, though usually a silent member, Governor Sevier was active and efficient. He was placed

upon the Committee of Military Affairs, where, from his long experience, he was able to render essential and important services on subjects referred to his committee. Mr. Monroe, in 1815, appointed him a Commissioner to run the boundary of territory ceded by the Creeks to the United States, in that year. He left his home near Knoxville, in June, upon that duty—was taken sick of a fever in September, and died in a tent, on the 24th of that month. He was buried with the honours of war, by the troops under command of Captain Walker, U. S. A., on the east bank of the Tallapoosa River, at an Indian village called Tuckabatchee, near Fort Decatur, in Alabama. He was in his seventy-first year.

During his absence from home, at the August election of that year, Governor Sevier was re-elected to Congress without opposition—an evidence of his undiminished popularity to the end of life. The Legislature of Tennessee noticed his decease, and attested the appreciation by the State of his great services and high character, by the customary resolution to wear crape as a badge of mourning and respect for his memory. For more than forty years, Sevier had been constantly, and actively, and successfully occupied in the public service—civil, military and political; and the intelligence of his death diffused a general sorrow throughout the State and the West, where his memory is still respected, and his great services highly appreciated.

More will appear in the further Annals of Tennessee, relative to General James Robertson. Here it is proper to state, that this father of Tennessee—this founder of the settlements on Watauga and Cumberland; this most successful negotiator between his countrymen and their Indian neighbours; this citizen, who so well united the character of the patriot and the patriarch; continued to the close of his useful life, an active friend of his country, and possessed, in an eminent degree, the confidence, esteem and veneration of all his cotemporaries; and his memory and services to the Western settlements, in peace and in war, are recollected with grateful regard by the present generation. He died a little earlier than his compatriot and colleague, Sevier. This event took place at the Chickasaw Agency, September 1, 1814.

1800

Robertson and Sevier both were pioneers on Watauga; what the one was to East, the other was to West Tennessee. Each, after a long life of activity and usefulness in civil and military affairs, died in the public service, and within Indian territory. A duty remains to be performed, in further honour of her two great founders—Robertson and Sevier—by the people of Tennessee. Their place of entombment is beyond its boundaries, and it is, perhaps, proper that their remains should not be removed from the field of their labours, their conquest and their glory, where they now repose. But Tennessee gratitude and public spirit should resolve, that near the proud Capitol at Nashville, a cenotaph should be erected, princely and magnificent, in memory of the founder at once of the State and of its flourishing Metropolis.

Not less imperative is the further duty, of adorning and dignifying the ancient capital of Tennessee with a similar structure, in memory of Sevier. Let one of the historic places within old Knoxville, or in its environs, be chosen, on which a cenotaph shall be erected, commemorative of the achievements, military and civil, of the pioneer on Watauga, the hero of King's Mountain, the Governor of Franklin and of Tennessee. May the writer suggest respectfully, though earnestly, to the able and enlightened press of his State, to appeal—as he does himself here appeal—to the public spirit and liberality of his countrymen, thus to perpetuate the fame of these worthies in the places already consecrated by their noble and patriotic services.

For the present, these Annals will stop here. Before closing the volume, however, it may be proper to add some general remarks, which could not be so well introduced elsewhere, upon Frontier Life, Frontier Manners, Frontier Society and Frontier Education.

Besides the enterprise, fearlessness and courage, already mentioned, as characteristic of the first settlers of Tennessee, we may mention other features in the character of these pioneers. In all the relations of life, their position being new and peculiar, their manners and customs, their costume, amusements, pursuits, &c., are worthy of brief remark.

The settlement of Tennessee was unlike that of the pre-

sent new country of the United States. Emigrants from the Atlantic cities, and from most points in the Western interior, now embark upon steamboats or other craft, and, carrying with them all the conveniences and comforts of civilized life—indeed, many of its luxuries—are, in a few days, without toil, danger or exposure, transported to their new abodes, and, in a few months, are surrounded with the appendages of home, of civilization, and the blessings of law and of society. The wilds of Minnesota and Nebraska, by the agency of steam, or the stalwart arms of Western boatmen, are at once transformed into the settlements of a commercial and civilized people. Independence and St. Paul's, six months after they are laid off, have their stores and their workshops, their artizans and their mechanics. The mantua maker and the tailor arrive in the same boat with the carpenter and mason. The professional man and the printer quickly follow. In the succeeding year, the piano, the drawing-room, the restaurant, the billiard table, the church bell, the village and the city in miniature, are all found, while the neighbouring interior is yet a wilderness and a desert. The town and comfort, taste and urbanity, are first; the clearing, the farm-house, the wagon road and the improved country, second. It was far different on the frontier in Tennessee. At first, a single Indian trail was the only entrance to the eastern border of it, and for many years admitted only of the hunter and the pack-horse. It was not till the year 1776, that a wagon was seen in Tennessee. In consequence of the want of roads—as well as of the great distance from sources of supply—the first inhabitants were without tools, and, of course, without mechanics—much more, without the conveniences of living and the comforts of house-keeping. Luxuries were absolutely unknown. Salt was brought on pack-horses from Augusta and Richmond, and readily commanded ten dollars a bushel. The salt gourd, in every cabin, was considered as a treasure. The sugar-maple furnished the only article of luxury on the frontier; coffee and tea being unknown, or beyond the reach of the settlers, sugar was seldom made, and was only used for the sick, or in the preparation of a *sweetened dram* at a

wedding, or the arrival of a new-comer. The appendages of the kitchen, the cupboard and the table, were scanty and simple.

Iron was brought, at great expense, from the forges east of the mountain, on pack-horses, and was sold at an enormous price. Its use was, for this reason, confined to the construction and repair of ploughs and other farming utensils. Hinges, nails and fastenings of that material, were seldom seen.

The costume of the first settlers corresponded well with the style of their buildings and the quality of their furniture. The hunting shirit of the militiaman and the hunter was in general use. The rest of their apparel was in keeping with it—plain, substantial, and well adapted for comfort, use and economy. The apparel of the pioneers' family was all home-made; and, in a whole neighbourhood, there would not be seen, at the first settlement of the country, a single article of dress of foreign growth or manufacture. Half the year, in many families, shoes were not worn. Boots, a fur hat, and a coat with buttons on each side, attracted the gaze of the beholder, and sometimes received censure and rebuke. A stranger, from the old States, chose to doff his ruffles, his broadcloth and his queue, rather than endure the scoff and ridicule of the backwoodsmen.

The dwelling-house, on every frontier in Tennessee, was the log-cabin. A carpenter and a mason were not needed to build them—much less the painter, the glazier or the upholsterer. Every settler had, besides his rifle, no other instrument but an axe, a hatchet and a butcher knife. A saw, an augur, a froe and a broad-axe, would supply a whole settlement, and were used as common property in the erection of the log-cabin. The floor of the cabin was sometimes the earth. No saw-mill was yet erected, and, if the means or leisure of the occupant authorized it, he split out puncheons for the floor and for the shutter of the entrance to his cabin. The door was hung with wooden hinges and fastened by a wooden latch.

Such was the habitation of the pioneer Tennessean. Scarcely can one of these structures, venerable for their

years and the associations which cluster around them, be now seen in Tennessee. Time and improvement have displaced them. Here and there, in the older counties, may yet be seen the old log house, which sixty years ago sheltered the first emigrant, or gave, for the time, protection to a neighbourhood, assembled within its strong and bullet-proof walls. Such an one is the east end of Mr. Martin's house, at Campbell's Station, and the centre part of the mansion of this writer, at Mecklenburg, once Gilliam's Station, changed seomwhat, it is true, in some of its aspects, but preserving even yet, in the height of the story and in its old-fashioned and capacious fire-place, some of the features of primitive architecture on the frontier. Such, too, is the present dwelling house of Mr. Tipton, on Ellejoy, in Blount county, and that of Mr. Glasgow Snoddy, in Sevier county. But these old buildings are becoming exceedingly rare, and soon not one of them can be seen. Their unsightly proportions and rude architecture, will not much longer offend modern taste, nor provoke the idle and irreverent sneer of the fastidious and the fashionable. When the last one of these pioneer houses shall have fallen into decay and ruins, the memory of their first occupants will still be immortal and indestructible.

The interior of the cabin was no less unpretending and simple. The whole furniture, of the one apartment, answering in these primitive times, the purposes of the kitchen, the dining room, the nursery and the dormitory, were a plain homemade bedstead or two, some split bottomed chairs and stools; a large puncheon, supported on four legs, used, as occasion required, for a bench or a table, a water shelf and a bucket; a spinning wheel, and sometimes a loom, finished the catalogue. The wardrobe of the family was equally plain and simple. The walls of the house were hung round with the dresses of the females, the hunting shirts, clothes, and the arms and shot-pouches of the men.

The labour and employment of a pioneer family were distributed, in accordance with surrounding circumstances. To the men, was assigned the duty of procuring subsistence and materials for clothing, erecting the cabin and the station, opening and cultivating the farm, hunting the wild beasts,

and repelling and pursuing the Indians. The women spun the flax, the cotton and wool, wove the cloth, made them up, milked, churned, and prepared the food, and did their full share of the duties of house-keeping. Another thus describes them:—There we behold woman in her true glory; not a doll to carry silks and jewels; not a puppet to be dandled by fops, an idol of profane adoration, reverenced to-day, discarded to-morrow; admired, but not respected; desired, but not esteemed; ruling by passion, not affection; imparting her weakness, not her constancy, to the sex she should exalt; the source and mirror of vanity. We see her as a wife, partaking of the cares, and guiding the labours of her husband, and by her domestic diligence spreading cheerfulness all around; for his sake, sharing the decent refinements of the world, without being fond of them; placing all her joy, all her happiness, in the merited approbation of the man she loves. As a mother, we find her the affectionate, the ardent instructress of the children she has reared from infancy, and trained them up to thought and virtue, to meditation and benevolence; addressing them as rational beings, and preparing them to become men and women in their turn.

"Could there be happiness or comfort in such dwellings and such a state of society? To those who are accustomed to modern refinements, the truth appears like fable. The early occupants of log-cabins were among the most happy of mankind. Exercise and excitement gave them health; they were practically equal; common danger made them mutually dependent; brilliant hopes of future wealth and distinction led them on; and as there was ample room for all, and as each new-comer increased individual and general security, there was little room for that envy, jealousy and hatred, which constitute a large portion of human misery in older societies. Never were the story, the joke, the song and the laugh, better enjoyed than upon the hewed blocks, or puncheon stools, around the roaring log fire of the early Western settler. The lyre of Apollo was not hailed with more delight in primitive Greece, than the advent of the first fiddler among the dwellers of the wilderness; and the polished daughters of the East never enjoyed themselves half so well, moving to

the music of a full band, upon the elastic floor of their ornamented ball-room, as did the daughters of the emigrants, keeping time to a self-taught fiddler, on the bare earth or puncheon floor of the primitive log cabin. The smile of the polished beauty, is the wave of the lake, where the wave plays gently over it, and her movement, is the gentle stream which drains it; but the laugh of the log cabin, is the gush of nature's fountain, and its movement, its leaping waters."*

On the frontier the diet was necessarily plain and homely, but exceedingly abundant and nutritive. The Goshen of America† furnished the richest milk, the finest butter, and the most savoury and delicious meats. In their rude cabins, with their scanty and inartificial furniture, no people ever enjoyed in wholesome food a greater variety, or a superior quality of the necessaries of life. For bread, the Indian corn was exclusively used. It was not till 1790, that the settlers on the rich bottoms of Cumberland and Nollichucky, discovered the remarkable adaptation of the soil and climate of Tennessee to the production of this grain. Emigrants from James River, the Catawba and the Santee, were surprised at the amount and quality of the corn crops, surpassing greatly the best results of agricultural labour and care in the Atlantic States. This superiority still exists, and Tennessee, by the census of 1840, was *the* corn State. Of all the farinacea, corn is best adapted to the condition of a pioneer people; and if idolatry is at all justifiable, Ceres, or certainly the Goddess of Indian corn, should have had a temple and a worshipper among the pioneers of Tennessee. Without that grain, the frontier settlements could not have been formed and maintained. It is the most certain crop—requires the least preparation of the ground—is most congenial to a virgin soil—needs not only the least amount of labour in its culture, but comes to maturity in the shortest time. The pith of the matured stalk of the corn is esculent and nutritious, and the stalk itself compressed between rollers, furnishes what is known as corn-stalk molasses.

This grain requires, also, the least care and trouble in preserving it. It may safely stand all winter, upon the stalk,

* Kendall. † Butler.

without injury from the weather or apprehension of damage by disease, or the accidents to which other grains are subject. Neither smut nor rust, nor weavil nor snow storm, will hurt it. After its maturity, it is also prepared for use or the granary, with little labour. The husking is a short process, and is even advantageously delayed till the moment arrives for using the corn. The machinery for converting it into food is also exceedingly simple and cheap. As soon as the ear is fully formed, it may be roasted or boiled, and forms, thus, an excellent and nourishing diet. At a later period it may be grated, and furnishes, in this form, the sweetest bread. The grains boiled in a variety of modes, either whole or broken in a mortar, or roasted in the ashes, or popped in an oven, are well relished. If the grain is to be converted into meal, a simple tub-mill answers the purpose best, as the meal *least perfectly ground* is always preferred. A bolting cloth is not needed, as it diminishes the sweetness and value of the flour. The catalogue of the advantages of this meal might be extended further. Boiled in water, it forms the frontier dish called *mush*, which was eaten with milk, with honey, molasses, butter or gravy. Mixed with cold water, it is, at once, ready for the cook—covered with hot ashes, the preparation is called the ash-cake ; placed upon a piece of clapboard, and set near the coals, it forms the journey-cake; or managed in the same way, upon a helveless hoe, it forms the hoe-cake ; put in an oven, and covered over with a heated lid, it is called, if in a large mass, a pone or loaf, if in smaller quantities, dodgers. It has the further advantage, over all other flour, that it requires in its preparation few culinary utensils, and neither sugar, yeast, eggs, spices, soda, pot-ash or other *et ceteras* to qualify or perfect the bread. To all this, it may be added, that it is not only cheap and well tasted but it is, unquestionably the most wholesome and nutritive food. The largest and healthiest people in the world, have lived upon it exclusively. It formed the principal bread of that robust race of men—giants in miniature—which, half a century since, was seen on the frontier

The dignity of history is not lowered by this enumeration of the pre-eminent qualities of Indian corn. The rifle and the

axe have had their influence in subduing the wilderness to the purposes of civilization, and they deserve their eulogists and trumpeters. Let pæans be sung all over the mighty West, to Indian corn—without it, the West would have still been a wilderness. Was the frontier suddenly invaded? Without commissary or quartermaster, or other sources of supply, each soldier parched a peck of corn; a portion of it was put into his pockets, the remainder in his wallet, and, throwing it upon his saddle, with his rifle on his shoulder, he was ready, in half an hour, for the campaign. Did a flood of emigration inundate the frontier, with an amount of consumers disproportioned to the supply of grain? The facility of raising the Indian corn, and its early maturity, gave promise and guaranty that the scarcity would be temporary and tolerable. Did the safety of the frontier demand the services of every adult militiaman? The boys and women could, themselves, raise corn and furnish ample supplies of bread. The crop could be gathered next year. Did an autumnal intermittent confine the whole family or the entire population, to the sick bed? This certain concomitant of the clearing, and cultivating the new soil, mercifully withholds its paroxysms, till the crop of corn is made. It requires no further labour or care afterwards. Pæans, say we, and a temple and worshippers, to the Creator of Indian corn. The frontier man could gratefully say: "He maketh me to lie down in green pastures. He leadeth me beside the still waters. Thou *preparest a table before me in presence of mine enemies.*"

The sports of the frontier men were manly, athletic or warlike—the chase, the bear hunt, the deer drive, shooting at the target, throwing the tomahawk, jumping, boxing and wrestling, foot and horse racing. Playing marbles and pitching dollars—cards and backgammon—were little known, and were considered base or effeminate. The bugle, the violin, the fife and drum, furnished all the musical entertainments. These were much used and passionately admired. Weddings, military trainings, house-raisings, chopping frolics, were often followed with the fiddle, and dancing, and rural sports.

Another custom prevailed extensively on the frontier. An

account of it furnished many years since to " The Knoxville Argus," is here copied. Its style is scarcely in consonance with the gravity of history, but descriptive as it is of a usage not yet wholly unknown, and once general in Tennessee, it is deemed not unworthy of an insertion here. It was written late in December.

Mr. Editor—Christmas is just upon us again, and its return will awaken in the recollection of many an old settler, a melancholy reminiscence, of the way it was kept in *auld lang syne*. What would you give, Mr. Editor, to see a real old-fashioned backwoods Christmas frolic? or a Christmas country dance? or a Christmas quilting? or best of all, a genuine Christmas wedding? I mistake you much, if, with all your known appreciation of modern improvement, the bare mention of it has not excited your enthusiasm: and he must have little veneration, indeed, who can think of it without emotion. Why, your town parties, and balls, and *soirees*, and all that, are nothing in comparison. There is no heart about them—there is still less of nature. But the contrast makes me sad, and I leave it. Who, in these times of modern degeneracy, ever hears of school-boys barring out the master? That in my early days, on the frontier, was one of the regular observances of the Christmas holiday. Perhaps you don't understand even this custom of early times in Tennessee, and need to have it described. Well, then if either you or your readers have so far wandered from the old paths trodden by our venerated fathers, as to require it to be explained, let me do so by first saying, that in the nomenclature of early times out here, school-boy was synonymous with your present pupil, scholar, student, academian, or collegian. The different grades of freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, graduate and under graduate, bachelor and master of arts, were as little known as the secrets of astrology or the Metamorphoses of Ovid. A country school had but two classes in it, viz: the big boys and the little boys, and sometimes a third—the girls. Again, in the backwoods vocabulary, *master* was a synonyme with your present teacher, preceptor, tutor, professor, principal, superintendent, rector or president. Academy, Institute, College and Uni-

versity, were words not adapted to these parallels of latitude at all: and if you had spoken of a matriculation ticket, the employers and employees, parents, master and boys, would all have been astounded. They expressed the same idea by a simpler form: "John Smith has signed the school article, and Jim will be here to-morrow." The school-house was, in that day, a genuine *bona fide* log cabin, built of unhewn logs, cut from the forest in which it stood, near a spring, and was erected by the joint assistance of the "neighbours." The building was sexangular, the extreme points of the longest diameter, subserving the double purpose of ends to the house and convenient appendages for commodious *fire-places*, as chimneys were most significantly and appropriately called in those days of simple convenience and comfort in architecture. What did it matter if appertures at each end, as large as a barn door, did allow a rather free ingress to Boreas and the snows of winter? A neighbouring wood furnished supplies of fuel without stint. Oh! who can forget the luxury of one of those old-fashioned school-house fires! I shiver this cold night to think I shall not again sit by and enjoy them.

But barring out the master was effected thus: A school is a larger community in miniature, and a schoolmaster a monarch upon a small scale. Boys sometimes claim the right of self-government as inherent and divine, and, like older politicians, declare themselves, and, especially, about Christmas, to be free and equal; and if that declaration is not sanctioned by others, they claim the right of maintaining it even by revolution. The master, on the other hand, is as tenacious of his short-lived authority, as the Autocrat of Russia, or any European legitimist; and resists, at its inception, the first invasion of his prerogative. A short time before the usual outbreak, a spirit of insubordination and greater familiarity is manifested in the school. To repress this in the bud, the master assumes a sterner demeanour, becomes captious, arbitrary and tyrannical. His subjects become, of course, less patient of restraint, and call a convention. Some one "born to command," proposes the bold measure of rebellion, and the dethronement of the despot. The proposition meets the general concurrence of the school, and Fri-

day morning preceding Christmas, is appointed as the time for carrying the purpose into execution. The plan is communicated to some congenial spirits in the neighbourhood, who, sympathizing with the feelings of the youthful confederates, become their allies. At an early hour, they take possession of the school-house, kindle large fires in the chimneys, barricade the door; and wait, with shouts of defiance, for the approach of the master. He arrives, and is denied entrance. He commands submission, asserts his authority, attempts to enter by force, but is repulsed. Sometimes he calls others to assist in re-establishing his authority; but the besieged refuse to surrender, unless upon terms of honourable capitulation—a treat and a week of holidays. Conferrees of both parties are appointed, to negotiate the treaty; the terms are arranged, and the belligerents are at peace. If the terms are not assented to by the master, negotiation is at an end, and the *ultima ratio regum* decides the contest. The benches are removed from the barricaded door; the besieged party sallies forth, and captures the unaccommodating master. A prisoner in their hands, if he still continues obstinate, a gentle kind of violence is threatened. His captors, though unacquainted with the laws of nations, feel that *inter arma silent leges*, take their prisoner to the nearest water, and plunge him under it. The argument of the cold bath in December succeeds; he yields to their demands; a messenger is started off for apples and cider, and, sometimes, for refreshments of a more stimulating kind. A general merriment and exhilaration follow, in which the victors and the vanquished unite in reciting with cordial glee, both the tragic and comic of the siege. The holidays are spent in rural sports and manly amusements. The good wishes of the season obliterate all recollection of past differences between master and boys; and when, on the next Monday, "books" is called, each one quietly and cheerfully resumes his proper position in the school-house. The master's authority is recognized as legitimate—his instructions duly valued; the boys, late successful insurgents, have voluntarily returned to their allegiance, and after a pleasant relaxation from their studies, are again prosecuting them with profit and diligence.

They continue studious and obedient until the approach of the next Christmas."

The new-comer, on his arrival in the settlements, was everywhere, and at all times, greeted with a cordial welcome. Was he without a family? he was at once taken in as a cropper or a farming hand, and found a home in the kind family of some settler. Had he a wife and children? they were all asked, in backwoods phrase, "to camp with us till the neighbours can put up a cabin for you." The invitation accepted, the family where he stops is duplicated, but this inconvenience is of short duration. The host goes around the neighbourhood, mentions the arrival of the strangers, appoints a day, close at hand, for the neighbours to meet and provide them a home.

After the cabin is raised, and the new-comers are in it, every family, near at hand, bring in something *to give them a start.* A pair of pigs, a cow and calf, a pair of all the domestic fowls—any supplies of the necessaries of life which they have—all are brought and presented to the *beginners.* If they have come into the settlement in the spring, the neighbours make another frolic, and clear and fence a field for them.

All these acts of kindness and beneficence are not only gratuitous, but are performed without ostentation, and cordially. The strangers so appreciate them, and the first occasion that presents, they are ready, with a like spirit, to extend similar kind offices to emigrants who come next. The performance of them thus becomes a usage and a characteristic of the frontier stage of society.

Of other stamina in the character of the Tennessee pioneer, a stern independence in thought, feeling and action, attracts the notice and secures the respect of all who are pleased with simplicity, truth and nature. To these may be added frankness, candour, sincerity, cordiality, and the inviolability of a private friendship. He that could be false or faithless to a friend, was frowned out of backwoods society, and could never again enter it. No perfidy was considered so base, so belittling, and was so seldom excused or forgiven, as the desertion of a friend or ingratitude to a benefactor.

"Ingratum me si dixeris *omnia* dixeris."

To say of an individual that he was *not true*, carried with it a stigma which, on the frontier, could never be wiped out. On the contrary, to say his *heart was in its right place*, secured to him fraternal regard and public confidence.

Being in the simplest stage of society, wealth, station, office, family, were, of course, not essential to distinction or esteem. His own personal merits, in which the physique had its weight—his good feelings, his capacity to amuse and instruct, and his innate civility, gave the possessor a passport to the consideration and regard of the frontier man and his family. Indeed, without them, an emigrant was friendless and a stranger. To have it said of one: *He cares for nobody*, was, itself, to exclude and drive him off.*

To say of one—*he has no neighbours*, was sufficient, in those times of mutual wants and mutual benefactions, to make the churl infamous and execrable. A failure to ask a neighbour to a raising, a clearing, a chopping frolic, or his family to a quilting, was considered a high indignity; such an one, too, as required to be explained or atoned for at the next muster or county court. Each settler was not only willing, but desirous to contribute his share to the general comfort and public improvement, and felt aggrieved and insulted if the opportunity to do so were withheld. "It is a poor dog that is not worth whistling for," replied the indignant neighbour who was allowed to remain at home, at his own work, while a house raising was going on in the neighbourhood. "What injury have I done that I am slighted so?"

This beneficent and unselfish feeling is the charm of a new community, and has not yet forsaken the more rural districts of Tennessee. Long may it be retained and venerated amongst the descendants of the pioneers!

At the termination of the Territorial Government, the tocsin of war had ceased, and on the long line of the Tennessee frontier a general peace prevailed—"the sword was beaten into a ploughshare and the spear into a pruning hook." The soldier rested from his martial toils, and no longer thought of the campaign, the rendezvous, the march, the bivouac, the night assault, the desperate charge, the

* Butler.

deadly conflict in arms, the deathful carnage, the fierce pursuit, nor the triumphs of victory. The conquest achieved, the enemy driven out, the country settled, after a struggle of twenty years the soldier reposed upon his laurels, doffed the warrior, and in the quiet repose of domestic life, devoted himself to the calmer pursuits of the citizen and the patriot at home. Order and law had taken the place of discontent and turbulence. Civil government was firmly established, and each citizen became still prouder of his country, and more interested in its prosperity and improvement.

From the existing peace, sprang up new and important duties. The war which had occupied the pioneers of Tennessee so long and so constantly, had forced upon them the unwelcome necessity of neglecting, in some degree, the intellectual and moral training of the young. While physical education had absorbed fully the attention of the first settlers, surrounding circumstances had not permitted them to give suitable culture to the minds and hearts of their children. In some of the forts and stations, some one in them best qualified for the duty, was selected to teach the children to read and write. Books were scarce on the frontier, and those suited to the age and capacity of the young, were not to be had. Paper, ink, slates and pencils, were of difficult procurement. An important letter, or despatch, was often written with ink, made of gunpowder, upon the blank leaf of a Bible, or other book—was sealed with rosin and forwarded by a runner to another post. School-houses on the border settlements were unknown—teacher and pupils would alike have there become victims of Indian cruelty and revenge. In the older neighbourhoods the children were better instructed.

Moral culture was, for like reasons, seldom afforded to the first inhabitants. Here and there was forted, with the rest of the settlers, the minister of truth, who conducted public worship, and expounded the word, and administered the sacraments. In the absence of such a functionary, a part of these services was performed by some pious layman, who in the older country had known the Sabbath and appreciated its sacredness—had hallowed the sanctuary and valued its

privileges—had bowed in prayer and felt its power—had heard the preached word and was impressed with its influences—had listened to the songs of the people of God, and had his heart melted by the inspirations of sacred music. Such an one, with no license but the consent of his hearers, no authority but the law of necessity, no order but the command of conscience and duty, became the leader of public worship in a fort, perhaps an exhorter and a minister. It cannot be doubted that this assumption of the sacerdotal office was, for the time being, productive of great good, and exerted a happy moral influence in restraining vice and promoting virtue upon the frontier.

Now, however, when peace was restored, the fort dismantled, and every inhabitant could set under his own vine and fig tree, "with none to molest or make him afraid," schoolhouses and churches became the first care of the inhabitants. A minister and a school-master was sought for in every neighbourhood. Many of the inhabitants had themselves enjoyed in the Fatherland the advantages of learning and of religious training. Yielding to the promptings of a spirit of enterprise and adventure, they forsook the altar and the fireside, where parental care and vigilance had furnished the means of moral and intellectual culture. Thrown suddenly upon a distant frontier, surrounded by thoughtless, if not profligate and vicious associates, they may at first have ceased to be shocked at the habitual desecration of the Sabbath, or the use of profane language. "Evil communications" may have corrupted their purity, and led them to deride the injunctions impressed upon the youthful conscience by maternal solicitude. Engaged in business, they become identified with all the interests of the society of which they now form a part, the heads of a family and the principal citizens of their neighbourhood. Their children are growing up, it may be, in carelessness and ignorance, untutored and vicious. It is now that the lessons of their youth, in all their force and freshness, come home to their heart and conscience, reminding them that their Father's house was a house of prayer. They recollect the sacred quiet of the day of rest, the catechism and the school-house. They think of their old minister and

the school-master. A teacher arrives in the neighbourhood, or a pioneer herald of the cross passes through the country. They are sought after. The one is invited to preach, a nucleus of a christian congregation is formed, and the regular ordinances of a christian church are established. The other is employed to teach; the school-house is erected; instruction, cheap, solid and useful, is imparted to the young. The whole face of society undergoes a perceptible amelioration. Good morals, thrift, taste, progress and improvement succeed.

Besides these sources of improvement, there were others worthy of notice. Roads and other channels of communication were now opened up to the several parts of the frontier, which admitted to them emigrants from older communities, who brought with them wealth, comfort, books, fashion and refinement. Commerce began to exert its wonted influence in modifying and refining society. Philadelphia and Baltimore merchants furnished capable young men of the West with a small stock of goods; and though subjected to the delay and expense of a long and tedious land transportation of seven or eight hundred miles, over bad roads, from these cities to Holston and Cumberland, the traffic became mutually advantageous to buyer and seller. Heavy articles of export reached the foreign markets by the flat-bottomed boats of the country, down the Mississippi. A few goods and groceries, from the West Indies, were received in keel boats, by the same channel. Money became more abundant. More attention was given by the inhabitants to the style and convenience of their buildings, the neatness and taste of their costume, and the embellishment and improvement of their farms and villages. Knoxville had begun to wear the aspect of a town, and Nashville gave, even then, certain indications of her future importance, wealth and commerce. The streets were extended; stores were multiplied and workshops were established. The future proud Metropolis of Tennessee—now adorned with the most magnificent Capitol in the Union—began to be visited by strangers in search of a theatre for the exercise of commercial enterprise and skill. No city has been more fortunate in having, as the artificers of its fortunes, skilful, enlightened,

liberal and public spirited merchants. Nashville may well be proud of the soldiers who have gone out from her midst, and the Commanders she has furnished, in every period of her history, when the condition of the State or the Union made a call upon her chivalry, her patriotism, or her devotion to liberty. She may be proud of the fame of her civilians and statesmen, whose remains repose in her precincts, or of those who, in after times, adorned, dignified and still serve her at home or in the national councils. She may boast of her science, her arts and her learning; but, earlier in her history, it was the spirit of the Nashville merchants, that made her what she is destined to be—and, indeed, already is—the great focus of wealth, of commerce and manufactures. At the end of the last century, radiating from that centre, went forth, to the surrounding settlements, industry, thrift, improvement and taste. Here and there, at irregular intervals, appeared the well-cultivated farm, in the woods of Cumberland, and the stately mansion in the place of the frontier cabin.

In those purer days of the republic, patriotism was not an echo merely. With the pioneers of Tennessee, it was a principle, deep, strong, active, full of vitality and vigour. "Their glowing love of country, their lofty independence, their devoted courage, their high religious trust, their zeal for education, as the consequence of their deep regard for the welfare of their descendants, all challenge our applause; all demand our emulation. In those days, professions of esteem, *pro bono publico*, were sealed with active efforts, not suffered to evaporate in air."*

The *principles* held by the men of that day were their *convictions*, the convictions of a deliberate judgment and of a pure and unselfish patriotism. In these, they were persistent and conscientious. An ebullition of disappointment, a factious paroxysm, an unhealthy ambition, a newspaper paragraph, were powerless in degrading a faithful public officer, or in elevating an incompetent or an unworthy aspirant. The tactics of the partizan and the factionist were

* Mr. Hume's Address.

unknown, and the manufactories of public sentiment, were confined to the good common sense of the people themselves, rather than their passions, their interests and their prejudices. In the selection of public officers, the inquiry was not—does the office suit the candidate? but, is he qualified for the office? Identity of interest with the constituency, a public service, and an honest, if not enlightened love of country, secured the confidence, and with it the patronage and suffrages of the masses.

This account of the progress and improvement attained by Tennessee, would be incomplete, without a notice of the Great Religious Revival, which occurred about the end of the last century. Their frequent conflict with the Indians, the war of the Revolution, and the exciting scenes through which the pioneers of Tennessee had passed, during the formation at several periods of their civil Government, had been accompanied with a necessary relaxation of morals. Religious instruction and worship, were necessarily neglected, and the forms even of religion were most imperfectly maintained. The march of armies, and the excitement of a soldier's life, are little favourable to the culture of the moral sense. Vice and immorality follow in their train. The same may be said of the clamour and tumult attending upon political antagonism and faction. They have little tendency to make men better. The standard of morality is lowered, and the sacred fire of conscience burns less purely, both in the congregation and the family. Scenes of bloodshed and partizan animosity, steel the heart against the commands of God.

But now, war and its influences had ceased, and the quiet of a stable government had given repose to the excited masses. This condition was favourable to the needed reformation, and happily the instruments by whom it was to be effected, were at hand. "Men of burning zeal, inspired by the lofty theme, and imbued with the power of a boisterous but natural eloquence, came amongst the people, and declared their mission. To most of them it was novel, and, therefore, attractive. Large audiences of sensitive and enthusiastic hearers, were assembled, the fame of the preachers is ex-

tended to distant neighbourhoods, other appointments are made, at which thousands will have congregated, some of them having come more than fifty miles."* This created the necessity of what has since been known as "a Camp-meeting."

"The first important Camp-meeting on record, was held at Cane Ridge, in Tennessee, in the summer of 1799. The revivals and protracted meetings, which had preceded it, caused the attendance of a vast concourse of people, encamped in the dense forest, where the religious exercises were continued day and night. This novel mode of worshipping God, excited great attention, and people flocked to it from a distance of fifty or sixty miles; many came from Lexington, Kentucky, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles. At night the grove was illuminated with lighted candles, lamps and torches. The stillness of the night, the serenity of the heavens, the vast concourse of attentive worshippers, wrapped in the deep solemnity which covered every countenance, the pointed and earnest manner in which the preachers, in different portions of the vast concourse, exhorted the people to repentance, faith and prayer, denouncing the terrors of the law upon the impenitent, produced the most awfully solemn sensations in the minds of all. Twenty thousand persons were estimated to be present.†

The next important Camp-meeting was on Desha's Creek, near Cumberland River. It was also attended by many thousands of people, and the same scenes were witnessed in a still more remarkable manner.‡ In other parts of Tennessee and Kentucky, these assemblages of the people were also general, and were accompanied with similar influences.

The Ministers, who led the way in these exciting revivals, were William and John McGhee, Rev. James McGready, Hoge and Rankin, of the Presbyterian church; and William McKendree, William Burke, John Sale and Benjamin Lakin, of the Methodist church.§

* Monette. † Bang. ‡ Monette. § Ibid.

FRONTIER EDUCATION.

The means of both moral and intellectual culture are necessarily meagre and inadequate, in all new and frontier settlements. It was so in early times in Tennessee. For many years there were few clergymen, and few competent teachers. There were no libraries and few books. Occasionally a minister of the gospel, well educated and capable of imparting instruction, would open a classical school, and furnish thus to the young men of the country, the facilities of acquiring useful and solid learning; but such a school was at first rare. The common schools of the country were, in like manner, scarce and infrequent, and where they were had, the teachers were often incompetent.

In this dearth of the opportunities of moral and mental training, it might be supposed that the inhabitants would become necessarily vicious and ignorant. To some considerable extent, it was so. But he is greatly mistaken, who supposes that an illiterate is necessarily an ignorant population. Far otherwise. Fortunately for the new communities, upon a remote frontier, other instrumentalities than the pulpit and school-house—invaluable and inappreciable as they are admitted to be—are found for the improvement of the mind and heart.

Education, in its broadest sense, regards the body, the mind and the heart. When thus subdivided, it is physical, intellectual and moral. Physical education is no where more perfectly attained, than upon the frontier, in a salubrious climate. The first emigrants to the solitudes of the West were remarkable for their enterprise, hardihood, vigour, powers of endurance, health and manhood. These were not only generally inherited by their children, but increased and augmented by the circumstances around them. Their pursuits cultivated and enlarged them. Their mode and style of living had the same tendency. There was no luxury to enervate, no excess of labour to depress, no idleness to enfeeble them. Every one was employed; there was no idler—no voluptuary—no drone in society. Each one felt himself stimulated by his position, in a career of active or use-

ful employment. The chase, the campaign, the building of cabins and forts, the felling the forest, the subduing the wilderness, all demanded active and manly exertion, and, inspiring hope and promise for the future, assisted in developing in the highest degree the physical man. Nowhere else has the race attained a fuller development or a higher perfection, than upon the Tennessee frontier.

Intellectual education, if it did not advance *equo pede*, was still not without its own peculiar adjuvants and stimulants. The frontier mind had its culture, though the sources of it, and its channels, were not the same as in older communities. It has been already stated that there were few professional instructors, and few books, and no libraries. This deficit, however to be deplored, was not accompanied with ignorance, as would now, by many, be supposed. A frontier people, though generally illiterate, is usually remarkable for great good sense and general intelligence. Of these there are, fortunately, other sources than libraries and institutions of learning. Nowhere, more than upon the frontier, are these brought into requisition. The ambition of superiority is nowhere more active and all-pervading. There, above all others, the race for distinction is open to all; the *start* is even; each one enters with an honourable competition to come out foremost. General intelligence, useful information, good common sense—these, and not scholastic attainment, become the standard, the object, purpose and aim of the frontier citizen. With these in his view, he is stimulated to teach himself. He has the intellect and the ambition to learn; he has the leisure to inquire, to think and to investigate for himself. Oral communication becomes thus, upon the frontier, the great source of instruction. Information thus acquired, though less minute and extensive, is not less solid or profound, nor less accurate and reliable, than that obtained by the infant mind from books. Hence, there is less fanaticism, fewer errorists, fewer ultraists, in an unlettered population on the frontier, than in an older community with greater literary advantages—every moment of its time absorbed by and devoted to business, with no leisure, and less inclination, to think for themselves. The thoughts of

the latter run in one channel, are directed to one subject, and often exhaust and master it — while the other comprehend a wider range, and cover a greater area. The frontier mind grasps the public good, the institutions of the country, government, laws, theology, politics, medicine, every thing. This may create—it sometimes did create, an unamiable self-sufficiency; a trait of character more excusable, however, than a blind subserviency to the dogmas of the schools or a fashionable public opinion. No one is the Magnus Apollo to the frontier man. He is the Magnus Apollo to himself. *Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*, is his motto. Free investigation, and independent thinking, were prominent characteristics of the border settlements in Tennessee. There were men in the Conventions and Legislatures of Franklin, of the Territorial Government, and of Tennessee, who could not read; and yet most, if not all of them, were men of strong mental powers, great good sense, extensive, if not profound knowledge, and remarkable for their shrewdness and sagacity. Intellects not disciplined by books, routine instructions and scholastic rules; but trained by the least imperfect teacher—a constant intercourse with man, and an examination into the relations arising from the condition of society. Governor Blount, whose position and attainments gave him the most ample opportunity to form accurate opinions on this subject, felt no unwillingness to consult the least learned of the Territorial Assembly, as to the policy of his administration. "That old man," said he, "is strong-minded, wise, and well-informed, if he can not read." Another has said, speaking of the frontier man: "He is silent in manner, embarrassingly so at first, extremely accurate in his observation of human nature, and any man that cannot bear to be scrutinized had better not come here. He judges much by the eye, and has a most enviable power of estimation; your temperament, looks, speech and acts, are all taken in by him; and if you can get a tablet of his judgment, you will find a remarkable daguerreotype of your exact worth written. They are phrenologists and physiognomists, not merely as philosophers, but as practical appliers of those inductive

sciences; and beneath a show of positive laziness or languor, there is an amount of energy and action, mental and physical, perfectly surprising."

Oral instruction, as alluded to above, we do not confine to one only, of its manifestations. Besides that, in the family or in the neighbourhood, was the Debating Club, the Forum, the Tribune, the Legislative Hall, and the Hustings. As all had the leisure, so no one lacked the disposition to avail himself of each of these agencies, to acquire information. Returning from them to his quiet cabin, the theme was there introduced, and the argument resumed by the frontier man and his sons. A searching analysis was there made of every position taken, and every argument offered; and with unlettered logic, and with an original ratiocination, a judgment was attained upon the subject examined. Men educated in the schools, were then, as they still are, surprised at the amount of information, and the reasoning powers exhibited, in the humble dwellings of the obscurest neighbourhoods, upon subjects supposed to be beyond their reach.

Moral education upon the frontier was conducted with little of the advantages which result from the institutions of religion and piety. The pulpit and the congregational organizations which accompanied it, were wanting. This great deficit was, upon that account, supplied the more earnestly, by other instrumentalities. It created the necessity, more especially for the conscientious parent, to exercise the great moral power of the parental office, of the family and the family altar, the home and home influence; these were all brought to bear upon infancy and childhood, in their plastic forming state. As has been well remarked by another, "there is not a more gigantic moral* power committed to creatures upon earth, perhaps not in the Universe, than the power of the parent over the child, because it lies back of all other sources of influence. To the parents are committed the fresh materials, untouched by any human hand, out of which the whole physical, moral and intellectual character of the nation, is to be manufactured for good or for evil. Every parent, every home, is an educator for the country.

* Rev. L. J. Halsey.

Through his child, the parent has a channel of influence, an open door of communication with the world and with posterity, through which he is forming the character and shaping the destiny of his country." This great duty became doubly imperative in the new settlements. The pulpit, the schoolhouse, the press, were not there to divide with the parent, the fearful responsibility of the moral training of the young. He was the priest of his own household. The duty could not be transferred to another. The great lessons of truth, honour, probity, virtue, honesty, public spirit and self-reliance, were taught and inculcated at the fireside, with all the freshness of a personal interest, and with all the sanction, authority and affection of the parental relation. None could have assumed this duty with a higher propriety. They could be discharged by no others with greater fidelity or success.

The enumeration of the traits of character which belonged to frontier life might be much enlarged. We should like to dwell here a little upon the enthusiasm, vivacity, shrewdness and self-respect of the Tennessee frontier man, but we can only mention two others. An unostentatious hospitality characterizes the backwoodsmen. It begins in the wilderness where a fellow huntsman has lost a butcher knife. His less unfortunate comrade breaks his own in two, and gives the one half to the other. Has one lost his ammunition? the other cuts his bar of lead, and divides it and his remaining powder, with his companion, before they separate. Emigrant families, on their way through the wilderness, introduced and practised this considerate regard for the convenience of others. The last duty, at breaking up camp, when setting out on a day's journey, was carefully to cover over the coals and chumps of burning wood, remaining of their camp fire, that those succeeding them the following evening, at the same spring or water course, might have the facility of starting a fire, without delay, on their arrival at it. In inclement weather, this was a kindness which none but emigrants can duly appreciate. Does the settler descry from his cabin door a stranger riding near it? He goes to meet him, asks him to come in and spend a night. The family makes him welcome, attends to all his wants, an-

ticipates what may add to his comfort, and never allows him to depart without exacting a promise that he will come again and stay a week on his return. Does a neighbour casually approach his door? He is not allowed to go further till he alights, partakes of some refreshments, and becomes acquainted with the inmates of the humble household. Is a neighbour sick—are his fields in consequence unworked, and likely to furnish no crop? A day is set, the neighbours assemble, distribute the work amongst themselves, plough and hoe the corn, gather his harvest, haul his wood, send a messenger for the physician, and day and night administer to his necessities, and soothe his sufferings and watch around his sick couch. Oh, such sympathy and kindness is itself curative and remedial, and makes us think better of ourselves and of unsophisticated and artless human nature! It is an Oasis in the desert, a green spot in the contemplation of early times in Tennessee, which it is delightful to witness and remember. Growth, and progress, and art, have, in some places, obliterated these beautiful and amiable features of our earlier society; enough still remains, to excite a regret that they are less general, and less appreciated than in the infancy of the country.

Another trait, and the last we can mention in the character of the frontier man, is his lofty State pride. This is not a sentiment only; with him it became a passion. The Tennessee pioneer can be exceeded by none in fondness for and admiration of his own country. His valour acquired—his enterprise subdued it. It has become the idol of his heart, the home of plenty, of quiet and security. Its greatness excites his admiration, its beauty his pride, its character his enthusiasm; its unstained escutcheon is the theme of his boast and glory. If he leaves the hills and plains, the mountains and valleys, and rivers of his own country, like the Swiss, he remembers them with affection and a melancholy pleasure. In all his wanderings, in success and in triumph alike, as in solitude and disaster, his thoughts are turned constantly upon Tennessee and his early home—he invokes a blessing upon the Fatherland, and heaves the sigh of regret that he left it, and cannot be interred beneath its soil.

APPENDIX.

Names and date of erection of the Counties in the State of Tennessee, and by what authority erected, and remarks.

NAMES.	DATE.	BY WHAT AUTHORITY.	REMARKS.
Washington,	Nov., 1777.	North-Carolina.	Taken off Wilkes and Burke counties, N. C.
Sullivan,	October, 1779.	" "	Off Washington.
Greene,	April, 1783.	" "	Off Washington.
Davidson,	April, 1783.	" "	Off Greene; or, rather, off part of Greene.
Sumner,	Nov., 1786.	" "	Off East end of Davidson—that is E. of Stone's river.
Hawkins,	Nov., 1786.	" "	Off Sullivan.
Tennessee,	Nov., 1788.	" "	Off Davidson: this county, when the State of Tennessee was named, gave up its name. These seven counties were erected prior to the cession, in 1789, by N. Carolina, of her western territory.
Jefferson,	June 11, 1792.	By Ordinance of the Governor.	Off Greene and Hawkins.
Knox,	June 11, 1792.		Off Greene and Hawkins.
Knox, extended,	1798.	By Tenn. Assembly.	
Sevier,	Sept. 27, 1794.	Territorial Assembly.	Taken off Jefferson.
Blount,	July, 1795.	" "	Off Knox—these were the only two counties erected by the Territorial Assembly, the several other counties of the State were erected by the Legislature of Tennessee.
Carter,	April, 1796.	Tennessee Assembly.	Taken off Washington.
Grainger,	April, 1796.	" "	Off Hawkins and Knox.
Montgomery,	April, 1796.	" "	Formed out of part of Tennessee county.
Robertson,	April, 1796.	" "	" " "
Cocke,	October, 1797.	" "	Taken off Jefferson.
Smith,	October, 1799.	" "	Off Sumner.
Wilson,	October, 1799.	" "	Off Sumner.
Williamson,	October, 1799.	" "	Off Davidson.

BOUNDARIES OF COUNTIES.

Washington County was laid off Nov., 1777, with the following boundaries: Beginning at the north-westwardly point of the County of Wilkes, in the Virginia line; thence, with the line of Wilkes County, to a point twenty-six miles south of the Virginia line; thence, due west to the ridge of the Great Iron Mountain, which, heretofore, divided the hunting-grounds of the Overhill Cherokees, from those of the Middle Settlements and Vallies; thence, running a southwardly course along the said ridge, to the Uneca Mountain, where the trading-path crosses the same, from the Valley to the Overhills; thence, south, with the line of this State adjoining the State of South-Carolina; thence, due west to the great River Mississippi; thence, up the same river to a point due west from the beginning.

Sullivan County is made to begin on the Steep Rock; thence, along the dividing ridge that separates the waters of the Great Kenhawa and *Tennessee* (?) to the head of Indian Creek; thence, along the ridge that divides the waters of Holston and Watauga; thence, a direct line to the highest part of the Chimney-Top Mountain, at the Indian boundary. Sullivan County is that part of Washington, which lately was north of this line.

The line dividing Washington from Greene, began at William Williams's, in the fork of Horse Creek, at the foot of the Iron Mountain; thence, a direct course to George Gillespie's house, at or near the mouth of Big Limestone; thence, a north course to the line which divides the Counties of Washington and Sullivan; thence, with the said line to the Chimney-Top Mountain; thence, a direct course to the mouth of Cloud's Creek, on Holston River. That part of Washington which lay to the west of this line, was, thenceforward, to be the County of Greene.

Davidson County.—The boundaries of Davidson county were as follow: Beginning on the top of Cumberland Mountain, where the Virginia line crosses it; extending westwardly along said line to the Tennessee River; thence, up said river to the mouth of Duck River; thence, up Duck River, to where the line of marked trees run by the Commissioners for laying off the land granted to the Continental line of North-Carolina intersects said river, which said line is supposed to be in thirty-five degrees, fifty minutes, north latitude; thence, east, along said line to the top of Cumberland Mountain; thence, northwardly, along said line to the beginning.

Sumner County.—The line of division began where the county line crosses the west fork of Stone's River; thence, a direct line to the mouth of Drake's Lick Creek; thence, down Cumberland River to the mouth of Kasper's Creek; thence, up said creek to the head of the War Trace Fork: thence, a northwardly course to the Virginia line, at a point that will leave Red River Old Station one mile to the east. That part of Davidson County that lay east of this line, was to belong to Sumner County.

Hawkins County was formed by dividing Sullivan. The divisional line began where the boundary line between Virginia and North-Carolina crosses the North Fork of Holston; thence, down said fork to its junction with the main Holston; thence, across said river, due south, to the top of Bay's Mountain; thence, along the top of said mountain to the top of the dividing ridge between the waters of the Holston and French Broad, to its junction with Holston River; thence, down the said River Holston to its junction with the Tennessee; thence, down the same to the Suck, where said river runs through the Cumberland Mountain; thence, along the top of said mountain to the aforesaid boundary line, and thence along said line to the beginning. All that part of the territory lying west of the north fork of Holston, was erected into the county of Hawkins.

Tennessee County.—Beginning on the Virginia line; thence, south, along Sumner County to the dividing ridge between Cumberland River and Red River; thence, westwardly, along said ridge to the head of the main south branch of Sycamore Creek; thence, down the said branch to the mouth thereof; thence, due south across Cumberland River to Davidson County line. All that part of Davidson County, west of this line, was erected into a county called Tennessee.

Jefferson County.—The line follows. Beginning on Nollichucky River at the place where the ridge, which divides the waters of Bent and Lick Creek, strikes it; thence, with that ridge to Bull's Gap of Bay's Mountain; thence, a direct line to the place where the road that leads from Dodson's Ford to Perkin's Iron Works, crosses the watery fork of Bent Creek; thence, down that road to the head of Panther Creek; down the meanders of that creek to the River Holston: thence, a north-west course to the River Clinch. Again: from Nollichucky River, where the ridge that divides the waters of Bent and Lick Creek strikes it, a direct course to Peter Fine's Ferry, on French Broad; thence, south, to the ridge that divides the waters of French Broad and Big Pigeon, and, with said ridge, to the eastern boundary of the territory. Southward and westward of the line thus described, two new counties were to be established. The one, Jefferson County, to be butted and bounded by the above line, from the eastern boundary of the territory, to the River Holston, and down that stream to the mouth of Creswell's Mill Creek; thence, a direct line to the mouth of Dumplin Creek, on French Broad; thence, up the meanders of French Broad, to the mouth of Boyd's Creek; thence, south, twenty-five degrees east, to the ridge which divides the waters of Little Pigeon and Boyd's Creek; and, with the said ridge, to the Indian boundary, or the eastern bounding of the territory, as the case may be, and by the eastern boundary.

Knox County.—The other county, Knox, to be butted and bounded by the lines of Jefferson county, from the mouth of Creswell's Mill Creek, to the eastern boundary of the territory, or the Indian boundary, as the case may be. Again: from the mouth of the said Creek, up the meanders of the River Holston, to the mouth of Panther Creek; thence, north-west, to the River Clinch; thence, by the River Clinch to the place where the line that shall cross Holston at the ridge that

divides the waters of Little River and Tennessee, according to the treaty of Holston, shall strike it, and by that line.

Extension of Limits of Knox County.—In consequence of the cession of Cherokee lands at the Tellico Treaty, the Knox county line was extended from the end of Clinch Mountain "a north-west course to Clinch River; down that river, opposite the end of the Cross Mountain; thence, with said mountain, to the Indian boundary at Cumberland Mountain, and with the Cumberland Mountain, agreeable to the Treaty of Tellico, to Emery's River; thence, down its meanders to the River Clinch, and down the same to the point where the line of the said treaty strikes it, and with that line to the Tennessee; thence, up the meanders of the same to the point formed by the junction of the Holston therewith; thence, up the meanders of the Holston, on the south side, to the mouth of Little River.

Sevier County.—Beginning on the eastern boundary of this territory; from thence, a direct line to the ridge that divides the waters of Little from the waters of Big Pigeon; thence, along the same to the head of Muddy Creek; thence, a direct line to the lower end of an island in French Broad River, formerly known by the name of Hubbert's Island; thence, a direct line to the mouth of Creswell's Mill Creek; thence, with the Knox County line to the top of Bay's Mountain; thence, along the said mountain, to where the French Broad runs through the same; thence, along the said mountain, and with the extreme height thereof, to the place where the ridge dividing the waters of French Broad from those of Little River, intersects the same; thence, with said ridge to the Pigeon Mountain; thence, along said mountain to the Indian boundary, and with the same to the eastern boundary of the territory; thence, to the beginning.

Blount County.—The line began on the south side of the River Holston, at the mouth of Little River; thence, up its meanders, on the south side, to the mouth of Stock Creek; thence, up its meanders, on the south side, to the head of Nicholas Bartlett's mill-pond, at high water; thence, a direct line to the top of Bay's Mountain, leaving the house of James Willis to the right, within forty rods of the same line; thence, along Bay's Mountain, to the line of Sevier County; thence, with that line, to the eastern boundary of the territory; thence, southwardly, to the line of the Indian boundary, according to the Treaty of Holston, and with that line, to the River Holston, and up its meanders, on the south side, to the beginning.

Carter County.—Beginning on the North-Carolina line, at a point from which a line, to be drawn due north, will strike the house of George Haines; thence, the nearest direction to the top of Buffalo Mountain; thence, along the heights of the said mountain, to the high knob on the same, near the north end thereof; thence, a direct line to the house where Jonathan Tipton, Jr., now lives, leaving said house in Washington County; thence, a direct line, to the south bank of Watauga River, at Jeremiah Dugan's Ford; thence, due north, to the Sullivan line. All the territory, east of this boundary, was established as Carter County.

Grainger County.—Beginning on the Main Road, leading from Bull's

Gap to Haine's iron works, on Mossy Creek, at the house of Felps Read; running a direct course to the Kentucky road, on the north side of Holston River: thence, north, fifty degrees west, to the Virginia line; thence, west, with said line, to a point north-west of the end of Clinch Mountain; thence, a direct course, to the end of Clinch Mountain; thence, with the ridge that divides the waters of Richland and Flat Creek, to Holston River, at the upper end of the first bluff above Boyle's old place; thence, up the meanders of the river to the mouth of Panther Creek; thence, up said creek to the head spring thereof, near the house of John Evans; thence, along the main wagon road, to the beginning.

Montgomery and Robertson Counties were formed out of Tennessee County, by a line beginning at the upper end of the first bluff, above James McFarlin's, on Red River, near Allen's cabins; running from thence, a direct course to the Sulphur Fork, a quarter of a mile below Elias's Forts; thence, up the creek, as it meanders to the mouth of Brush Creek; thence, up the same, as it meanders to the head; thence, a direct course to the Davidson County line, at the mouth of Sycamore Creek; thence, with the Davidson line, up said creek, to the Sumner County line; thence, with the extreme height of the dividing ridge, eastwardly, to the Kentucky road, leading from Nashville; thence, northwardly, with said road, to the Kentucky State line; thence, west, with said line, to such place as a south-east course, leaving Joseph French in the lower county, will strike the beginning. Within this boundary was established the new County of Robertson. The remaining part of Tennessee County was to become a separate county, by the name of Montgomery.

Cocke County.—Beginning on the North-Carolina boundary, on the south side of French Broad River, one mile from said river; thence, down the river, one mile, to where it intersects the line of Greene County; thence, with that line, to Nollichucky River, a small distance below Captain William White's house; thence, down the said river, to French Broad, leaving all the islands to Jefferson County; thence, down French Broad, in the same manner, to the bent of said river, opposite Colonel Parmenas Taylor's; and, from thence, a direct line, to the top of English's Mountain, within one mile of Sevier County line; thence, parallel with that line, to the uppermost house on Cozby's Creek; and, from thence, an easterly line, to a point on the boundary line of North-Carolina, as to leave six hundred and twenty-five square miles in Jefferson County; and, from thence, with the North-Carolina line, to the beginning.

Smith County.—Beginning upon the south bank of Cumberland River, at the south end of the eastern boundary of Sumner County; thence, north, with the said eastern boundary, to the northern boundary of the State; and, with the said boundary, east, to where it is intersected by the Cherokee boundary; thence, with that boundary, to the Cany Fork of Cumberland River; thence, with said fork, according to its meanders, to the mouth thereof; thence, down the south bank of Cumberland River, according to its meanders, to the beginning.

Wilson County.—Beginning upon the south bank of the River

Cumberland, at low water mark, at the mouth of Drake's Lick Branch, the north-eastern corner of Davidson County; thence, with the line of Davidson County, to the Cherokee boundary, and, with said boundary, to the Cany Fork; and, down the Cany Fork, according to its meanders, to the mouth thereof; thence, down the meanders of Cumberland River, by the south bank, to the beginning.

Williamson County.—Beginning at a point forty poles due north of the dwelling-house of Thomas McCrory, on the waters of Little Harpeth; running, thence, east, two miles and one hundred and four poles; thence, south, seventy degrees, east, sixteen miles and two hundred and seventy poles; thence, due east sixteen miles and two hundred and seventy poles; thence, due south to the Indian boundary; thence, with said line, westwardly, to the Robertson County line; thence, with that line, north, to a point due west from the mouth of Little Harpeth; thence, a direct line to a point on South Harpeth, south-west from the mouth of said Little Harpeth; thence, north-east, to the mouth of said little Harpeth; thence, a direct line to the beginning.

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